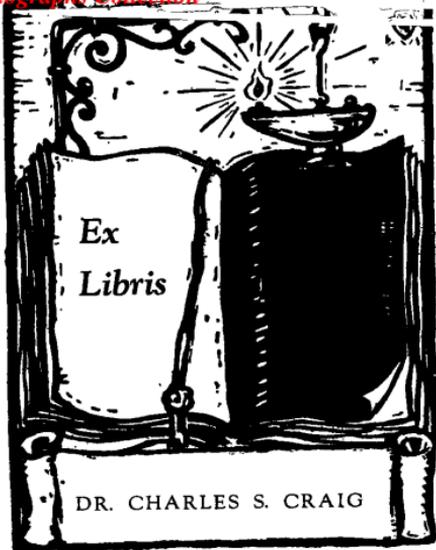


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THE
PICTORIAL FIELD-BOOK

OF THE
WAR OF 1812;

OR,

ILLUSTRATIONS, BY PEN AND PENCIL, OF THE HISTORY, BIOG-
RAPHY, SCENERY, RELICS, AND TRADITIONS OF THE
LAST WAR FOR AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

BY BENSON J. LOSSING.

WITH SEVERAL HUNDRED ENGRAVINGS ON WOOD, BY LOSSING AND BARRITT,
CHIEFLY FROM ORIGINAL SKETCHES BY THE AUTHOR.

NEW YORK:
HARPER & BROTHERS, PUBLISHERS,
FRANKLIN SQUARE.
1869.

Entered, according to Act of Congress, in the year 1868, by

HARPER & BROTHERS,

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Preface



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THE author of this volume said to the readers of his PICTORIAL FIELD-BOOK OF THE REVOLUTION, at the close of that work, "Should time deal gently with us, we may again go out with staff and scrip together upon the great highway of our country's progress, to note the march of events there." The implied promise has been fulfilled. The author has traveled

more than ten thousand miles in this country and in the Canadas, with note-book and pencil in hand, visiting places of historic interest connected with the War of 1812, from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, gathering up, recording, and delineating every thing of special value, not found in books, illustrative of the subject, and making himself familiar with the topography and incidents of the battle-fields of that war. Access to the archives of governments, state and national, and to private collections, was freely given him; and from the lips of actors in the events of that struggle he received the most interesting information concerning it, which might have perished with them.

The results of the author's researches and labors are given in this volume. The narrative of historic events is resumed where his work on the Revolution left it. An account is given of the perils of the country immediately succeeding the Revolution; the struggles of the new nation with the allied powers of British and Indians in the Northwest; the origin and growth of political parties in the United States, and their relations to the War of 1812; the influence of the French Revolution and French politics in giving complexion to parties in this country; the first war with the Barbary Powers; the effects of the wars of Napoleon on the public policy of the United States; the Embargo and kindred acts, and the kindling of the war in 1812.

The events of the war are given in greater detail than in any work hitherto published, and the narrative brings to view actors in the scenes whose deeds have been overlooked by the historian. The work is a continuation of the history of our country from the close of the Revolution in 1783 to the end of the Second War with Great Britain in 1815.

POUGHKEEPSIE, NEW YORK, JULY, 1868.

REPORT
ON
THE
YEAR.



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PICTORIAL FIELD-BOOK

OF

THE WAR OF 1812.

CHAPTER I.

"I see, I see,
Freedom's established reign; cities, and men,
Numerous as sands upon the ocean shore,
And empires rising where the sun descends!
The *Ohio* soon shall glide by many a town
Of note; and where the *Mississippi* stream,
By forests shaded, now runs sweeping on,
Nations shall grow, and states not less in fame
Than Greece and Rome of old. We, too, shall boast
Our Scipios, Solons, Catos, sages, chiefs,
That in the lap of Time yet dormant lie,
Waiting the joyous hour of life and light."

PHILIP FRENEAU, 1775.



UCH was the prophecy of an American poet when the war for his country's independence had just been kindled; and similar were the prescient visions of the statesmen and sages of that hour, who, in the majesty of conscious rectitude, decreed the dismemberment of a mighty empire and the establishment of a nation of freemen in the New World. Their rebellion instantly assumed the dignity of a revolution, and commanded the respect and sympathy of the civilized nations. Their faith was perfect, and under its inspiration they contended gallantly for freedom, and won. We, their children, have seen the minstrel's prophecy fulfilled, and all the bright visions of glory that gave gladness to our fathers paled by a splendor of reality that makes us proud of the title—AMERICAN CITIZEN.

When, on the 25th of November, 1783, John Van Arsdale, a sprightly sailor-boy of sixteen years, climbed the slushed flag-staff in Fort George, at the foot of Broadway, New York, pulled down the British ensign that for more than seven years had floated there, and unfurled in its place the banner of the United States,¹ the work of the Revolution was finished. As the white sails of the British squadron that bore away from our shores the last armed enemy to freedom in Amer-

¹ Before the British left Fort George they nailed their colors to the summit of the flag-staff, knocked off the cleets, and "slushed" the pole from top to bottom, to prevent its being climbed. Van Arsdale (who died in 1836) ascended by nailing on cleets, and applying sand to the greased flag-staff. In this way he reached the top, hauled down the British flag, and placed that of the United States in its position. It is believed by some that the nailing of the flag there by the British had a higher significance than was visible in the outward act, namely, a compliance with orders from the imperial government not to strike the flag, as in a formal surrender, but to leave it flying, in token of the claim of Great Britain to the absolute proprietorship of the country then abandoned. It was believed that the absence of British authority in the United States would be only temporary.

The hopes of the Americans not realized.

They were free, but not independent.

ica became mere specks upon the horizon in the evening sun to the straining eyes of eager thousands gazing seaward beyond the Narrows,¹ the idea of absolute independence took possession of the mind and heart of every true American. He saw the visible bonds of British thralldom fall at his feet, and his pulse beat high with the inspiration of conscious freedom, and the full assurance that the power and influence of British sovereignty had departed from his country forever.

Alas! those natural, and generous, and patriotic, and hopeful emotions were fallacious. They were born of a beautiful theory, but derived no real sustenance from sober facts. They were the poetry of that hour of triumph, entrancing the spirit and kindling the imagination. They gave unbounded pleasure to a disenthralled people. But there were wise and thoughtful men among them who had communed with the teachers of the Past, and sought knowledge in the vigorous school of the Present. They diligently studied the prose chapters of the great volume of current history spread out before them, and were not so jubilant. They reverently thanked God for what had been accomplished, adored him for the many interpositions of his providence in their behalf, and rejoiced because of the glorious results of the struggle thus far. But they clearly perceived that the peace established by the decrees of high contracting parties would prove to be only a lull in the great contest—a truce soon to be broken, not, perhaps, by the trumpet calling armed men to the field, but by the stern behests of the inexorable necessities of the new-born republic. The revolution was accomplished, and the political separation from Great Britain was complete, but absolute independence was not achieved.

The experience of two years wrought a wonderful change in the public mind. The wisdom of the few prophetic sages who warned the people of dangers became painfully apparent. The Americans were no longer the legal subjects of a monarch beyond the seas, yet the power and influence of Great Britain were felt like a chilling, overshadowing cloud. In the presence of her puissance in all that constitutes the material strength and vigor of a nation, they felt their weakness; and from many a patriot heart came a sigh to the lips, and found expression there in the bitter words of deep humiliation—We are *free*, but not *independent*.

Why not? Had not a solemn treaty and the word of an honest king acknowledged the states to be free and independent?

Yes. The Treaty of Peace had declared the confederated colonies "to be free, sovereign, and independent states;" and that the King of Great Britain would treat them as such, and relinquish "all claims to the government, propriety, and territorial rights of the same."² The king, in his speech from the throne,³ had said, "I have sacrificed every consideration of my own to the wishes and opinion of my people. I make it my humble and earnest prayer to Almighty God that Great Britain may not feel the evils which might result from so great a dismemberment of the empire, and that America may be free from those calamities which have formerly proved, in the mother country, how essential monarchy is to the enjoyment of constitutional liberty. Religion, language, interest, affections may, and I hope will, yet prove a bond of permanent union between the two countries: to this end neither attention nor disposition shall be wanting on my part."³

December 8,
1783.

¹ The passage from New York Harbor to the sea, between Long Island and Staten Island.

² See Article I. of the Treaty of Peace between the United States and Great Britain, signed at Paris on the 3d of September, 1783, by David Hartley in behalf of Great Britain, and Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and John Jay for the United States.

³ This acknowledgment was wrung from the king. He had long detested the very name of every thing American; and this feeling was strengthened by his intense personal hatred of Dr. Franklin, whose coolness and adroitness had given him the distinction of Arch-rebel. The king carried his prejudices so far that Sir John Pringle was driven to resign his place as President of the Royal Society in this wise: The king urgently requested the society to publish, with the authority of its name, a contradiction of a scientific opinion of the rebellious Franklin. Pringle replied that it was not in his power to reverse the order of nature, and resigned. The pliant Sir Joseph Banks, with the practice of a true courtier, advocated the opinion which was patronized by his majesty, and was appointed President of the Royal Society. See Wright's *England under the House of Hanover*, II., 63.

Reception of John Adams in England. Why the Americans were not independent. Articles of Confederation.

This was all very kind, and yet the Americans were not independent.

Why not? Had not the representative of their independent sovereignty been appointed by the Congress to reside as the agent of the republic in the British capital, and been received with cordiality?

Yes. John Adams had been appointed^a minister plenipotentiary to the Court of Great Britain, and had been ordered to leave sunny France for foggy England. The Duke of Dorset, the British ambassador at Paris, had treated him most kindly at Auteuil, and had as kindly prescribed a gay court-dress to be worn by the ambassador at his first presentation to the king on his majesty's birth-day. That plenipotentiary had been presented,^b most graciously received, and affected almost to tears by these honest words of good King George: "I was the last man in the kingdom, sir, to consent to the independence of America; but, now it is granted, I shall be the last man in the world to sanction a violation of it."^c

This reception was significant, and this declaration of his majesty was explicit and sincere. Yet the Americans were not independent.

Why not? Because *they had not formed a nation, and thereby created a power to be respected*; because British statesmen were wise enough to perceive this weakness, and sagacious enough to take advantage of it. Without the honesty of the king, misled by the fatal counsels of the refugee loyalists who swarmed in the British metropolis, and governed wholly by the maxims and ethics of diplomacy, the ministry cast embarrassments in the way of the Confederation, neglected to comply with some of the most important stipulations of the Treaty of Peace, maintained a haughty reserve, and waited with complacency and perfect faith to see the whole fabric of government in the United States, cemented by the bonds of common interest and common danger while in a state of war, crumble into fragments, and the people return to their allegiance as colonists of Great Britain. Their trade and commerce, their manufactures and arts, their literature, science, religion, and laws were yet largely tributary to the parent country, without a well-grounded hope for a speedy deliverance. To this domination was added a traditional contempt of the English for their transatlantic brethren as an inferior people,¹ and the manifestation of an illiberal and unfriendly spirit, heightened by the consciousness that the Americans were without a government sufficiently powerful to command the fulfillment of treaty stipulations, or an untrammelled commerce sufficiently important to attract the cupidity and interested sympathies of other nations.

Such is a general statement of reasons why the United States were not independent of Great Britain after their total political separation from her. These gave to Dr. Franklin and others the consciousness of the incompleteness of the struggle commenced in 1775. When a compatriot remarked that the war for independence was successfully closed, Franklin wisely replied, "Say, rather, the war of the *Revolution*. The war for *independence* is yet to be fought."

I have remarked that our fathers had not formed a NATION on the return of peace, and in that fact was the inherent weakness of their government, and the spring of all the hopes of the royalists for their speedy return to colonial dependency. To illustrate this, let us take a rapid survey of events from the ratification of the Treaty of Peace in the autumn of 1784, to the formation of the National Constitution in the autumn of 1787.

The *Articles of Confederation*, suggested by Dr. Franklin in the summer of 1775, adopted by the Continental Congress in November, 1777, and finally settled by the ratification of all the states in the spring of 1781, became the organic law of the great American League of independent commonwealths, which, by the first article of that Constitution, was styled "The United States of America." In behalf of this Confeder-

¹ "Even the chimney-sweepers on the streets," said Pitt, in a speech in the House of Commons in 1763, "talk boastingly of their subjects in America."

The League of States.

The States not sovereign.

The Public Debt.

acy, commissioners were appointed by the Continental Congress to negotiate for peace with Great Britain. That negotiation was successful, and, in September, 1783, a definitive treaty was signed at Paris^a by the respective commissioners¹ of the two governments. It was subsequently ratified by the Congress and the Crown. In the first article of the treaty all the states of the League were named, for the simple purpose of definitely declaring what provinces in the New World formed "The United States of America," as there were British, French, and Spanish provinces there not members of the League; and also because they were held to be, on the part of the English, independent republics, as they had been colonies independent of each other.²

The League now assumed a national attitude, and the powers of the Confederacy were speedily tested. The bright visions of material prosperity that gladdened the hearts of the Americans at the close of the war soon faded, and others more sombre appeared when the financial and commercial condition of the forming republic was contemplated with candor. A debt of seventy millions of dollars lay upon the shoulders of a wasted people. About forty-four millions of that amount was owing by the Federal government (almost ten millions of it in Europe), and the remainder by the individual states. These debts had been incurred in carrying on the war. Even while issuing their paper money in abundance, the Congress had commenced borrowing; and when, in 1780, their bills of credit became worthless, borrowing was the chief monetary resource of the government. This, of course, could not go on long without involving the republic in embarrassments and accomplishing its final ruin. The restoration of the public credit or the downfall of the infant republic was the alternative presented to the American people.

¹ See note 2, page 18.

² The advocates of the mischievous political doctrine known as supreme *state sovereignty*, whose fundamental dogma is that the states then forming the inchoate republic were absolutely *independent sovereignties*, have cited this naming of the several states in that treaty in support of their views. The states were independent *commonwealths*, but not *sovereignties*. That term implies no superior. The colonies and states had never been in that exalted position. They were dependencies of Great Britain until the Declaration of Independence was promulgated, when they immediately assumed the position of equals in a National League, acknowledging the general government which they thus established as the supreme controlling power, having a broad signet for the common use, bearing the words, "Seal of the United States,"



FIRST GREAT SEAL OF THE UNITED STATES.*

as its insignia of authority. When a treaty of peace was to be negotiated, the states did not each choose a commissioner for the purpose, but these agents were appointed by the General Congress, as representatives of the nationality of the Confederation, without reference to any particular states. And when, a few years later, the people ("We the PEOPLE" is the phrase) formed and ratified a *National Constitution*, they disowned all independent *state sovereignty*, and reserved to the states only municipal rights, the exercise of which should not be in contravention of the organic law of the land.

* For a history (with illustrations) of this first Great Seal of the United States, see a paper in *Harper's Magazine*, vol. xiii., p. 178, written by the author of this work.

With a determination to restore that public credit, the General Congress immediately put forth all its strength in efforts to produce such a result. A few weeks after the preliminary Treaty of Peace was signed, the Congress declared that "the establishment of permanent and adequate funds on taxes or duties, which shall operate generally, and, on the whole, in just proportion, throughout the United States, is indispensably necessary toward doing complete justice to the public creditors, for restoring public credit, and for providing for the future exigencies of the war."¹ Two months later² the Congress recommended to the several states, as "indispensably necessary to the restoration of public credit, and to the punctual discharge of the public debts," to vest the Congress with power to levy, for a period of twenty-five years, specified duties on certain imported articles, and an *ad valorem* duty on all others, the revenue therefrom to be applied solely to the payment of the interest and principal of the public debt. It was also proposed that the states should be required to establish for the same time, and for the same object, substantial revenues for supplying each its proportion of one million five hundred thousand dollars annually, exclusive of duties on imports, the proportion of each state to be fixed according to the eighth article of the organic law of the League.² This financial system was not to take effect until acceded to by every state.

This proposition was approved by the leading men of the country; but it was not adopted by the several states. They all took action upon it in the course of the succeeding three years, but that action was rather in the form of overtures—indications of what each state was willing to do—not of positive law. All the states except two were willing to grant the required amount, but they were not disposed to vest the Congress with the required power. "It is *money*, not *power*, that ought to be the object," they said. "The former will pay our *debts*, the latter may destroy our *liberties*."³

This first important effort of the Congress to assume the functions of sovereignty was a signal failure, and the beginning of a series of failures. It excited a jealousy between the state and general governments, and exposed the utter impotency of the latter, whose vitality depended upon the will of thirteen distinct legislative bodies, each tenacious of its own peculiar rights and interests, and miserly in its delegation of power. It was speedily made manifest that the public credit must be utterly destroyed by the inevitable repudiation of the public debt.

The League were equally unfortunate in their attempts to establish commercial relations with other governments, and especially with that of Great Britain. The Liberal ministry, under the Earl of Shelburne when the preliminary Treaty of Peace was signed, devised generous measures toward the Americans. Encouraged by a lively hope thereby engendered, American commerce began to revive. William Pitt, son of the eminent Earl of Chatham, then at the age of only twenty-four years, was Chancellor of the Exchequer. With a clear perception of the value to Great Britain of friendly relations between that government and the new republic, he introduced a bill into Parliament for the regulation of commerce between the two countries, by which trade with the British West India Islands and other colonial possessions of the crown was thrown open to the enterprise of the merchants of the United States.

In this proposed measure was involved a powerful element of solid peace and harmony between the two governments; but there seemed not to be wisdom enough among the statesmen of Great Britain for a practical perception of it. The shipping

¹ Journal of Congress, February 12, 1783. The last clause was necessary, because only *preliminary* articles of peace had been signed, and the war might continue.

² The following was the proposed apportionment: New Hampshire, \$52,705; Massachusetts, \$224,427; Rhode Island, \$32,318; Connecticut, \$132,091; New York, \$128,248; New Jersey, \$83,868; Pennsylvania, \$205,189; Delaware, \$22,443; Maryland, \$141,517; Virginia, \$256,487; North Carolina, \$109,006; South Carolina, \$96,183; Georgia, \$16,050.

³ The resolutions of Congress, and the proceedings of the several State Legislatures, with remarks thereon by "A Republican," were published in the *New York Gazetteer*, and afterward in pamphlet form, in the autumn of 1786, by Carroll & Patterson, 32 Maiden Lane, New York.

Dissolution of the Liberal British Ministry.

The new Cabinet.

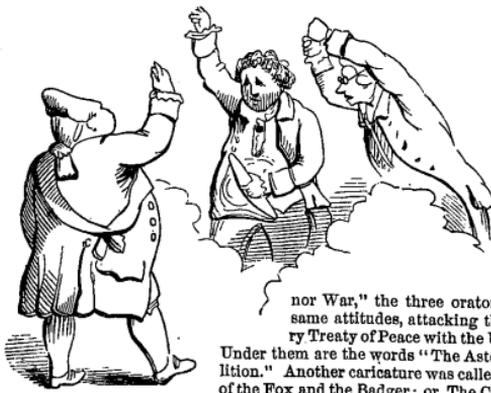
Its discordant Elements.

interest, then potential in Parliament, with strange blindness to its own welfare and that of the state, successfully opposed it; and the Liberal Shelburne ministry did not survive the proposition a month. It was dissolved, and, after a ministerial hiatus of several weeks, during which time faction threatened the peace if not the stability of the throne, a Cabinet was formed of materials the most discordant hitherto. North and Fox, Burke and Cavendish, Portland and Stormont, who had differed widely and debated bitterly on American affairs, coalesced, much to the astonishment of the simple, the scandal of political consistency, and the delight of satirists with pen and pencil.¹

The new Cabinet listened to other counsels than those of the sagacious Pitt, and, instead of acting liberally toward the United States, as friends and political equals, they inaugurated a restrictive commercial policy, and assumed the offensive *haurteur* of lord and master in the presence of vassals or slaves. Echoing the opinions of the acrimonious Silas Deane, the specious Tory, Joseph Galloway, and Peter Oliver, the refugee Chief Justice of Massachusetts,² English writers and English statesmen made public observations which indicated that they regarded the American League as only alienated members of the British realm. Lord Sheffield, in a formidable pamphlet, gave expression to the views of the Loyalists and leading British statesmen, and declared his belief that ruin must soon overtake the League, because of the anarchy and confu-

¹ The political satires and caricatures of the day indicate the temper of the people. Of these the war in America formed the staple subject at the time in question. The conduct of that war, its cessation or continuance, formed the topic of violent debates in Parliament, caused rancor among politicians, was the basis of new party organizations, and a source of great anxiety among the people. Among those who employed caricatures in the controversies Sayer and Gillray were the chief. The latter soon outstripped all competitors, and gave to the world more than twelve hundred caricatures, chiefly political. One of his earliest productions was issued at the period in question, in which the original positions of the different leaders of the coalition were exhibited in compartments. In one, entitled "War," Fox and Burke, in characteristic attitudes, are seen thundering against the massive Lord North.

In another compartment, called "Neither Peace nor War," the three orators are, in the same attitudes, attacking the preliminary Treaty of Peace with the United States. Under them are the words "The Astonishing Coalition." Another caricature was called "The Loves of the Fox and the Badger; or, The Coalition Wedding." This popular caricature was a burlesque pictorial history of the sudden friendship between



WAR.

Fox and North. The latter was commonly known in political circles as "the badger." In another print Fox and North were represented under one coat, standing on a pedestal, and called "The State Idol." This the king (who detested the whole affair) was expected to worship. In another, the two are seen approaching Britannia (or the people) to claim her sanction. She rejects them, and their attention is directed to a gallows and block in the distance as their proper destination.

The coalition finally became unpopular, and Gillray, in a caricature entitled "Britannia Aroused; or, The Coalition Monsters Destroyed," represents her in a fury, grasping one of the leaders by the neck and the other by the leg, and hurling them from her as enemies to liberty. I have copied from Wright's *England under the House of Hanover* the most forcible portions of the two caricatures named.

² Silas Deane had been an active supporter of the American cause, and was sent to France, as an agent of the Continental Congress, early in 1776. In the autumn of that year he was associated with Dr. Franklin and Arthur Lee as commissioners to the French Court. Deane's unfitness for his station was soon made apparent, and he was recalled at the close of 1777. He went to England at the close of the war, and there vented his spleen against his countrymen. Joseph Galloway was a Pennsylvanian, who espoused the republican cause, and was a member of the first Congress in 1774, but soon afterward abandoned his countrymen and went to England. He first joined the royal army in New York, and did not leave the country until 1778. He was a ready writer, and wrote much against the American cause in England, where he died in 1808.

Peter Oliver was past middle life when the Revolution broke out. He was appointed Chief Justice of Massachusetts in 1769, when his brother-in-law, Hutchinson, became governor of that province. He was impeached by the Massachusetts Assembly in 1774, and soon afterward went to England, where he died in 1791, aged 79 years.



BRITANNIA AROUSED.

Expectations of British Statesmen.	Lord Sheffield's Pamphlet.	British Legislation.	Public Dangers.
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sion in which they were involved in consequence of their independence. He assumed that the New England States in particular would speedily become penitent suppliants at the foot of the king for pardon and restoration as colonies. He saw the utter weakness and consequent inefficiency of the League as a form of government, and advised his countrymen to consider them of little account as a *nation*.¹ "If the American states choose to send consuls, receive them, and send a consul to each state. Each state will soon enter into all necessary regulations with the consul, and this is the whole that is necessary." In other words, the League has no dignity above that of a fifth-rate power, and the states are still, in fact, only dislocated members of the British Empire.²

In considering the more remote causes of the War of 1812, and the final independence of the United States achieved by that war, that pamphlet of Lord Sheffield, which gave direction to British legislation and bias to the English mind in reference to the American League, may be regarded as a most important one. It was followed by Orders in Council³ by which American vessels were entirely excluded from the British West Indies; and some of the staple productions of the United States, such as fish, beef, pork, butter, lard, *et cetera*, were not permitted to be carried there except in British bottoms. These orders were continued by temporary acts until 1788, when the policy was permanently established as a commercial regulation by act of Parliament.

In view of this unfriendly conduct of Great Britain, the General Congress, in the spring of 1784, asked the several states to delegate powers to them for fifteen years, by which they might compel England to be more liberal by countervailing measures of prohibition.⁴ Well would it have been for the people of the young republic had some restrictive measures been adopted, whereby British goods could have been kept from their ports, for in a very short time after the peace a most extravagant and ruinous trade with Great Britain was opened. Immense importations were made, and private indebtedness speedily added immensely to the evils which the war and an inadequate government had brought upon the people. But the appeal of the Congress was in vain. The states, growing more and more jealous of their individual dignity, would not invest the Congress with any such power; nor would they, even in the face of the danger of having their trade go into the hands of foreigners, make any permanent and uniform arrangements among themselves. Without public credit, with their commerce at the mercy of every adventurer, without respect at home or abroad, the League of States, free without independence, presented the sad spectacle of the elements of a great nation paralyzed in the formative process, and the coldness of political death chilling every developing function of its being.

Difficulties soon arose between the United States and Great Britain concerning the

¹ "It will not be an easy matter," he said (and he no doubt spoke the language of the English people in general), "to bring the American states to act as a nation; they are not to be feared as such by us. It will be a long time before they can engage or will concur in any material expenses. A stamp act, a tea act, or such act that can never again occur, would alone unite them. Their climate, their staples, their manners are different; their interests opposite; and that which is beneficial to one is destructive to the other. We might as reasonably dread the effects of combinations among the German as among the American states, and deprecate the resolves of the Diet as those of the Congress. In short, every circumstance proves that it will be extreme folly to enter into any engagements by which we may not wish to be bound hereafter. It is impossible to name any material advantage the American states will or can give us in return more than what we of course shall have. No treaty can be made with the American states that can be binding on the whole of them. The Act of Confederation does not enable Congress to form more than general treaties."—SHEFFIELD'S *Observations on the Commerce of the American States*, London, 1783.

² The estimation in which the League was held by the British government may be inferred by an inquiry of the Duke of Dorset, in reply to a letter from Messrs. Adams, Franklin, and Jefferson, on the subject of a commercial treaty, in March, 1785. His grace inquired "whether they were commissioned by Congress or their respective states, for it appeared to him that each state was determined to manage its own matters in its own way." It could not be expected that England would be in haste to form any important commercial relations with a government so uncertain in its character, for a league of independent governments was liable to dissolution at any moment.

³ July, 1783. The British Privy Council consists of an indefinite number of gentlemen, chosen by the sovereign, and having no direct connection with the Cabinet ministers. The sovereign may, under the advice of this council, issue orders or proclamations, which, if not contrary to existing laws, are binding upon the subjects. These are for temporary purposes, and are called *Orders in Council*.

⁴ See Journal of Congress, April 30, 1784.

Weakness of the new Government made manifest. Its Dissolution threatened. Excuse for Dissatisfaction.

inexecution of the Treaty of Peace, each charging the other with infractions of that treaty, or neglect to comply with its requirements.¹ An open rupture was threatened, and John Adams was sent to England,^a clothed with the full powers of a plenipotentiary, to arrange all matters in dispute.

But Mr. Adams could accomplish little. Indeed his mission was almost fruitless. He found the temper of the British people, from the peasant up to the monarch, cold, if not positively hostile, toward the United States. He was never insulted, yet the chilliness of the social atmosphere, and the studied neglect of his official representations, often excited hot indignation in his bosom. But his government was so weak and powerless that he was compelled to bite his lips in silence. When he proposed to have the navigation and trade between all the dominions of the British crown and all the territories of the United States placed upon a basis of perfect and liberal reciprocity, the offer was not only rejected with scorn, but the minister was given to understand that no other would be entertained by the British government. When he recommended his own government to pass countervailing navigation laws for the benefit of American commerce, he was met with the fact that it possessed no power to do so. At length, believing his mission to be useless, and the British government steadily refusing to send a minister to the United States, he asked and received permission to return home.

Meanwhile matters were growing infinitely worse in the United States. The Congress had become absolutely powerless, and almost a by-word among the people. The states had assumed the attitude of sovereign, each for itself; and their interests were too diversified, and in some instances too antagonistic, to allow them to work in harmony for the general good. The League was on the point of dissolution, and the fair fabric for the dwelling of liberty, reared by Washington and his compatriots, was tottering to its fall. The idea of forming two or three distinct confederacies took possession of the public mind. Western North Carolina revolted, and the new State of Franklin,² formed by the insurgents, endured several months. A portion of South-western Virginia sympathized in the movement. Insurrection against the authorities of Pennsylvania appeared in the Wyoming Valley.³ A Convention deliberated at Portland on the expediency of erecting the Territory of Maine into an independent state.⁴ An armed mob surrounded the New Hampshire Legislature, demanding a remission of taxes;⁵ and in Massachusetts, Daniel Shays, who had been a captain in the Continental army, placed himself at the head of a large body of armed insurgents, and defied the government of that state.⁶ There was resistance to taxation every where, and disrespect for law became the rule and not the exception.

There was reason for this state of things. The exhaustion of the people was great on account of the war, and poverty was wide-spread. The farmer found no remunerative market for his produce, and domestic manufactures were depressed by foreign competition.⁷ Debt weighed down all classes, and made them feel that the burden

¹ Against Great Britain it was charged that slaves had been carried away by her military and naval commanders subsequent to the signing of the treaty, and on their departure from the country.* It was also complained that the Western military posts had not been surrendered to the United States according to Article VII. of the treaty. Against the United States it was charged that legal impediments had been interposed to prevent the collection of debts due British merchants by Americans, and that the stipulations concerning the property of Loyalists, found in Articles V. and VI. of the treaty, had not been complied with. These eriminations and recriminations were fair, for it has been justly remarked, "America could not, and Great Britain would not, because America did not, execute the treaty."—*Life and Works of John Adams*, i., 424.

² See Ramsey's *History of Tennessee*; *Harper's Magazine* for March, 1862.

³ See Lossing's *Field-Book of the Revolution*.

⁴ See Coolidge and Mansfield's *History of New Hampshire*.

⁵ See Bradford's *History of Massachusetts*; *Harper's Magazine* for April, 1862.

⁴ See Williamson's *History of Maine*.

⁷ The idea was prevalent, at the close of the war, that the United States ought to be an exclusively agricultural nation, and that the old policy of purchasing all fabrics in Europe, to be paid for by the productions of the soil, would be the wiser one. Acting upon the belief that this would be the policy of the new government, the merchants imported largely, and, there being very little duty to be paid, domestic manufactures could not compete with those of Great Britain. The fallacy of the idea that exports would pay for the imports was soon made manifest, and almost universal bankruptcy

* See Article VII. of the treaty.

Washington's Views of Public Affairs. His Suggestions, and those of Alexander Hamilton. Propositions of the latter.

which the tax-gatherer would lay upon them would be the "feather" that would "break the camel's back." There was doubt, and confusion, and perplexity on every side; and the very air seemed thick with forebodings of evil. Society appeared to be about to dissolve into its original elements.

Patriots—men who had labored for the establishment of a wise government for a free people—were heart-sick. "Illiberality, jealousy, and local policy mix too much in all our public councils for the good government of the Union," wrote Washington. "The Confederation appears to me to be little better than a shadow without the substance, and Congress a nugatory body, their ordinances being little attended to. To me it is a solecism in politics; indeed, it is one of the most extraordinary things in nature, that we should confederate as a nation, and yet be afraid to give the rulers of that nation (who are the creatures of our own making, appointed for a limited and short duration, and who are amenable for every action, and may be recalled at any moment, and are subject to all the evils they may be instrumental in producing) sufficient powers to order and direct the affairs of the same. By such policy as this the wheels of government are clogged, and our brightest prospects, and that high expectation which was entertained of us by the wondering world, are turned into astonishment; and from the high ground on which we stood we are descending into the vale of confusion and darkness.

"That we have it in our power to become one of the most respectable nations upon earth, admits, in my humble opinion, of no doubt, if we would but pursue a wise, just, and liberal policy toward one another, and keep good faith with the rest of the world. That our resources are ample and increasing, none can deny; but while they are grudgingly applied, or not applied at all, we give a vital stab to public faith, and shall sink, in the eyes of Europe, into contempt."¹

Other patriots uttered similar sentiments; and there was a feverish anxiety in the public mind concerning the future, destructive of all confidence, and ruinous to enterprises of every kind. Already grave discussions on the subject had occurred in the library at Mount Vernon, during which Washington had suggested the idea of a conjunction of the several states in arrangements of a commercial nature, over which the Congress, under the Articles of Confederation, had no control. The suggestion was luminous. It beamed out upon the surrounding darkness like a ray of morning light. It was the herald and harbinger of future important action—the key-note to a loud trumpet-call for the wise men of the nation to save the tottering republic. It was the electric fire that ran along the paralyzed nerves of the nation, and quickened into action a broader statesmanship, like that displayed by the youthful Hamilton, who, three or four years before, had induced the Legislature of New York to recommend the "assembling of a general Convention of the United States, specially authorized to revise and amend the Confederation, reserving the right to the respective Legislatures to ratify their determination."²

occurred among the importing merchants. The imports from Great Britain during the years 1784 and 1785 amounted in value to \$30,000,000, while the exports thither did not exceed \$9,000,000.

¹ Letter to James Warren, October 7, 1785.

² So early as 1780, Alexander Hamilton, then only twenty-three years of age, thoroughly analyzed the defects of the Articles of Confederation, in a long letter to James Duane, member of Congress from New York. It was dated, "Liberty Pole, September 3, 1780." He discussed the subject at great length, gave an outline sketch of a Federal Constitution, and suggested the calling of a Convention to frame such a system of government.* During the following year he published in the *New York Packet*, printed at Fishkill, Dutchess County, a series of papers under the title of *The Constitutional*, which were devoted chiefly to the discussion of the defects in the Articles of Confederation. They excited great local interest; and Hamilton succeeded, in the summer of 1782, in having the subject brought before the Legislature of the State of New York while in session at Poughkeepsie. It was favorably received, and on Sunday, the 21st of July, that body passed a series of resolutions, in the last of which occurred the sentence above quoted.

On the 1st of April, 1783, Hamilton, in a debate in Congress, expressed an earnest desire for a general Convention, and the subject was much talked of among the members of Congress in 1784. In the same year Thomas Paine and Pelatiah Webster wrote on that subject. In the spring of 1784, Noah Webster, the lexicographer, in a pamphlet which he says he "took the pains to carry in person to General Washington," suggested a "new system of government, which

* See *The Works of Alexander Hamilton*, I., 160.

This recommendation had been seriously pondered by thoughtful men throughout the League, but the public authorities were not then ready to adopt it. Washington's proposition for a commercial Convention was favorably received, and in September, the following year,¹ five states were represented by delegates in such Convention, held at Annapolis, in Maryland.² Already a desire had been expressed in many parts of the country for a Convention having a broader field of consideration than *commerce*, only one of the elements of a nation's prosperity. So thought and felt members of the Convention at Annapolis—a Convention that proved a failure in a degree, inasmuch as only five of the thirteen states were represented. They adjourned after a brief session, first recommending the several states to call another Convention in May following; and performing the momentous service of preparing a letter to the General Congress, in which the defects of the Articles of Confederation were set forth.

In February following, the Congress took the proceedings of the Convention into consideration, and recommended a meeting of delegates from the several states, to be held at Philadelphia on the second Monday in the ensuing May; not, however, for the regulation of commerce, but really for the reconstruction of the national government.³



WILLIAM JACKSON.

Virginia, was chosen president of the Convention, and William Jackson secretary.³ On

On the 4th of July, 1776, a Congress of representatives of thirteen colonies met in the great room of the State House in Philadelphia, since known as Independence Hall, and declared those colonies free and independent states. On Monday, the 14th of May, 1787, a Congress of representatives of the same colonies, then become free and independent states, assembled in the same hall for the purpose of establishing the validity and power of that declaration, by dissolving the inefficient political League of the states, and constituting the inhabitants of all the states one great and indissoluble nation.

There were few delegates present on the appointed day of meeting; and it was not until the 25th that representatives from seven states (the prescribed quorum) appeared. Then Washington, a delegate from

should act, not on the states, but directly on individuals, and vest in Congress full power to carry its laws into effect." This pamphlet is entitled, "Sketches of American Policy." Thus thinking men all lamented the weakness of the general government, and foresaw the dangers of the doctrine of supreme state sovereignty, which has wrought so much mischief in our day.

¹ The following are the names of the representatives: *New York*—Alexander Hamilton, Egbert Benson; *New Jersey*—Abraham Clark, William C. Houston; *Pennsylvania*—Tench Coxe, James Schureman; *Delaware*—George Read, John Dickinson, Richard Bassett; *Virginia*—Edmund Randolph, James Madison, Jr., St. George Tucker.

² This action of the Congress took place on the 21st of February, 1776. The resolution (which was submitted by the delegates from Massachusetts) was as follows:

Resolved, That in the opinion of Congress it is expedient that, on the second Monday in May next, a Convention of Delegates, who shall have been appointed by the several states, be held at Philadelphia, for the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation, and reporting to Congress and the several Legislatures such alterations and provisions therein as shall, when agreed to in Congress and confirmed by the states, render the Federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of government and the preservation of the Union.

³ William Jackson was an eminent patriot, and one of Washington's most intimate personal friends. He entered the Continental army at the age of sixteen years, and served his country faithfully during the whole war for independence. He became an aid to the commander-in-chief, with the rank of major. In 1781 he accompanied his friend, Colonel John Laurens, on a diplomatic mission to France. At the close of the war he visited Europe, and on his return was appointed, on the nomination of Washington, secretary to the Convention that formed the National Consti-

William Jackson and Edmund Randolph.

Members of the Convention.

Attitude of Rhode Island.

the 28th, Edmund Randolph, of Virginia,¹ at the request of his colleagues, opened the business of the Convention in a carefully considered speech, in which he pointed out the serious defects in the *Articles of Confederation*, illustrated their utter inadequacy to secure the dignity, peace, and safety of the republic, and asserted the absolute necessity of a more energetic government. At the close of his speech he offered to the Convention fifteen resolutions, in which were embodied the leading principles whereon to form a new government according to his views.

I do not propose to consider in detail, nor even in a synoptical manner, the proceedings of that Convention, which occupied several hours each day for four months. I will merely direct attention to the really great men who composed it, and the measures that were adopted, and leave the reader to seek in other sources the interesting information concerning the events in the daily sessions of that remarkable congress of wise men, whose efforts bore noble fruit for the political sustenance of mankind.²

The venerable Dr. Franklin, then near the close of a long and useful life, was the most conspicuous member of that Convention next to Washington. Thirty-three years before he had elaborated a plan of union for the colonies, to which neither the crown nor the provinces would listen;³ now he came to revive that plan, with full hope of success. Johnson, Rutledge, and Dickinson had been members of the Stamp-act Con-

tution. His private record of the proceedings and debates is in the hands of his family. He became the private secretary of President Washington, and accompanied him on his tour through the Southern States in 1791. He held the office of surveyor of the port of Philadelphia and inspector of customs there until removed, for political causes, by Mr. Jefferson. He then started a daily newspaper, called "The Political and Commercial Register."

Major Jackson lived a life of unswerving honor, and at his death was buried in Christ Church yard, on Fifth Street, Philadelphia. A plain slab about three feet high marks the spot, and bears the following inscription: "Sacred to the memory of Major William Jackson: born March the 9th, 1759; departed this life December the 17th, 1823. Also to Elizabeth Willing, his relict: born March the 27th, 1769; departed this life August the 5th, 1868." Mrs. Jackson was ninety years of age at the time of her death.

I am indebted to Miss Ann Willing Jackson, daughter of Major Jackson, for the portrait given on the preceding page. It is copied from a miniature in her possession, painted by Trumbull. She also has a silhouette profile of her father, cut by Mrs. Mayo, of Richmond, Virginia, the mother of the late Mrs. General Winfield Scott.

The signature of Secretary Jackson is with those of the other signers of the Constitution, on page 32.

¹ Edmund Randolph was a son of an attorney general of Virginia before the Revolution. He was an eminent lawyer, and a warm patriot throughout the old war for independence. He was a member of the Continental Congress from 1779 until 1782. He was active in the Convention that formed the Constitution. He was elected Governor of Virginia in 1788, and Washington chose him for his first attorney general of the United States in 1789. He was secretary of state in 1794, but, in consequence of being engaged in an intrigue with the French minister, he retired from public life. He died in December, 1813.

² Rhode Island was not represented in the Convention. Ignorant and unprincipled men happened to control the Assembly of the state at that time, and they refused to elect delegates to the Convention. But some of the best and most influential men in Rhode Island joined in sending a letter to the Convention, in which they expressed their cordial sympathy with the objects of the movement, and promised their acquiescence in whatsoever measures the majority might adopt. The following were the names of the delegates from the several states:

- New Hampshire*.—John Langdon, John Pickering, Nicholas Gilman, and Benjamin West.
- Massachusetts*.—Francis Dana, Elbridge Gerry, Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King, and Caleb Strong.
- Connecticut*.—William Samuel Johnson, Roger Sherman, and Oliver Ellsworth.
- New York*.—Robert Yates, John Lansing, Jr., and Alexander Hamilton.
- New Jersey*.—David Brearley, William Churchill Houston, William Paterson, John Neilsen, William Livingston, Abraham Clark, and Jonathan Dayton.
- Pennsylvania*.—Thomas Mifflin, Robert Morris, George Clymer, Jared Ingersoll, Thomas Fitzsimmons, James Wilson, Gouverneur Morris, and Benjamin Franklin.
- Delaware*.—George Read, Gunning Bedford, Jr., John Dickinson, Richard Bassett, and Jacob Brown.
- Maryland*.—James M'Henry, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, Daniel Carroll, John Francis Mercer, and Luther Martin.
- Virginia*.—George Washington, Patrick Henry, Edmund Randolph, John Blair, James Madison, Jr., George Mason, and George Wythe. Patrick Henry having declined his appointment, James M'Clure was nominated to supply his place.
- North Carolina*.—Richard Caswell, Alexander Martin, William Richardson Davie, Richard Dobbs Spaight, and Willie Jones. Richard Caswell having resigned, William Blount was appointed as deputy in his place. Willie Jones having also declined his appointment, his place was supplied by Hugh Williamson.
- South Carolina*.—John Rutledge, Charles Pinckney, Charles C. Pinckney, and Pierce Butler.
- Georgia*.—William Few, Abraham Baldwin, William Pierce, George Walton, William Houston, and Nathaniel Pendleton.

³ "The Assemblies did not adopt it," said Franklin, "as they all thought there was too much prerogative in it; and in England it was judged to have too much of the democratic."



JACKSON'S MONUMENT.

Leading Members of the Convention.	Its Objects.	Its Proceedings.	Gouverneur Morris.
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gress in 1765, and the last two had been compatriots of Washington in the Congress of 1774. Livingston, Sherman, Read, and Wythe had shared the same honors. The last two, with Franklin, Sherman, Gerry, Clymer, Morris, and Wilson, had signed the Declaration of Independence. The Continental army was represented by Washington, Mifflin, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, and Hamilton. The younger members, who had become conspicuous in public life after the Declaration of Independence, were Hamilton, Madison, and Edmund Randolph. The latter was then Governor of Virginia, having succeeded Patrick Henry, the "trumpet of sedition" when the states were British provinces.

The Convention was marked by long and warm debates, and with dignity suited to the occasion. The most prominent speakers were King, Gerry, and Gorham, of Massachusetts; Hamilton and Lansing, of New York; Ellsworth, Johnson, and Sherman, of Connecticut; Paterson, of New Jersey; Franklin, Wilson, and Morris, of Pennsylvania; Dickinson, of Delaware; Martin, of Maryland; Randolph, Mason, and Madison, of Virginia; Williamson, of North Carolina, and the Pinckneys, of South Carolina.

Such were the men, all conspicuous in the history of the republic, who assembled for the purpose of laying the broad foundations of a nation. They had scarcely a precedent in history for their guide. The great political maxim established by the Revolution was, that the original residence of all human sovereignty is in **THE PEOPLE**: it was for these founders of a great state to parcel out from the several commonwealths of which the new nation was composed, so much of their restricted power as the people of the several states should be willing to dismiss from their local political institutions, in making a strong and harmonious republic that should be at the same time harmless toward reserved state rights. This was the great problem to be solved. "At that time," says a recent writer, "the world had witnessed no such spectacle as that of the deputies of a nation, chosen by the free action of great communities, and assembled for the purpose of thoroughly reforming its Constitution, by the exercise and with the authority of the national will. All that had been done, both in ancient and in modern times, in forming, moulding, or modifying constitutions of government, bore little resemblance to the present undertaking of the states of America. Neither among the Greeks nor the Romans was there a precedent, and scarcely an analogy."¹

Randolph suggested the chief business of the Convention in his proposition "that a NATIONAL government ought to be established, consisting of a supreme legislative, executive, and judiciary." Upon this broad proposition all future action was based; and they had not proceeded far before it was clearly perceived that the *Articles of Confederation* were too radically defective to be the basis of a stable government. Therefore, instead of trying to amend them, the Convention went diligently at work to form an entirely new Constitution. In this they made slow progress, opinions were so conflicting. Plans and amendments were offered, and freely discussed. Day after day, and week after week, the debates continued, sometimes with great courtesy, and sometimes with great acrimony, until the 10th of September, when all plans and amendments which had been adopted by the Convention were placed in the hands of a committee for revision and arrangement.² By



¹ Curtis's *History of the Origin, Formation, and Adoption of the Constitution of the United States*.

² This committee, appointed on the 6th, consisted of Messrs. Madison, Hamilton, King, Johnson, and Gouverneur Morris. They were directed to "revise the style of, and arrange, the articles agreed to by the House." They placed the matter in the hands of Gouverneur Morris for the purpose. In language and general arrangement, the National Constitution was the work of that eminent man.*

* Gouverneur Morris was born near the Westchester shore of the Harlem River, New York, at the close of January, 1752. He was educated at King's (now Columbia) College, in the city of New York, studied law under the eminent

Signing the Constitution. Hesitation on the part of some. Patriotic Course of Franklin, Hamilton, and others.

this committee a Constitution was reported to the Convention. It was taken up and considered clause by clause, discussed, slightly amended, and then engrossed. On the 15th it was agreed to by the delegates of all the states present. On the 17th a fair copy on parchment was brought in to receive the signatures of the members—an act far more important in all its bearings than the signing of the Declaration of Independence, eleven years before.¹

In the performance of that act, as in the former, there was some hesitation on the part of a few. There had been serious differences of opinion during the whole session—so serious that at times there seemed a probability that the Convention would be an utter failure. There were still serious differences of opinion when the instrument was adopted, and delicate questions arose about signing it. A large majority of the members wished it to go forth to the people, not only as the act of the Convention collectively, but with the individual sanction and signature of each delegate. This was the desire of Dr. Franklin, and, with pleasant words, he endeavored to allay all irritation and bring about such a result. It was finally agreed, on the suggestion of Gouverneur Morris, that it might be signed, without implying personal sanction, in these closing words: "Done by consent of the states present. In testimony whereof, we have subscribed," etc.

Hamilton patriotically seconded the efforts of Franklin, notwithstanding the instrument did not have his approval, because it did not give power enough to the national government. "No man's ideas," he said, "are more remote from the plan than my own; but is it possible to deliberate between anarchy and confusion on one side, and the chance of good on the other?"

The appeals of Franklin and Hamilton, and the example of Madison and Pinckney, secured the signatures of several dissatisfied members; and all present, excepting Mason and Randolph, of Virginia,² and Gerry, of Massachusetts,³ signed the Constitution.⁴ While this important work was in progress, Franklin looked toward the chair occupied by Washington, at the back of which a sun was painted, and observed, "I have often and often, in the course of the session, and the vicissitudes of my hopes and fears as to its issue, looked at that sun behind the President without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting: at length I have the happiness to know that it is a rising sun."

The Convention, by a carefully worded resolution, recommended the Congress to lay the new Constitution before the *people* (not the *states*), and ask them, *the source of all*

William Smith, of that city, and was licensed to practice in 1771. He was an active patriot during the war, serving in the Continental Congress, on committees of safety, etc. He resided some time in Philadelphia. He was sent abroad on a diplomatic mission, and resided for a while in Paris. He afterward went to London on public business, and was finally appointed minister plenipotentiary at the French Court. He returned to America in 1798, was elected to the Senate of the United States, and was active in public and private life until his death in 1816.

¹ For a full account in detail of all the proceedings in relation to the Constitution, see the *History of the Origin, Formation, and Adoption of the Constitution of the United States, with Notices of its Principal Framers*, by George Ticknor Curtis, in two volumes: New York, Harper & Brothers.

² George Mason was Washington's neighbor and early personal friend. He was a statesman of the first order among those of his associates in Virginia, and a thorough republican. He was the framer of the Constitution of Virginia, and was active in the Convention that formed the National Constitution. He was so imbued with the state pride for which Virginians have always been noted, that he would not agree to that Constitution because it did not recognize individual state sovereignty—the very rock on which the new republic was then in danger of being wrecked. In conjunction with Patrick Henry, he opposed its adoption in the Virginia Convention, professing to believe that it would be the instrument for converting the government into a monarchy. He died at his seat on the Potomac (Gunston Hall) in the autumn of 1792, at the age of sixty-seven years.

³ We shall have occasion to consider the public character of Mr. Gerry hereafter. He was Vice-President of the United States in 1812.

⁴ The names of the delegates have been given in note 2, page 27. The names of those who signed the Constitution are given in our *fac-similes* of their signatures, which have been engraved from the original parchment in the State Department at Washington. It will be seen that Alexander Hamilton's name stands alone. His colleagues from New York (Yates and Lansing) had left the Convention in disgust on the 1st of July, and New York was considered not officially represented. But Hamilton, who had not swerved from duty, was there. The weight of his name was important, and in the place that should have been filled with the names of delegates from his state was recited, "Mr. Hamilton, of New York." It will be observed that the hand-writing of all seems defective, the lines appearing irregular. This is, owing to the parchment on which their names are written, which did not receive the ink as freely as paper would have done. These irregularities have all been carefully copied, so as to give a perfect *fac-simile* of the originals.

G. Washington - Presidⁿ
and Deputy from Virginia
{ John Langdon
Nicholas G. Mans }
{ Nathaniel Gorham
Rufus King
W^m Sam^l Johnson }
{ Roger Sherman
Alexander Hamilton
W^m. Livingston }
{ David Brearley
W^m Paterson
Jona: Dayton }
{ Franklin
Thomas Mifflin
Robt Morris }₄

Resolutions sent to the State Legislatures.

Signatures to the National Constitution.

sovereignty, to ratify or reject it. The views of the great majority of the members of Congress were concurrent, and on the 28th of September that body

"Resolved unanimously, That the said report [of the Convention to the Congress], with the resolutions and letters accompanying the same, be transmitted to the several

Lea Plymmer
Thos. Sims Simons
 Jared Ingersoll
 James Wilson
 Gowd Woods

Geo. Keed
Gunning Bedford junr
John Dickinson
Richard Bassett
Jaco. Broom
James M. Henry

Wm. Thos. Jenifer
Dart. Carroll
John Blair -
James Madison Jr.

Conventions of the People.

The Federalist.

Signatures to the National Constitution.

Legislatures, in order to be submitted to a Convention of Delegates chosen in each state BY THE PEOPLE THEREOF, in conformity to the resolves of the Convention made and provided in that case."

Conventions of the *people* were accordingly held in the several states to consider the Constitution. Long and stirring debates occurred in these Conventions, and at every public gathering and private hearth-stone in the land. Hamilton, Madison, Jay, and others fed the public understanding with able essays on government and in favor of the new Constitution.¹ That instrument was read and discussed every where. But it

Wm Blount
 Richd Doob Spaight.
 Wm Williamson
 J. Rutledge
 Charles Cotesworth Pinckney
 Charles Pinckney
 Piers Dutton
 William Few
 Abr Baldwin
 William Jackson

SIGNATURES TO THE CONSTITUTION.

¹The essays of Hamilton, Madison, and Jay were published under the general title of *The Federalist*. It was originally designed to comprise the series within twenty, or, at most, twenty-five numbers, but they extended to eighty-five. Of these Hamilton wrote sixty-five. The first number, written by Hamilton in the cabin of a Hudson River sloop, was

Ratification of the Constitution.	Opposition to it.	The family and state Pride of the Virginians.
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was nine months after its adoption by the Convention, before the people of nine states ratified it—that number being necessary to make it the organic law of the land. That ninth state was New Hampshire, and the momentous act of the people occurred on the 21st of June, 1788. The General Congress was then in session, and, on the 2d of July, adopted measures “for putting the said Constitution into operation.” They appointed the first Wednesday of the ensuing March as the day when the functions of the new government should commence their action. The people in the states that had ratified the Constitution chose their presidential electors in compliance with its provisions. These met on the first Wednesday in February, 1789, and elected George Washington chief magistrate of the new republic, and John Adams Vice-President. Washington was inaugurated on the 30th of April, and before the close of the year the inhabitants of all the states but one had ratified the National Constitution.¹

After earnest deliberation—after the free discussion of every principle of government involving state rights and state sovereignty—after a careful comparison of the advantages and disadvantages of a consolidated nation and the confederacy they had fairly tried, it was solemnly declared that “**WE, THE PEOPLE** of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general Welfare, and secure the blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America.”²

published on the 27th of October, 1787, a little more than a month after the adjournment of the National Convention. They were published four times a week in a New York daily paper. Of these essays Washington wrote to Hamilton in August, 1788: “When the transient circumstances and fugitive performances which attend this crisis shall have disappeared, that work [*The Federalist*] will merit the notice of posterity, because in it are candidly and ably discussed the principles of freedom and the topics of government, which will be always interesting to mankind, so long as they shall be connected in civil society.”

¹ That state was Rhode Island, which held out until the spring of 1790. The people in the several states ratified the Constitution in the following order: *Delaware*, December 7, 1787; *Pennsylvania*, December 12, 1787; *New Jersey*, December 18, 1787; *Georgia*, January 2, 1788; *Connecticut*, January 9, 1788; *Massachusetts*, February 6, 1788; *Maryland*, April 28, 1788; *South Carolina*, May 23, 1788; *New Hampshire*, June 21, 1788; *Virginia*, June 26, 1788; *New York*, July 26, 1788; *North Carolina*, November 21, 1788; *Rhode Island*, May 29, 1790. During the recess of Congress, in the autumn of 1789, President Washington visited the New England States. As Rhode Island yet remained a kind of foreign state, he avoided it.

² The Constitution was violently assailed by the “State Rights” or state sovereignty men—men who regarded allegiance to a state as paramount to that due to the national government. Their chief objection was that it destroyed (as it was intended to do) the alleged sovereignty of the several states, and constituted a consolidated nation. In Virginia, especially, such a result was looked upon by the proud aristocracy with great disfavor. Virginia was then the ruling state in the League, and her political power was swayed by a few families. These were exceedingly proud, and, down to the breaking out of the war for independence, they looked with disdain upon the people of the other colonies.* This feeling was somewhat modified by the operations of the war, and new men were found at the helm of the vessel of state. Yet much of the old pride remained, and the leading Virginians, with a few honorable exceptions, could not bear the thought of having the “Old Dominion,” as they were proud to call the commonwealth, stripped of her independent sovereignty. The new leaders seized upon this dominant state pride and made it subservient to their wishes. Patrick Henry violently denounced the Constitution because of its destructive effects upon state sovereignty. He clearly understood its character when, with a loud voice, in the Virginia Convention, he demanded, “Who authorized the Convention to speak the language ‘*We, the people,*’ instead of ‘*We, the states*’? Even from that illustrious man who saved us by his valor, I would have a reason for his conduct.” George Mason, in the same Convention, denounced the Constitution because, as he asserted, it “changed the confederation of states into a consolidation, and would annihilate the state governments.”

The opposition in several other states was very powerful, for various reasons, and the Constitution and the friends of the Constitution were assailed with the most outrageous misrepresentations. Of the opponents in Virginia Washington wrote: “Their strength, as well as those of the same class in other states, seems to lie in misrepresentation, and a desire to inflame the passions and alarm the fears by noisy declamation, rather than to convince the understanding by sound arguments, or fair and impartial statements. Baffled in their attacks upon the Constitution, they have attempted to vilify and debase the characters who formed it, but I trust they will not succeed.”

The papers, by Colonel Byrd (who was a member of the Colonial Council), above referred to, afford a glimpse of the sense of superiority to all the other colonists entertained by the leading families in Virginia, which was always the bane of progress and national feeling, and made large numbers of the politicians of that state disunionists from the beginning. In these papers the New Englanders were spoken of as “a puritanical sect, with pharisaical peculiarities in their worship and behavior.” Trade was an unfit calling, and a trade eluding laws, though pronounced void, was justly regarded as demoralizing. Such, they charged, was much of the trade of the Eastern provinces. The dwellers of New York had not more favor. The Dutch were also traders—a “slippery people”—intruders on Virginia—encroachers and reformers. New Jersey, in a religious aspect, was not less obnoxious, peopled by “a swarm of Scots Quakers, who were not tolerated to exercise the gifts of the spirit in their own country;” by “Anabaptists,” too, and some “Swedes.” The merits of Penn were equivocal—he was not immaculate; but, though “Quakers had flocked to Pennsylvania in shoals,” they had the virtues of “diligence and frugality,” and the “prudence” which became non-combatants. Mary-

* See Byrd's *Westover Papers*.

With the birth of the nation on the 4th of March, 1789, the Continental Congress, the representative of the League, expired. Its history is one of the most remarkable on record. It was first an almost spontaneous gathering of patriotic men, chosen by their fellow-citizens in a time of great perplexity, to consult upon the public good. They represented different provinces extending a thousand miles along the Atlantic coast, with interests as diversified as the climate and geography. With boldness unequalled and faith unexampled, they snatched the sceptre of rule over a vast dominion from imperial England, of whose monarch they were subjects, and assumed the functions of sovereignty by creating armies, issuing bills of credit, declaring the provinces free and independent states, negotiating treaties with foreign governments, and, finally, after eight long years of struggle, wringing from their former sovereign his acknowledgment of the independence of the states which they represented. The career of the Congress was meteor-like, and astonished the world with its brilliancy. It was also short. Like a half-developed giant exhausted by mighty efforts, it first exhibited lassitude, then decrepitude, and at last hopeless decay. Poor and weak, its services forgotten by those who should have been grateful for them, it lost the respect of all mankind, and died of political marasmus.

Out of its remains, phoenix-like, and in full vigor and grand proportions, arose a nation whose existence had been decreed by the will of true sovereignty—THE PEOPLE—and whose perpetuity depends upon that will. It immediately arrested the profound attention of the civilized world. It was seen that its commerce, diplomacy, and dignity were no longer exposed to neglect by thirteen distinct and clashing legislative bodies, but were guarded by a central power of wonderful energy. The prophecy of Bishop Berkeley was on the eve of fulfillment.¹ England, France, Spain, and Holland placed their representatives at the seat of the new government, and the world acknowledged that the new-born nation was a power—positive, tangible, indubitable.

land was a commodious retreat for Papists, for whom "England was too hot," and to whom, as a neighbor, Virginia was a little cold. The Carolinas, left "derelict by the French and Spaniards," were the regions of pines and serpents—dismal in their swamps, and deadly in their malaria. "Thus, in the eyes of her favored few," says a late writer, "Virginia was the paradise of the New World." For a farther illustration of this subject, see *History of the Republic of the United States of America, as traced in the Writings of Alexander Hamilton and his Contemporaries*, by John C. Hamilton.

¹ When inspired with his transatlantic mission, Bishop Berkeley wrote his six "Verses on the Prospect of Planting Arts and Learning in America," in which he predicted the rising greatness of the New World, and employed the oft-quoted line,

"Westward the course of empire takes its way."



Foundations of Government laid by the People.

They comprehend the Value of the Great Wilderness.

CHAPTER II.

"Old burial-places, once sacred, are plundered,
And thickly with bones is the fallow field sown;
The bond of confederate tribes has been sundered—
The long council hall of the brave overthrown.
The Sac and Miami bowmen no longer
Preserve at the door-posts anslumbering guard;
We fought, but the pale-browed invaders were stronger:
Our knife-blades too blunt, and their bosoms too hard."

W. B. C. HOWARD.



We have seen the development of weak, isolated commonwealths into a powerful, consolidated nation, and are now to observe the growth of that nation in resources and strength until, by an exhibition of its powers in vindication of its rights before the world, it became absolutely independent, and was respected accordingly.

That assertion and vindication were made by the moral forces of legislation and the patriotism of the people, co-working with the material forces of army and navy. In this view is involved the whole drama of the contest known in history as the War of 1812, or the Second Struggle for Independence—a drama, many of whose characters and incidents appear upon the stage simultaneously with the persons and events exhibited in the preceding chapter. Looking back from the summer of 1812, when war against Great Britain was formally declared, the causes of the conflict appear both remote and near. The war actually began years before the President proclaimed the appeal to arms.

While statesmen and politicians were arranging the machinery of government, the people were laying broad and deep the visible foundations of the state, in the establishment of material interests and the shaping of institutions consonant with the new order of things, and essential to social and political prosperity. They had already begun to comprehend the hidden resources and immense value of the vast country within the treaty limits of the United States westward of the Alleghany Mountains. They had already obtained prophetic glimpses of a future civilization that should flourish in the fertile regions watered by the streams whose springs are in those lofty hills that stretch, parallel with the Atlantic, from the Lakes almost to the Gulf, across fourteen degrees of latitude. Pioneers had gone over the grand hills and sent up the smoke of their cabin fires from many a fertile valley irrigated by the tributaries of the Ohio and Mississippi. Already they had learned to regard the Father of Waters as a great aqueous highway for an immense inland commerce soon to be created, and had begun to urge the supreme authority of the land to treat with Spain for its free navigation. Already peace and friendship with the savage tribes on the remote frontiers of civilization had been promised by treaties made upon principles of justice and not fashioned by the ethics of the sword.¹

¹ Necessity, if not conscience, recommended this policy, for at the close of the Revolution the "regular army" had been reduced to less than seven hundred men, and no officer was retained above the rank of captain. This force was soon still farther reduced to twenty-five men to guard the military stores at Pittsburg, and fifty-five to perform military duty at West Point and other magazines.

Peace was negotiated with most of the tribes which had taken part against the United States in the late war. A

Indian Treaties.	Anti-slavery Movements.	The Ordinance of 1787.	First Settlements in Ohio.
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By treaty with the chief tribes between the Ohio River and the Great Lakes, and the cession by Virginia¹ to the United States of all claims to lands in that region, the general government became absolute possessor of a vast country, out of which several flourishing states have since been formed.²

While the National Convention was in session at Philadelphia in the summer of 1787, the Continental Congress, sitting at New York, feeble and dying, with only eight states represented, took up and disposed of in a satisfactory manner a subject second only in importance to that under discussion in the capital of Pennsylvania. They adopted,³ by unanimous vote, "An Ordinance for the government of the Territory of the United States northwest of the Ohio."⁴ In anticipation of this action, extensive surveys had been made in the new territory. Soon after the passage of the ordinance above mentioned, a sale of five millions of acres, extending along the Ohio from the Muskingum to the Sciota, were sold to the "Ohio Company," which was composed of citizens of New England, many of whom had been officers of the Continental army.⁴ A similar sale was made to John Cleve Symmes, of New Jersey, for two millions of acres, in the rich and beautiful region between the Great and Little Miami Rivers, including the site of Cincinnati.

These were the first steps taken toward the settlement of the Northwestern Territory, in which occurred so many of the important events of the War of 1812. Hitherto New England emigration had been chiefly to Vermont, Northern New Hampshire, and the Territory of Maine. Now it poured, in a vast and continuous stream, into the Ohio country. General Rufus Putnam, at the head of a colony from Massachusetts, founded a settlement⁵ (the first, of Europeans, in all Ohio, if we except the Moravian missionary stations⁶) at the mouth of the Muskingum River, and named it Marietta, in honor of

treaty was concluded at Fort Stanwix (now Rome, New York) in October, 1784, with the Six Nations. Another was concluded at Fort M'Intosh in January, 1785, with the Wyandots, Delawares, Chippewas, and Ottawas; and another with the Cherokees, at Hopewell, in November the same year. Dissatisfaction having arisen concerning remuneration for lands, two new treaties were made at Fort Harmar, on the Muskingum, Ohio, at the beginning of 1789, by which allowances were made for ceded lands. By treaty, the Indian titles to lands extending along the northern bank of the Ohio and a considerable distance inland, as far west as the Wabash River, were extinguished. This tract comprised about seventeen millions of acres.

¹ The deed of cession, signed by Virginia commissioners, with Thomas Jefferson at their head, was executed on the first day of March, 1784. It stipulated that the territory ceded should be laid out and formed into states, not less than one hundred nor more than one hundred and fifty miles square; that the states so formed should be "distinct republican states," and admitted as members of the National Union, having the same rights of sovereignty, etc., as the older states.

After the cession was executed the Congress referred the matter to a committee, of which Mr. Jefferson was chairman. That committee reported an ordinance containing a plan for the government of the whole Western territory north and south of the Ohio, from the thirty-first degree of north latitude to the northern boundary of the United States, it being supposed that other states owning territory south of the Ohio would follow the example of Virginia. The plan proposed to divide the great Territory into seventeen states, and among the conditions was the remarkable one "that, after the year 1800, there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the said states, other than in the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted." This provision did not get the vote of nine states, the number necessary to adopt it. New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, with the four New England States, voted for it; North Carolina was divided; Delaware and Georgia were unrepresented; Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina voted against it. (See Journal of Congress, April 19, 1784.) After expunging this proviso the report was adopted, but the subject was not definitely acted upon.

² Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin.

³ This ordinance was reported by a committee, of which Mr. Dane, of Massachusetts, was chairman. It contained Mr. Jefferson's anti-slavery proviso, with a clause relative to the rendition of fugitive slaves, similar in form to the one incorporated in the National Constitution a few weeks later.

⁴ This company was formed in Boston, and Rev. Manasseh Cutler, and Winthrop Sargent were the authorized agents of the association to make the contract with the United States Treasury Board. Among the associates were Generals Parsons and Rufus Putnam, of Connecticut; General Varnum and Commodore Whipple, of Rhode Island; General Tupper, of Massachusetts; and men of lesser note in public life.

⁵ Putnam and his party landed on the site of Marietta on the 7th of April, 1788. The governor of the territory had not yet arrived, so they established temporary laws for their own government. These were published by being written and nailed to a tree. Return J. Meigs, afterward governor of the state, was appointed to administer the laws. Such was the beginning of government in the State of Ohio.

⁶ These devoted missionaries were the first white inhabitants who took up their abode within the present limits of the State of Ohio. The Rev. John Frederick Post and Rev. John Heckewelder had penetrated the wilderness in this direction before the commencement of the Revolution. Their first visit was as early as 1761. Others followed, and they established three stations, or villages of Indian converts, on the Tuscarawas River, within the limits of the present county of that name. These were named Schoenbrun, Gnadenhutzen, and Salem. The latter was near the present village of Port

Campus Martius and Fort Washington.

Miss Heckewelder.

General St. Clair.

Maria Antoinette, the queen of Louis the Sixteenth, of France. A stockade fort, called Campus Martius, was immediately commenced, as a protection against the hostile Indians.¹ In the autumn of the same year a party of settlers seated themselves upon Symmes's purchase, and founded Columbia, near the mouth of the Little Miami. Fort Washington was soon afterward built a short distance below, on the site of Cincinnati.



CAMPUS MARTIUS.

It has been estimated that within the years 1788 and 1789, full twenty thousand men, women, and children went down the Ohio

in boats, to become settlers on its banks. Since then, how wonderful has been the growth of empire beyond the Alleghanies!

Soon after the organization of the Northwestern Territory, Major General Arthur St. Clair,² an officer in the old French War, and in the Continental army during the Revolution, was appointed its governor by the Congress, of which body he was then president. He accepted the position with reluctance. "The office of governor was in a great measure forced on me," he said, in a letter to a friend.³ Yet, ever ready to go where duty to his country called him, he proceeded to the Territory in the summer of

Washington. There Heckewelder resided for some time, and there his daughter Johanna Maria was born, on the 6th of April, 1781. She was the first white child born in Ohio, and is yet living (1867) at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in full possession of her mental faculties. She has been deaf for a number of years, and uses a slate in conversation. Her hand is firm, and she writes with vigor, as her signature, carefully copied in the engraving, made at the close of 1809, attests. It was appended to an autograph note to the writer. The portrait was taken by the Daguerrean process at that time. In a diary kept by the younger pupil of the Bethlehem boarding-school, where Miss Heckewelder was educated, under date of December 23, 1788



(the year when Marietta was founded), occurs the following sentence: "Little Miss Polly Heckewelder's papa returned from Fort Pitt, which occasioned her and us great joy." See *Bethlehem Souvenir*, 1858, p. 67.

¹ This fort was a regular parallelogram, with an exterior line of seven hundred and twenty feet. There was a strong block-house at each corner, surmounted by a tower and sentry-box. Between them were dwelling-houses. At the outer corner of each block-house was a bastion, standing on four stout timbers. There were port-holes for musketry and artillery. These buildings were all made of sawed timbers. Twenty feet in advance of these was a row of very strong and large pickets,

Johanna Maria Heckewelder.

with gateways through them, and a few feet outside of these was placed a row of *abatis*.

² Arthur St. Clair was a native of Edinburg, in Scotland, where he was born in 1734. He came to America with Admiral Boscawen in 1760, and served under Wolfe as a lieutenant. After the peace in 1763 he was placed in command of Fort Ligonier, in Pennsylvania. When the Revolution broke out he espoused the patriot cause, and was appointed a colonel in the Continental army in January, 1776. He was active most of the time during that war, and after its close settled in Pennsylvania. He was President of the Continental Congress in 1787, and the following year was appointed governor of the newly-organized Northwestern Territory. His services in that region are recorded in the text. He survived his misfortunes there almost a quarter of a century, and then died, in poverty, at Laurel Hill, in Western Pennsylvania, in August, 1818, at the age of eighty-four years.

³ William B. Giles, a member of Congress from Virginia.

Temper of the Western Indians. The British tampering with them. Lord Dorchester. Frontier Troops and Posts.



Guy Carleton

1788, and took up his abode in Campus Martius,* with Winthrop Sargent as secretary or deputy, who acted as chief magistrate during the absence of the governor.

Winthrop Sargent

SIGNATURE OF WINTHROP SARGENT.

St. Clair at once instituted inquiries, in accordance with his instructions, concerning the temper of the Indians in the Territory. They were known to be exceedingly uneasy, and sometimes in frowning moods; and the tribes on the Wabash, numbering almost two thousand warriors, who had not been parties to any of the treaties, were decidedly hostile. They continued to make predatory incursions into the Kentucky settlements, notwithstanding chastisements received at the hands of General George Rogers Clarke, the "father of the Northwest," as he has been called; and they were in turn invaded and scourged by bands of retaliating Kentuckians. These expeditions deepened the hostile feeling, and gave strength and fierceness to both parties when, in after years, they met in battle.

It soon became evident that all the tribes in the Territory, numbering full twenty thousand souls, were tampered with by British emissaries, sent out from the frontier forts, which had not been given up to the United States in compliance with treaty stipulations. Sir John Johnson (son of Sir William, of the Mohawk Valley, and the implacable enemy of the United States¹) was the Inspector General of Indian Affairs in America, and had great influence over the savages; and Lord Dorchester (formerly Sir Guy Carleton) was again governor general of those provinces,² and, by speeches at Quebec and Montreal, directly instigated the savages the United States, and treated the new republic with ill-concealed contempt, was preparing the way for an effort to reduce the members of the League to colonial vassalage.

Dorchester

The Confederacy was but feebly prepared to meet hostilities on their northwestern frontier. The military force at the time the Territory was formed consisted of only about six hundred men, commanded by Brigadier General Harmar.³ Of these there were two companies of artillery, formed of volunteers who enlisted to put down Shays's Rebellion in Massachusetts. The frontier military stations were Pittsburg, at the forks of the Ohio, Fort McIntosh, on Beaver Creek, and Fort Franklin, on French Creek, near old Fort Venango, in Pennsylvania; Fort Harmar, at the mouth of the Mus-

¹ Sir John was the heir to the title and fortune of Sir William, and was at the head of the Loyalists in the Mohawk Valley at the beginning of the Revolution. He had lived some time in England, and returned to settle in Canada in 1785. He had suffered in person and estate at the hands of the republicans, having been expelled from his home, his property confiscated, and his family exiled. These circumstances made him a bitter and relentless foe, and ready to strike a blow of retaliation. His losses were made up by the British government by grants of land. He died at Montreal in 1830, at the age of eighty-eight years. For a detailed account of his career during the old war for independence, see Lossing's *Field-Book of the Revolution*, vol. 1.

² Sir Guy Carleton was Governor of Canada when the old war for independence broke out, and continued there until its close. He was acquainted with all the affairs of the Indians, and had great influence over them.

³ Appointed brigadier general on the 31st of July, 1787.



FORT HARMAR.

kingum River; Fort Steuben, on the Ohio River, now Jeffersonville, opposite Louisville; and Fort Vincennes, on the Wabash River.

Early in 1789^a Governor St. Clair held a council at Fort Harmar¹ with * January 9. chiefs and sachems of the Six Nations. He also held a council with the leading men of the Wyandots, Delawares, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawatomies, and Sacs. With all these representatives of thousands of Indians, scattered over the country from the Mohawk Valley to that of the Wabash, he made treaties, when old agreements were confirmed, and remunerations and boundaries were specified. The Six Nations (or, rather, five of the six nations, for the Mohawks, who were in Canada, were not represented) were faithful to the treaty; but the great body of the others, influenced by British emissaries and unscrupulous traders, refused to acknowledge the validity of the treaty made by their warriors and rulers.² Within a few weeks after the council at Fort Harmar, parties of them were out upon the war-path on the frontiers of Virginia and Kentucky.

Nearer the Gulf, the Creeks and Cherokees, brought into immediate contact with the wily Spaniards in Florida and at New Orleans, who were already preparing seductive temptations to the settlers in the trans-Alleghany valleys to leave the American League and join fortunes with the children of Old Spain, became first uneasy, and at the time in question were assuming a hostile attitude. The Creeks, led by the talented McGillivray, a half-breed, whose father was a Scotchman, had formed a close alliance with the Spaniards, and through them might receive arms and other military supplies. In view of all these circumstances, the portentous cloud of a threatened general Indian war was gathering in the western horizon at the close of 1789.

¹ This fort was commenced in the autumn of 1785, by a detachment of United States troops under the command of Major John Doughty. It was on the right bank of the Muskingum, at its junction with the Ohio, and was named in honor of Colonel Josiah Harmar, to whose regiment Major Doughty's corps was attached. It was the first military post of the kind erected within the limits of Ohio. The outlines formed a regular pentagon, embracing about three fourths of an acre. United States troops occupied it until 1790, when they left it to construct and occupy Fort Washington, on the site of Cincinnati. During the Indian wars that succeeded it was occupied by a few troops, and was finally abandoned after the treaty of Greenville in 1795.

² In the great council at Fort Greenville in 1795, Little Turtle, the most active of the chiefs in the Northwest, gave the following reason for their refusal to comply with the treaties: "You have told me," he said, "that the present treaty should be founded upon that of Muskingum. I beg leave to observe to you that that treaty was effected altogether by the Six Nations, who seduced some of our young men to attend it, together with a few of the Chippewas, Wyandots, Delawares, Ottawas, and Pottawatomies. I beg leave to tell you that I am entirely ignorant of what was done at that treaty."

Yet more threatening was the aspect of affairs on the Western frontier in the spring of 1790. Serious trouble was evidently brewing. Major Hamtramck, a small Canadian Frenchman, and a spirited officer in the United States army, was in command of the military post at Vincennes, an important point on the Wabash,¹ surrounded by French families, whose long residence made them influential among the Indians. Many of the latter spoke their language, and some had embraced the Roman Catholic religion. Taking advantage of this intimate relationship, Hamtramck sent out Antoine Gamelin, with speeches to the Wabash and Miami Indians from Governor St. Clair, offering them peace and friendship. In the course of his tour Gamelin obtained positive evidence of the influence of the British at Detroit over the savage mind in the West. He traversed the country from Post Vincennes along the Wabash, and eastward to the Miami village, where the conjunction of the St. Mary's and St. Joseph's Rivers forms the Maumee, or Miami of the Lakes, at the present city of Fort Wayne, Indiana. He made speeches himself, and offered them St. Clair's; but he was every where met with the reply that they could do nothing definitely until they could hear from Detroit. "You invite us to stop our young men," said the Kickapoos. "It is impossible to do it, being constantly encouraged by the British." "We are all sensible of your speech, and pleased with it," said Blue Jacket, chief warrior of the Shawnoese; "but we can not give you an answer without hearing from our father at Detroit." "We can not give a definite answer without consulting the commandant at Detroit," said Le Gris, the great chief of the Miamis. "The English commandant at Detroit is our father since he threw down our French father," said the Shawnoese.² And so, on all occasions, they were unwilling to accept proffers of peace with the United States without first consulting the commandant at Detroit, with whom Johnson and Carleton were in constant communication. Instigated by these men, these Western tribes insisted on the establishment of the Ohio River as the boundary between the Indians and the United States, and would listen to no other terms.³

Hamtramck was so well satisfied of these machinations of the British that he assured Governor St. Clair that a permanent peace with the savages was an impossibility. The governor, meanwhile, had received accounts of the depredations of the Indians along the Ohio from the Falls (Louisville) to Pittsburg. They infested the banks in such numbers, waylaying boats and plundering and wounding the voyaging emigrants, that an utter cessation of the navigation of the river seemed inevitable.

The principal rendezvous of the marauders was near the mouth of the Scioto, on the north bank of the Ohio, and to that point two hundred and thirty Kentucky volunteers and one hundred regular troops were sent, under General Harmar. They assembled at Fort Washington,⁴ then not quite completed, and marched from thence to the Scioto.

¹ Vincennes was so named by the French traders, who established a trading-post there as early as 1780. The name is in honor of the Sieur de Vincennes, an officer sent to the Miamis as early as 1705, and who commanded the post on the Wabash, afterward called by his name. It was alternately in possession of the Americans and British during the Revolution, while the head-quarters of the latter were at Detroit. It is on the bank of the Wabash, one hundred miles from its mouth, and is the capital of Knox County, Indiana.

² Gamelin's Journal, cited by Dillon, in his *History of Indiana*, p. 226.

³ This curtailment of the boundaries of the United States, so as to prevent their control of the upper lakes and the valuable fur trade of the country around them, was a favorite scheme of British statesmen. It was even proposed as a *sine qua non*, at one time, by the British commissioners who negotiated the Treaty of Peace in 1814, that the Indians inhabiting a portion of the United States within the limits established by the Treaty of 1788 should be included as the allies of Great Britain in the projected pacification; and that definite boundaries should be settled for the Indian territory, upon a basis which would have operated to surrender to a number of Indians, not probably exceeding a few thousands, the rights of sovereignty as well as of soil, over nearly one third of the territorial dominions of the United States, inhabited by more than one hundred thousand of its citizens.*

⁴ Fort Washington was built on the site of a block-house erected by Ensign Luce within the limits of the present city of Cincinnati, which was first named Losantville by a pedantic settler, from the words *le os anti ville*, which he interpreted as meaning "the village opposite the mouth"—mouth of Licking River. Luce was at North Bend with a detachment of troops, charged with selecting a site for a block-house. Judge Symmes wished it to be built there, but Luce, according to the judge, was led to Cincinnati, as Losantville was then called, on account of his love for the beautiful wife of a settler, who went there to reside because of the attentions to her of the ensign at the Bend. Luce followed, and erected the

* See *American State Papers*, ix., 332 to 421, inclusive.

Fort Washington, on the Site of Cincinnati.

Harmar's Expedition against the Indians.

The Indians fled on their approach, and the expedition returned without accomplishing any thing.

A more formidable expedition, to penetrate the Miami country, was determined upon, and, at the close

of September,² Gen-
* 1790.

eral Harmar left Fort Washington with over four hundred troops,¹ and moved toward the heart of the hostile Indian country around the head waters of the Maumee. St. Clair, in obedience to instructions from President Washington, had previously sent a letter³



FORT WASHINGTON, ON THE SITE OF CINCINNATI.

to the British commandant at Detroit, courteously informing him⁴ that the expedition had no designs upon any possessions of the crown. ² September 10.

He added that he had every reason to expect, after such a candid explanation, that the

commandant would neither countenance nor assist the tribes in their hostilities. Of course this expectation was not

Jos. Harmar

realized.

Harmar reached the Maumee at the middle of October. As he approached an Indian town the inhabitants fled, leaving it to be burned by the invaders. Colonel Hardin, with some Kentucky volunteers and thirty regulars, was sent in pursuit. He fell into an ambuscade of one hundred Indians, under *Mish-i-kin-a-kea*, or Little Turtle (an eminent Miami chief), about eleven miles from the site of Fort Wayne, where the Goshen state road crosses the Eel River. The frightened militia fled without firing a gun, while the regulars stood firm until twenty-two of their number were slain. Captain Armstrong, who escaped, stood in mud and water up to his chin, and saw the savages dance in frantic joy because of their victory.

Harmar moved about two miles to Chillicothe⁵ and destroyed it; then, after being

block-house there; and in 1790 Major Doughty built Fort Washington on the same spot. It was a rude but strong structure, and stood upon the eastern boundary of the town as originally laid out, between the present Third and Fourth Streets, east of Eastern Row, now Broadway, which was then a "two-pole alley." The celebrated English writer and traveler, Mrs. Trollope, resided in Cincinnati for a while, and had a noted bazaar on the site of the fort. That work was composed of a number of strongly-built hewn-log cabins, a story and a half in height, arranged for soldiers' barracks. Some, better finished than the majority, were used by the officers. They formed a hollow square, inclosing about an acre of ground, with a strong block-house at each angle. One of these was Luce's. These were built of the timber from the ground on which the fort stood. In 1792 Congress reserved fifteen acres around it for the use of the garrison. In the autumn of 1790, Governor St. Clair arrived at Fort Washington, organized the County of Hamilton, and decreed that the little village of Cincinnati, commenced around the fort, should be the county seat. Thus commenced the Queen City of the West, as it has been called.

¹ These consisted of three battalions of Virginia militia, one battalion of Pennsylvania militia, one battalion of mounted light troops, and two battalions of regulars—in all, 1455. Of these, 329 were regulars.

² This has been mistaken for the present Chillicothe on the Scioto. Chillicothe was the name of one of the principal tribes of the Shawnee, and was a favorite name for a village. There were several of that name in the country of the Shawnee. There was Old Chillicothe, where Boone was a captive for some time. It was on the Little Miami, on the site of Xenia. There was another on the site of Westfall, in Pickaway County; and still another on the site of Frankfort, in Ross County. There was an Indian town of that name on the site of the present Chillicothe. All these were within the present limits of Ohio. It signified "the town," or principal one.

* October 21, 1796. menaced by the Indians, he turned his face toward Fort Washington.²

That night was a starry one, and Hardin, who was full of fight, proposed to Harmar a surprise of the Indians at the head of the Maumee, where they had a village on one side of the river and an encampment of warriors on the other side. Harmar reluctantly complied, and four hundred men were detached for the purpose.¹ Sixty of them were regulars, under Major Wyllys. They marched in three columns (the regulars in the centre), and pushed forward as rapidly as possible, hoping to fall upon the Indians before dawn. But it was after sunrise before they reached the bank of the Maumee. A plan of attack was soon arranged. Major Hall, with a detachment of militia, was to pass around the village at the bend of the Maumee, cross the St. Mary's and the St. Joseph's, gain the rear of the Indian encampment unobserved, and await an attack by the main body of the troops in front. These, consisting of Major M'Mullin's battalion, Major Fontaine's cavalry, and the regulars under Major Wyllys, were to cross the Maumee at and near the usual ford, and thus surround the savages. The game was spoiled by the imprudence of Major Hall, who fired prematurely upon a solitary Indian and alarmed the encampment. The startled Miamis were instantly seen flying

in different directions. The militia under M'Mullin and the cavalry under Fontaine, who had crossed the river, started in pursuit, in disobedience of orders, leaving the regulars under Wyllys, who had also crossed the Maumee, unsupported. The latter were attacked by Little Turtle and the main body of the Indians, and driven back with great slaughter. Richardville, a half-blood and successor to Little Turtle, who was in the battle, and who died at Fort Wayne in 1840, often asserted that the bodies of the slain were so numerous in the river at



THE MAUMEE FORD—PLACE OF HARMAR'S DEFEAT.

the ford that he could have crossed over the stream upon them dryshod.³

While this conflict was going on at the ford, M'Mullin and Fontaine, in connection with Hall, were skirmishing with parties of Indians a short distance up the St. Joseph's. Fontaine, with a number of his followers, fell at the head of his mounted militia, in making a charge. He was shot dead, and, falling from his horse, was immediately scalped. The remainder, with those under Hall and M'Mullin, fell back in confusion toward the ford of the Maumee, and followed the remnant of the regulars in their retreat. The Indians, having suffered severely, did not pursue.

General Harmar was informed of the disaster by a horseman who had outstripped the rest. A detachment of militia was immediately ordered to the assistance of the retreating parties; but such mortal fear had taken possession of these raw recruits that only thirty, willing to go, could be found among them. On his arrival at camp Hardin urged Harmar to proceed with his whole force to the Maumee. The latter,

* October 22. having lost all confidence in the militia, refused; and, as soon as preparations could be made, the whole army took up its march^b for Fort Wash-

¹ Harmar's halting-place was on Nine-mile Creek, a tributary of the Maumee, nine miles south of Fort Wayne.
² Statement of John P. Hedges, of Fort Wayne, to the author.

Scene of Harmar's Defeat.

Visit of the Author to the Places of Conflict.

Site of the Miami Village.

ington, which they reached on the 4th of November.¹

I visited the scene of the disaster at the Maumee Ford toward the close of September, 1860. I came up the Maumee Valley to Defiance on the night of the 24th, and, after visiting places of historic interest there the next morning (of which I shall hereafter write), I rode on to Fort Wayne upon the Toledo and Wabash Railway, a distance of forty-three miles. It was a delightful day, but the journey was very monotonous, because almost interminable forests covered the flat country over which we passed. I arrived

at the flourishing city of Fort Wayne, the shire town of Allen County, Indiana, late in the afternoon, and by twilight had visited the fords of the Maumee and St. Joseph's, made famous by the events of the 22d of October, 1790. I was accompanied by the Hon. F. P. Randall, the mayor of the city, who kindly offered his services as guide. We crossed the great bridge at the head of the Maumee, and rode first down that stream to the place yet known as "Harmar's Ford." It is about half a mile below the confluence of the St. Mary's and St. Joseph's at Fort Wayne. The river was not then fordable there, a dam having been built about half a mile below, making the water four feet deep at the old crossing-place. The road that led to and crossed the ford was along the margin of the Maumee, which was skirted by the same forest-trees in whose presence the battle was fought. They had grown to be grand and stately, and were made exceedingly picturesque by the trailing grape-vines.



HALL'S CROSSING-PLACE.

We returned to the bridge and rode up the St. Joseph's to the place where Major Hall and his detachment forded it. It is about half a mile above the bridge. There the St. Joseph's, with its banks fringed with a variety of graceful trees, swept in gentle curves, and presented to the eye pictures of great beauty. Near the spot here represented, on the east bank of the St. Joseph's, was once a stockade, built by the French, and occupied by the English in Pontiac's time.

The land of the point between the St. Joseph's and the Maumee, on which Little Turtle was encamped and the principal Miami village was situated, is a level bottom, and known as the Cole Farm. Much of it was covered with Indian corn of lux-

¹ Harmar lost, in this expedition, 183 killed and 31 wounded. Among the killed were Majors Wyllis and Fontaine. The loss of the Indians was supposed to be about equal to that of the white people. Criminations and recriminations grew out of this expedition. Harmar and Hardin were both tried by court-martial and both were acquitted. Harmar resigned his commission on the 1st of January, 1792. Hardin had been a lieutenant in Morgan's rifle corps in the Revolution, and was a brave soldier. He was a Virginian by birth, but settled in Kentucky after the war. He was killed by some Shawnoese while on a mission of peace to them in 1792, when he was in the thirty-ninth year of his age. A county in each of the states of Ohio and Kentucky bears his name, in his honor.

A venerable Historical Apple-tree. Chief Richardville. The Twightwees. Their Cruelty to Prisoners.

uriant growth; and I was told that there is evidence that a similar crop has been raised from it year after year for almost a century, and yet the soil was black, rich, and apparently inexhaustible. Here, it is said, was the place where the Miamis were accustomed to burn their prisoners.¹



APPLE-TREE NEAR HARRISON'S FORD.

About three hundred yards westward from Harmar's Ford, on the site of the Indian camp, was a venerable apple-tree, full of fruit, its trunk measuring fifteen feet in circumference. Under this tree Chief Richardville, to whom allusion has been made, was born a little more than a hundred years ago.² It was a fruit-bearing tree then, and is supposed to have grown from a seed dropped by some French trader among these Twightwees, as the Miamis were called in early times.³ In the sketch of the apple-tree the city of Fort Wayne is seen in the distance. The spires on the left are those of the Roman Catholic Cathedral.

We returned to Fort Wayne at twilight, and I spent the evening profitably with Mr. Hedges, one of the oldest and most intelligent of the inhabitants of that town.⁴ He was there in the spring of 1812, while the old stockade was yet standing, and before a garrison of United States troops from Harrison's army arrived. He has seen the city bloom out into its present form and beauty from the folds of the dark forest, and its history and traditions are as familiar to him as those of his own biography. We chatted on the events of the past until a late hour, and parted with an agreement to visit the historic scenes together in the morning. The air toward midnight was as mild as early June, but a dappled sky prophesied a storm. At three o'clock in the morning I was aroused by heavy thunder-peals, and the dawning of the

¹ We have mentioned Mr. Gamelin's pence mission, on page 40. He was at this place, and only three days after he left (about the 1st of May, 1796), the savages, as if in derision of the United States authority, brought an American prisoner there and burned him.—See DILLON'S *History of Indiana*.

² About seventy years ago a white man was bound to the stake at this place. The mother of Chief Richardville, mentioned in the next note, and a woman of great influence, had made fruitless attempts to save him. The torch was applied. Richardville, then quite young, had been designated as their future chief. She appealed to him, and, placing a knife in his hand, bade him assert his chieftainship and cut the cords that bound the prisoner. He obeyed, and the prisoner was released. The kind-hearted Miami woman secreted the prisoner and sent him down the Maumee in a canoe, covered with furs and peltries, in charge of some friendly Indians. Many years afterward Richardville stopped at a town in Ohio. A man came to him and threw his arms affectionately around his neck. It was the rescued prisoner.—*Lecture before the Congregation of the First Presbyterian Church, Fort Wayne.*

³ *Pi-hc-wa* (Wildcat), or Jean Baptiste Richardville, was born in 1750. His father was Joseph Drouet de Richardville, a Frenchman, who traded at *Ko-ki-on-ga** (Fort Wayne) from 1769 to 1776. He was elected chief of the Miamis, on the death of Little Turtle, in 1811. He was a large, fine-looking man, of quite light complexion, and spoke English well. Richardville left a fortune at his death in 1840. I was told by an old resident of Fort Wayne, who knew him well, that he had received large sums of money and immense tracts of land, from time to time, in consideration of his signing treaties; and that, at his death, he had \$300,000 buried where no one but his daughter could find it. He was a temperate man, with acquisitiveness largely developed. He was buried in Fort Wayne.

⁴ The Twightwees once formed a powerful confederacy of tribes, and claimed to be the possessors of a vast territory. At the treaty with Wayne at Greenville, which we shall notice presently, Little Turtle thus defined the ancient boundary of the Twightwees or Miamis: "It is well known by all my brothers present that my forefather kindled the first fire at Detroit: from thence he extended his lines to the head waters of the Scioto; from thence to its mouth; from thence down the Ohio to the mouth of the Wabash; and from thence to Chicago, on Lake Michigan."—*American State Papers*, I., 576. This comprises about one half of Ohio, the whole of Indiana, and a part of Southern Michigan.

* John P. Hedges was employed in the commissary's department, under John B. Piest, of Ohio, the contractor for the army of the Northwest, commanded by General Harrison. He was active in that department during the whole of the war, and became familiar with all the territory. He was with General M'Arthur in his campaign in Western Canada, and was with Harrison at the battle of the Thames. He was at the treaty with the Indians at Greenville in 1814, and distributed provisions to the savages on that occasion.

* *Ko-ki-on-ga* in the language of the Miamis, and *Ko-ki-ogus* in that of the Pottawatomies.

Indian Hostilities continued. Expeditions of Generals Scott and Wilkinson. Destruction of Villages and Crops.

28th was made dreary by a cold drizzle drifting upon a northeast wind. I went out alone, and made the sketches at the two fords and other drawings, and, after visiting the grave of Little Turtle, departed in the midday train for Indianapolis. Of Fort Wayne in 1812, and of Little Turtle and his grave, I shall hereafter write.

Although Harmar in his expedition had punished the Miamis and Shawnoese severely, and Hamtramck meanwhile had been up the Wabash to the mouth of the Vermilion River and destroyed some deserted villages, Indian hostilities in the Northwest were not even checked. The settlers along the Ohio were continually menaced and sometimes attacked by the savages, back of whom was distinctly heard the voice of the British commandant at Detroit. Western Virginia and Kentucky were threatened, and life and property on the frontiers were in jeopardy every hour. The Virginia Legislature adopted measures for the protection of the settlers, and the national government, awake to the importance of the subject, put forth all its available strength for the same purpose. General Knox, the Secretary of War, issued orders to proper authorities beyond the mountains "to impress the Indians with the power of the United States," and "to inflict that degree of punishment which justice may require."¹ Under these instructions, General Scott, of Kentucky, with eight hundred mounted men, crossed the Ohio,^a and penetrated the Wabash country to the ^a May 23,
1791. large village of Ouiatenon, situated about eight miles below the present village of Lafayette, Indiana, where several French families resided. There he found ample evidence of the Indians' connection with and dependence on the British at Detroit. Scott destroyed the town, and several villages in the neighborhood, and desolated the country. He killed thirty-two Indians, "chiefly warriors of size and figure," and took fifty-eight prisoners, without losing any of his own men.²

On the 1st of August Brigadier General James Wilkinson left Cincinnati (Fort Washington) with five hundred and twenty-five men, and penetrated the same region, by a different route, to the important Ouiatenon village of *Ke-na-pa-com-a-gua*, which the French called *L'Anguille* (The Eel), on the Eel River, about six miles from the present Logansport, Indiana.³ He destroyed that village, desolated the country around as far as Tippecanoe, and then pushed forward to the great prairies that stretch away toward Lake Michigan. But deep morasses, into which he was sometimes plunged armpit deep, compelled him to return. He then destroyed another Kickapoo village of twenty houses, desolated all the crops, and, after a march of four hundred and fifty miles, reached the Falls of the Ohio (Louisville) on the 21st of August.⁴

The misfortune that befell the Indians under the lash of Scott and Wilkinson did not quiet them. The British emissaries stimulated their courage to a point of desperation by assuring them that the grand object of the United States was to exterminate the tribes and take possession of their lands.⁵ Thus two most powerful incentives to war

¹ Instructions of the Secretary of War to Brigadier General Scott, of Kentucky, March 9, 1791.

² Scott's official report to the Secretary of War, June 28, 1791.

³ Fort Ouiatenon, a stockade built by the French, was near the present city of Lafayette, Indiana.

⁴ "I have destroyed," he said, "the chief town of the Ouiatenon nation, and made prisoners of the sons and sisters of the king. I have burned a respectable Kickapoo village, and cut down at least four hundred and thirty acres of corn, chiefly in the milk. The Ouiatenons, left without houses, home, or provisions, must cease to war, and will find active employ to subsist their squaws and children during the impending winter."—WILKINSON'S *Official Report to Governor St. Clair*, August 24, 1791.

⁵ The most active of these British emissaries were Simon Girty, Andrew M'Kee, and Mathew Elliott, three malignant Tories during the Revolution. The two latter were natives of Path Valley, Pennsylvania. Many a murder was justly charged to these men while the old war for independence was in progress. They carried on their depredations on the frontier with a high hand, and, for their faithfulness in inciting Indian hostilities during that war that led to frightful massacres, the British government rewarded them with official station. They married Indian women, and became thoroughly identified with the savages. At the time we are now considering Elliott and M'Kee were subordinate agents in the British Indian Department, and, with Girty, had homes near Malden, in Canada, on the Detroit River. We shall meet Elliott again. Girty was an unmitigated scoundrel. More brutal than the most savage Indian, he had not one redeeming quality. He was the offspring of crime. His father, an Irishman, was a sot; his mother was a bawd. He was nurtured among the warlike Senecas, and his innate cruelty had free scope for growth. With Elliott and M'Kee, who, with him, had been imprisoned at Pittsburg in 1778, he aroused the Indians in the Northwest with the same cry

were presented—self-preservation and patriotism. In defense of life and country they resolved to fight to the last. Little Turtle, of the Miamis, Blue Jacket, of the Shawnoese, and Buck-ong-a-helos, of the Delawares, put forth all their energies in the summer of 1791, as Pontiac had done thirty years before, to confederate all the Western tribes in an effort to drive every European from the soil north of the Ohio. The protestations of St. Clair that peace, friendship, and justice, not war, subjugation, and robbery, were the desire of the people and government of the United States, were of no avail; and he was compelled, for the sake of the national life on the frontier, to attempt to convince them, by the stern argument of arms, that they were governed by bad counselors at Detroit.

It was determined to establish a strong military post in the heart of the Miami country, on the site of the present city of Fort Wayne. Congress authorized the raising of sufficient troops for the purpose, and during the spring and summer of 1791, St. Clair was putting forth strong efforts in that direction, but with indifferent success. Enlistments were slow, and it was not until the beginning of September that he had collected a sufficient force to attempt the enterprise with an appearance of safety. These had been collected in the vicinity of Cincinnati, and placed under the immediate command, in camp, of Major Hamtramck, who was remarkable as a tactician and disciplinarian.¹ St. Clair took the field as commander-in-chief. Major General Richard Butler, of Pennsylvania, was his second in command, and Winthrop Sargent, Secretary of the Territory, was appointed adjutant general.

An army little more than two thousand strong, under the immediate command of General Butler, and accompanied by General St. Clair, moved forward on the 5th and 6th of September.^a On the bank of the Great Miami, little more than twenty miles from Fort Washington, they halted and built Fort Hamilton, on the site of the present village of Hamilton. Forty-two miles farther on, at a point about six miles south of Greenville, in the present Darke County, Ohio, they built Fort Jefferson. When they moved from there, on the 24th of October, they began to encounter the subtle foe in small parties. It was evident that dusky scouts were hanging upon their flanks, and they became hourly more cautious and vigilant. The nights were frosty, but serene. The days were genial and brilliant. The summer warmth had been diffused over the whole of September; and now the forests were arrayed in all the gorgeous beauty of autumnal splendors peculiar to them.

At length, when dark clouds were overhead, and falling leaves were thick in their path, the invading army halted and encamped upon the borders of an unknown stream, which proved to be a chief tributary of the Upper Wabash. They were ninety-seven miles from Fort Washington, deep in the wilderness. A light fall of snow lay upon the ground—so light that it appeared like hoar-frost. Over a piece of rising ground, timbered with oak, ash, and hickory, the encampment was spread, with a fordable stream, forty feet in width, in front. The army lay in two lines, seventy yards apart, with four pieces of cannon in the centre of each. Across the stream, and beyond a rich bottom land three hundred yards in width, was an elevated plain, covered with an open forest of stately trees. There the militia—three hundred and fifty independent, half-insubordinate men, under Lieutenant Colonel Oldham, of Kentucky—were encamped.

Eight weary miles through the woods the soldiers had marched that day, and when the camp was arranged the sun was low in the cloudless sky of the west. The tired soldiers early sought repose, without suspicion of danger near. All around them

that now alarmed them: "The Americans want to take your lives and your lands." For more than twenty years the women and children of the Ohio country turned pale when his name was mentioned.

¹ Hamtramck was a poor rider. "He was crooked like a frog on horseback," said the venerable Major Whitlock, of Crawfordsville, to me, who knew him well, and had served under him. He had the faculty of inspiring the men with self-confidence, and, notwithstanding he was a most rigid disciplinarian, the troops all loved him, for he was kind-hearted, generous, and brave.

St. Clair's Troops and the Indians.

St. Clair's Camp.

The Tribes represented by the Warriors.



PLAN OF ST. CLAIR'S CAMP AND BATTLE.¹

were evidences of old and recent Indian camps, and a few lurking savages had been seen by vigilant eyes; but no one knew whether Little Turtle and his confederates, with their followers, were near or far away.

They were near. Only a few miles distant the great Miami leader, Blue Jacket the Shawnoese chief, and Buck-ong-a-helos, the leader of the Delawares, with the cruel Girty and other white men in the British interest, were lying in wait, with two thousand fierce warriors at their beck.² These had been watching St. Clair's movements for several days, and were waiting for the proper moment to fall upon him like a bolt from the cloud.

The morning of the 4th dawned brilliantly. "Moderate northwest wind, serene atmosphere, and unclouded sky."³ All night long the sentinels had been firing upon

¹ This sketch of St. Clair's encampment is from Winthrop Sargent's MS. *Journal of the Campaign*, kindly lent to me by his grandson, Winthrop Sargent, Esq., of Philadelphia. It is a fac-simile of Mr. Sargent's sketch.

EXPLANATION.—a, Butler's battalion; b b, artillery; c, Clarke's battalion; d, Patterson's battalion; e, Faulkner's rifle company; f f, cavalry; g, detachment of U. S. Second Regiment; h, Galther's battalion; j, Beddinger's battalion; b n p, flank guards; o s, pickets; s, swamp; m, camp guard. The numerous crosses represent the enemy; z z, troops retreating; the crooked stream, a tributary of the Wabash.

² The late Colonel John Johnson, of Dayton, mentioned hereafter, informed me that, from the best information he could obtain, the Indians numbered about two thousand. Some have estimated their number at one thousand, and others at three thousand. The principal tribes engaged in the battle were the Miamis, Delawares, Shawnoese, Wyandots, Ottawas, and a few Chippewas and Pottawatomes.

³ Winthrop Sargent's MS. *Journal*, November 4, 1791.

prowl Indians, and the men, by order of the commanding general, had slept upon their arms.

The troops had been early mustered and dismissed from parade. They were preparing for breakfast, when, half an hour before sunrise, a body of Indians, with yells that wakened horrid echoes miles away through the forest, fell suddenly upon the militia. The assailed camp was immediately broken up, and the frightened soldiers, most of whom had never been in battle, rushed wildly across the bottom and the creek into the lines of the regulars, producing alarm and confusion there. The Indians closely followed, and fell upon the regulars. The savages were several times repulsed, but soon rallied, and directed their most effective shots upon the artillery in the centre. Every officer there was prostrated, and the cannon were silenced. The carnage among the Americans was terrible, yet they withstood the enemy with great gallantry for almost three hours. Finally, when full one half of the army had fallen, St. Clair ordered a retreat to an old Indian road or trail. This was accomplished after a furious charge as if to turn the enemy's flank.¹ The militia then led the van in the precipitate retreat, which soon became a flight.² The fugitive army was well covered by Major Clarke and his battalion; and the Indians, after following about four miles, turned back, wonderfully elated with their victory. Little Turtle was in chief command.

St. Clair behaved gallantly during the dreadful scene. He was so tortured with gout that he could not mount a horse without assistance. He was not in uniform. His chief covering was a coarse cappo coat, and a three-cocked hat from under which his white hair was seen streaming as he and Butler rode up and down the lines during the battle. He had three horses killed under him. Eight balls passed through his clothes. He finally mounted a pack-horse, and upon this animal, which could with difficulty be spurred into a trot, he followed in the retreat.

The fugitive army did not halt until safely within the palisades of Fort Jefferson. The panic was terrible, and the conduct of the army after quitting the ground was most disgraceful. Arms, ammunition, and accoutrements were almost all thrown away; and even officers, in some instances, threw away their arms, "thus setting an example for the most precipitate and ignominious flight."³ They left the camp at nine o'clock in the morning, and at seven o'clock that evening they were in Fort Jefferson, twenty-nine miles distant. That evening Adjutant General Sargent wrote in his diary, "The troops have all been defeated; and though it is impossible, at this time, to ascertain our loss, yet there can be no manner of doubt that more than half the army are either killed or wounded."⁴

¹ There were quite a large number of the wounded so maimed that they could not walk or sit upon a horse, and their companions were compelled to leave them upon the field. "When they knew they must be left," says Sargent, "they charged their pieces with a deliberation and courage which reflects the highest honor upon them; and the firing of musketry in the camp after we had quitted it leaves little doubt that their latest efforts were professionally brave, and where they could pull a trigger they avenged themselves."—*MS. Journal*.

During the engagement, the Indians, as opportunity offered, plundered and scalped their victims. They also disfigured the bodies of the slain. Having been taught by the British emissaries that the Americans made war upon them for their lands, they crammed clay and sand into the eyes and down the throats of the dying and dead.—*Dillon's History of Indiana*, p. 288. Among the slain was Major General Butler; and it has been authoritatively asserted that the miscreant, Simon Girty, instigated a savage warrior, while the general was yet alive on the field, to scalp him, and take out his heart for distribution among the tribes!

² The whole number of effective troops in the battle, according to Sargent's return, was 1748.

³ Sargent's *MS. Journal*. There were almost two hundred female camp-followers, chiefly wives of the soldiers. Of these, fifty-six were killed; most of the remainder were in the flight. One of them, Mrs. Catharine Miller, who died in Cincinnati about the year 1838, was so fleet of foot that she ran ahead of the army. She had a great quantity of long red hair, that streamed behind her as she ran, and formed the *oriflamme* which the soldiers followed.—Statement of Major Whitlock, of Crawfordsville, Indiana.

⁴ *MS. Journal*, Friday, November 4, 1791. Mr. Sargent was slightly wounded. According to his report, afterward made out carefully, thirty-six officers were killed and thirty wounded; and 893 privates were killed and missing, and 214 wounded. He did not think many Indians were lost—probably not more than one hundred and fifty killed and wounded. Several pieces of cannon, and all the baggage, ammunition, and provisions were left on the field, and became spoil for the savage victors. The value of public property lost, according to the report of the Secretary of War toward the close of 1792, was \$32,810 75. The signature of the Adjutant General, of which a *fac-simile* is given on page 88, was cop-

Effect of St. Clair's Defeat on the Public Mind.

Expression of President Washington's Indignation.

At Fort Jefferson the flying troops found the First Regiment of the United States army, about three hundred strong. Leaving a well-provisioned garrison there, the remnant of St. Clair's force made their way to Fort Washington, where they arrived at noon on the 8th.^a November, 1791.

Intelligence of St. Clair's defeat produced the greatest alarm among all the settlers in the West, even as far eastward as Pittsburg. It cast a gloom over society in all parts of the Union, and checked for a short time the tide of emigration in the direction of the Ohio.¹

St. Clair was condemned in unmeasured terms by men of all classes and parties, and the indignation of President Washington was exceedingly hot. "Here," he said to Tobias Lear, his private secretary,

"yes, HERE, on this very spot, I took leave of him. I wished him success and honor. You have your instructions, I said, from the Secretary of War. I had a strict eye to them, and will add but one word—*beware of a*

Tobias Lear

surprise! I repeat it—**BWARE OF A SURPRISE!** You know how the Indians fight us. He went off with that, as my last solemn warning, thrown into his ears.² And yet!! to suffer that army to be cut to pieces, hacked, butchered, tomahawked, by a surprise—the very thing I guarded him against!! O God, O God, he is worse than a murderer! How can he answer it to his country? The blood of the slain is upon him—the curse of widows and orphans—the curse of Heaven!"

The tone of Washington's voice was appalling as these vehement sentences escaped his lips. "It was awful!" said Mr. Lear. "More than once he threw his hands up as he hurled imprecations upon St. Clair." Mr. Lear remained speechless—awed into breathless silence.

"The roused chief," says the chronicler, "sat down on the sofa once more. He seemed conscious of his passion, and uncomfortable. He was silent; his wrath began to subside. He at length said, in an altered voice, 'This must not go beyond

ied from his report. In Howe's *Historical Collections of Ohio* may be found many particulars and anecdotes of this disastrous campaign.

Among the slain, as we have observed, was Major General Butler, a highly esteemed officer from Pennsylvania. He held the rank of colonel in the Continental army. In 1787 he was sent to the Ohio as agent for Indian affairs in that quarter. He was wounded early in the action, and before his wounds could be dressed, an Indian, who had penetrated the camp, ran up and tomahawked and scalped him. Butler was much beloved by the Indians who were friendly to the United States. Among those who loved him most was Big Tree, a Seneca chief in the Genesee Valley. He vowed to avenge the death of Butler by killing three of the hostile Indians. Because the treaty of peace at Greenville in 1795 thwarted his bloody purpose, Big Tree committed suicide.

¹ This event was the theme for oratory, the pulpit, poetry, art, and song. I have before me a dirge-like poem, printed on a broadside, and embellished with rude wood-cuts representing forty coffins at the head, a portrait of General Butler, a Miami village, an Indian with a bow, and the hideous skull and cross-bones. It is entitled "The Columbian Tragedy," and professes to give, in verse, "a particular and official account" of the affair. It was published "by the earnest request of the friends of the deceased worthies who died in defense of their country." According to this "official account," the battle was fought between two thousand United States troops "and near four thousand wild Indian savages, at Miami Village, near Fort Washington!" A pious tone runs through the mournful ballad, and the feelings of the writer may be imagined after the perusal of this single verse:

"My trembling hand can scarcely hold
My faint, devoted quill,
To write the actions of the Bold,
Their *Valor* and their *Skill*."

There was a famous song that was sung for many years afterward, entitled "Sinclair's Defeat," written, as the author thus informs us, by one of the soldiers:

"To mention our brave officers is what I write to do;
No sons of Mars e'er fought more brave, or with more courage true.
To Captain Bradford I belonged, in his Artillery;
He fell that day among the slain—a valliant man was he."

This song may be found in Howe's *Historical Collections of Ohio*, p. 136.

² This interview was on the 28th of March, 1791, the day when St. Clair left Philadelphia and proceeded to the frontier post of Pittsburg. Thence he went to Kentucky, and afterward to Fort Washington, every where endeavoring to enlist the sympathies and co-operation of the inhabitants for the campaign.

Washington's Kindness to St. Clair. Resignation of the latter. His later Days. General Wayne and his Troops.

this room.' Another pause followed—a longer one—when he said, in a tone quite low, 'General St. Clair shall have justice. I looked hastily through the dispatches—saw the whole disaster, but not all the particulars. I will hear him without prejudice; he shall have full justice.'

"He was now," said Mr. Lear, "perfectly calm. Half an hour had gone by; the storm was over, and no sign of it was afterward seen in his conduct or heard in his conversation."¹

Washington was both generous and just, and St. Clair found in him a most faithful friend. "The first interview of the President with the unfortunate general after the fatal 4th of November," says the late Mr. Custis, who was present, "was nobly impressive. St. Clair, worn down by age, disease, and the hardships of a frontier campaign, assailed by the press, and with the current of popular opinion setting hard against him, repaired to his chief as to a shelter from the fury of so many elements. Washington extended his hand to one who appeared in no new character, for, during the whole of a long life, misfortune seemed 'to have marked him for her own.' Poor old St. Clair hobbled up to his chief, seized the offered hand in both of his, and gave vent to his feelings in an audible manner."²

St. Clair's case was investigated by a committee of the House of Representatives, and he was honorably acquitted. But public sentiment had set against him in a current too strong to be successfully resisted, and he resigned his commission.³ General Anthony Wayne, whose impetuosity exhibited during the old war for independence had gained him the title of "Mad Anthony," was appointed to fill his place. Wayne was then in the prime of manhood, and Congress and the people had confidence in his intelligence, courage, and energy. Congress authorized an increase of the regular army to a little over five thousand men, and a competent part of this force, to be called the Legion of the United States, was to be assigned to Wayne for an expedition against the Indians in the Northwest. He took post at Pittsburg early in the

following June,⁴ and appointed that place as the rendezvous of his invading army. It was soon perceived that it was easier to vote troops in the halls of Congress than to draw them out and muster them in the camp; and it was not until near the close of November that Wayne had collected a sufficient number to warrant his moving forward. He then went down the Ohio only about twenty miles, and there hutted his soldiers in a well-guarded camp, which he called Legionville. There he was joined by Lieutenant William Henry Harrison, afterward the distinguished general in the armies of the United States, and the ninth President of the republic. The

¹ *Washington in Domestic Life*, by Richard Rush, p. 67.

² *Recollections and Private Memoirs of Washington*, by his adopted son, G. W. P. Custis, p. 419.

³ The late Hon. Elisha Whittlesey, of Ohio, First Auditor of the United States Treasury during a portion of the first term of Mr. Lincoln's administration, and a veteran soldier of 1812, furnished me with the following interesting account of his interview with St. Clair three years before his death:

"In May, 1815, four of us called upon him, on the top of Chestnut Ridge, eastwardly eight or ten miles from Greensburg, Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania. We were traveling on horseback to Connecticut, and being informed that General St. Clair kept tavern, we decided to call for entertainment during the night. We alighted at his residence late in the afternoon, and, on entering his log house, we saw an elderly, neat gentleman, dressed in black broadcloth, silk stockings, and small-clothes, shining shoes whose straps were secured by large silver buckles, his hair clubbed and powdered. On closing his book he rose, received us most kindly and gracefully, and pointing us to chairs, he asked us to be seated. On being asked for entertainment, he said, 'Gentlemen, I perceive you are traveling, and although I should be gratified by your custom, it is my duty to inform you I have no hay nor grain. I have good pasture, but if hay and grain are essential, I can not furnish them.'

"There stood before us a major general of the Revolution—the friend and confidant of Washington—late governor of the Territory northwest of the River Ohio—one of nature's noblemen, of high, dignified bearing, whom misfortune, nor the ingratitude of his country, nor poverty could break down nor deprive of self-respect—keeping a tavern in a log house, but could not furnish a bushel of oats nor a load of hay. We were moved principally to call upon him to hear him converse about the men of the Revolution and of the Northwestern Territory, and our regret that he could not entertain us was greatly increased by hearing him converse about an hour. The large estate he sacrificed for the cause of the Revolution was within a short distance of the top of Chestnut Ridge, if not in sight. After he was governor he petitioned Congress for relief, but died before it was granted."⁴

⁴ During the last two years of his life General St. Clair received a pension of sixty dollars a month from his government, and his latter days were made comfortable thereby. About 1856, Senator Brodhead, of Pennsylvania, procured from Congress an appropriation for the heirs of General St. Clair.

Wayne in the Indian Country.

A grand Council.

Interference of British Officials.

young Virginian soon exhibited qualities which caused Wayne to make him a member of his military family as his aid-de-camp.

Wayne remained at Legionville until the close of April, 1793, when his whole force proceeded to Cincinnati in boats, and took post near Fort Washington. There they remained all the summer and until the 7th of October, when Wayne moved forward and encamped^a six miles in advance of Fort Jefferson, on the site of Greenville. His army then numbered three thousand six hundred and thirty * October 23. men, exclusive of a small body of friendly Indians from the South, chiefly Choctaws, under the eminent warrior, Humming-bird.

While the army was making these tardy movements, the government was using its best endeavors to effect a pacification of the tribes, and to establish a solid peace without more bloodshed. These efforts promised success at times. With the aid of the pious Heckewelder, the Moravian, General Putnam made a treaty of peace and friendship with the Wabash and Illinois tribes, at Vincennes, on the 27th of September, 1792. At about the same time great numbers of the tribes on the Miami, the Maumee (or Miami of the Lakes), and Sandusky Rivers, assembled at the Maumee Rapids to hold a grand council, at which Red Jacket, Cornplanter, Big Tree, the aged Guasutha, and other representatives of the Six Nations appeared, at the request of the Secretary of War. Simon Girty was the only white man present. The savages, on consultation, determined, in conformity with the advice of the British, not to acknowledge any claim of the United States to lands northwest of the Ohio River.¹

In the spring of 1793 a commission was sent by the President to treat with the hostile tribes.² Lieutenant Governor Simcoe, of Canada, professing to be friendly, and favorable to a pacification of the tribes, the commissioners went by the way of Niagara, a post yet held by the British. Simcoe received them courteously, and hospitably entertained them for five or six weeks, while the Indians were holding another grand council at the Rapids of the Maumee. While tarrying there, the commissioners were informed by a Mohawk Indian from the Grand River that Governor Simcoe had "advised the Indians to make peace, *but not to give up any of their lands.*"³ The commissioners called Simcoe's attention to this. He did not deny the allegation, but replied, "It is of that nature that it can not be true," as the Indians had not "applied for his advice on the subject."⁴ This subterfuge was well understood by the commissioners; and his admission that, "ever since the conquest of Canada," it had been "the principle of the British government to *unite the American Indians,*" was ominous of ulterior designs.

At Niagara, and at Captain Elliott's, near the mouth of the Detroit River, in Canada, the commissioners held councils with the Indians, but nothing satisfactory was accomplished. British influence was more powerful than ever, and the savages in council plainly told the commissioners that if they insisted upon the treaty at Fort Harmar, and claimed lands on the northern side of the Ohio, they might as well go home, as they would never agree to any other boundary than that river. So the commissioners, after several months of fruitless labor, turned homeward late in August. It was evident that the might of arms must make a final settlement of the matter, and to arms the United States resorted.

We left Wayne and his army near Fort Jefferson, eighty miles from Fort Washington, on the 23d of October. He was then embarrassed by a lack of sufficient convoys for his stores. Already a party detailed for this purpose had been attacked and se-

¹ The sentiments of the Indians, even the friendly ones, concerning the boundary, may be inferred from the following toast given by Cornplanter, at the table of General Wayne, at Legionville, in the spring of 1793: "My mind is upon that river," he said, pointing to the Ohio. "May that water ever continue to run, and remain the boundary of lasting peace between the Americans and Indians on the opposite shore."—*HALL'S Memoir of W. H. Harrison*, p. 81.

² The commission consisted of Benjamin Lincoln, Beverly Randolph, and Timothy Pickering.

³ Note of commissioners to Lieutenant Governor Simcoe, 7th June, 1793.

⁴ Reply of Lieutenant Governor Simcoe to American commissioners, 7th June, 1793.

Hostile Intentions of the British revealed.

Allied Indians and British in Arms.

Battle at Fort Recovery.

verely handled by a strong band of Indians under Little Turtle near Fort St. Clair. Lieutenant Lowry and fourteen of his companions were killed,¹ and all the horses attached to the wagons were carried off.

The season was now too far advanced to enter upon a campaign, so Wayne set his army to building a very strong fort on the spot where he was encamped. It was made impregnable against the Indians. There they went into winter-quarters.² Sufficient garrisons were placed in the forts at Vincennes, Cincinnati, and Marietta; and the return of spring was waited for with anxiety, for it was obvious that hostilities with the savages could not be long delayed.

A European war, to which we shall soon have occasion again to refer, was now having its effect upon the United States, complicating the difficulties which naturally attend the arrangement of a new system of government. Ill feeling between the United States and Great Britain was increasing, and evidences were not wanting that the latter was anxious for a pretense to declare hostilities against the former. Taking advantage of this state of things, Lord Dorchester (formerly Sir Guy Carleton), the Governor of Canada, encouraged the Indians in maintaining their hostile at-

February 19, 1794. At a council of warriors from the West, held at Quebec early in 1794, Dorchester, in a speech, said, "*Children, since my return I find no appearance of a line remains; and from the manner in which the people of the states push on, and act, and talk on this side, and from what I learn of their conduct toward the sea, I shall not be surprised if we are at war with them in the course of the present year; and if so, a line must then be drawn by the warriors.*"

This was a suggestion for the savages to prepare for war. It was followed by an order from Dorchester to Lieutenant Governor Simcoe to establish a British military post at the rapids of the Maumee, fifty miles within the Indian country and the treaty limits of the United States. At the very time when this menacing attitude was assumed, the government of the new republic was exhibiting the most friendly feelings toward that of Great Britain by a position of strict neutrality.

Wayne was compelled to wait until late in the summer of 1794 before he felt strong enough to move forward. Meanwhile the Indians appeared in force. On the 30th of June, about a thousand of them, accompanied by a number of British soldiers and French Canadian volunteers,³ made their appearance before Fort Recovery (mentioned in note 2 below), and during the day assailed the garrison several times. During these assaults the Americans lost fifty-seven men in killed, wounded, and missing, and two hundred and twenty-one horses. The Indians lost more, they said, than in their battle with St. Clair.

Less than a month after this engagement, Wayne was joined^b by Major General Scott, with sixteen hundred mounted volunteers from Kentucky; and two days afterward^c he moved forward with his whole force toward the

^a July 26, 1794.
^b July 28.



LOWRY'S MONUMENT.

¹ Fort St. Clair was at a point about a mile from the site of Eaton, in Preble County, Ohio. Between it and Eaton is a small cemetery, and therein, upon one of those ancient artificial mounds common in Ohio, a neat monument of Rutland marble, twelve feet in height, was erected by the citizens in commemoration of the slain at Fort Recovery. Lowry and his companions were buried in Fort St. Clair. His remains were removed to the little cemetery on the 4th of July, 1822, and there reinterred with the honors of war. They were afterward buried in the mound.

² This was called Fort Greenville, and covered a large part of the site of the present village of Greenville. The soldiers built several hundred log huts, in which they wintered comfortably. Each hut was occupied by six persons.

From Fort Greenville Wayne sent out eight companies, and a detachment of artillery to take possession of and fortify the place where St. Clair was defeated. They arrived on the ground on Christmas-day, and proceeded to build a strong stockade. They named it Fort Recovery, in commemoration of the fact that they had recovered

the territory lost by St. Clair, as well as all but one of the cannon which he was compelled to leave behind. A company each of artillery and riflemen were left there as a garrison.

³ Burnet, in his notes, asserts upon good authority that there were "a considerable number of British soldiers and Detroit militia with the Indians." Friendly Choctaws and Chickasaws with Wayne, who had been sent on a scout a few days before, saw a large body of Indians, among whom, they asserted, were many white men with their faces painted.

Wayne's Expedition down the Maumee.

His Offers of Peace rejected.

Conduct of Little Turtle.

Maumee. Admonished by the fate of St. Clair, he marched cautiously and slowly—so slowly and stealthily that the Indians called him *The Blacksnake*. Little Turtle was again upon the alert, with two thousand warriors of his own and neighboring tribes within call. The vigilant Wayne well knew this. He had faithful and competent scouts and guides, and by unfrequented ways and with perplexing feints, he moved steadily onward, leaving strength and security in his rear.

Twenty-five miles beyond Fort Recovery he built a stockade on the bank of the St. Mary's, and called it *Fort Adams*. From this point he moved forward on the 4th of August, and at the end of four days encamped on a beautiful plain at the confluence of the Au Glaize and Maumee Rivers, on the site of the present village of Defiance. There he found a deserted Indian town, with at least a thousand acres of corn growing around it.¹ There, as elsewhere on his march, the alarmed savages fled at his approach. He tarried there a week, and built a strong fortification, which he called *Fort Defiance*. Of this fort, and the appearance of its remains when I visited it in the autumn of 1860, I shall hereafter write.

Wayne was now at the most important and commanding point in the Indian country. "We have gained the grand emporium of the hostile Indians of the West without loss of blood," he wrote to the Secretary of War.² And there he gained full and positive information concerning the character, strength, and position of the British military post at the foot of the Maumee Rapids already alluded to.³

Once more peace and reconciliation were offered to the Indians. Notwithstanding he was in possession of full power to subjugate and destroy without fear of the British intruders below, Wayne, unwilling to shed blood unnecessarily, sent a message to the Indians down the Maumee with kind words. "Be no longer deceived or led astray," he said, "by the false promises and language of bad white men at the foot of the Rapids; they have neither the power nor the inclination to protect you." He offered them peace and tranquillity for themselves and their families, and invited them to send deputies to meet him in council without delay. His overtures were rejected, and by craftiness they endeavored to gain time. "Stay where you are," they said, "for ten days, and we will treat with you; but if you advance we will give you battle."

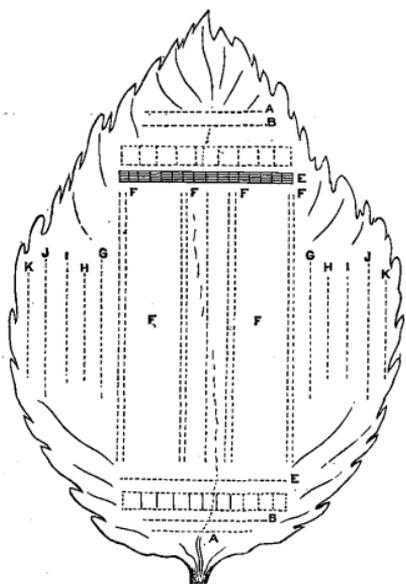
This defiance was contrary to the advice of the sagacious Little Turtle, who counseled peace.³ For this he was taunted with accusations of cowardice. The false charge enraged him, and he was foremost in the conflict that immediately ensued. That conflict was unavoidable. The vigilant Wayne perceived that nothing but a severe blow would break the spirit of the tribes and end the war, and he resolved to inflict it mercilessly. For this purpose his legion moved forward on the 15th of August, and on the 18th took post at *Roche de Bout*, at the head of the Rapids, near the present town of Waterville, and there established a magazine of supplies and baggage, with protecting military works, which they called *Fort Deposit*. There, on the 19th, Wayne called a council of war, and adopted a plan of march and of battle submitted by his young aid-de-camp, Lieutenant Harrison, who, nineteen years afterward, as a general-in-chief, performed gallant exploits in that portion of the Maumee Valley.⁴

¹ "The very extensive and highly cultivated fields and gardens show the work of many hands. The margin of those beautiful rivers, the Miami of the Lakes [pronounced Maumee] and Au Glaize, appear like one continued village for a number of miles both above and below this place; nor have I ever before beheld such immense fields of corn in any part of America from Canada to Florida."—WAYNE'S *Letter to the Secretary of War from Fort Defiance*, August 14, 1794.

² It was a strong work of earth and logs, mounting four 9-pounders, two large howitzers, six 6-pounders, and two swivels. The garrison, under Major Campbell, a testy Scotchman, consisted of 260 British regulars and 200 militia.

³ "We have beaten the enemy twice, under separate commanders," said Little Turtle, in a speech. "We can not expect the same good fortune always to attend us. The Americans are now led by a chief who never sleeps. The night and the day are alike to him; and during all the time that he has been marching upon our villages, notwithstanding the watchfulness of our young men, we have never been able to surprise him. Think well of it. There is something whisperm me it would be prudent to listen to the offers of peace."

⁴ I am indebted to the Hon. John Francis Hamtramck Claiborne, of Mississippi, for the plan of the line of march and order of battle given in the text. In a letter to me, covering the drawings, dated "Bay St. Louis, Mississippi, August



PLAN OF THE LINE OF MARCH.¹

On the morning of the 20th, at eight o'clock, Wayne advanced with his whole army according to the adopted plan of march, having for his subordinate general officers Major General Scott, of the Kentucky volunteers, and Brigadier Generals Wilkinson, Todd, and Barber. They had proceeded about five miles when the advanced corps, under Major Price, were terribly smitten by heavy volleys from the concealed foe, and were compelled to fall back. The legion was immediately formed in two lines, principally in a dense wood on the borders of a wet prairie, where a tornado had prostrated a large number of trees, making the operations of cavalry very difficult. This fallen timber² afforded an admirable covert for the enemy, who, full two thousand strong, and composed of Indians and Canadian volunteers,³ were posted in three lines, within supporting distance of each other. Wayne's troops fell upon the foe with fearful energy, and made them flee toward Fort Miami like a herd of frightened deer to a covert. In the course of an hour the victory was complete.

The mongrel horde were driven more than two miles through the thick woods, and left forty of their number dead in the pathway of their flight. By the side of each body lay a musket and bayonet from British armories.⁴

Three days and three nights the victorious army remained below the Rapids, wielding the besom of destruction in defiance of the threats of the commandant of Fort Miami, within view of whose guns Wayne pitched his tents. On the site of the present Maumee City, near Fort Miami, Colonel M'Kee, the British agent already mentioned, and chief instigator of the war, had extensive store-houses and dwellings, for he was carrying on a most lucrative trade with the Indians. These, with their contents, were committed to the flames, while every product of the field and garden above and below the British fort was utterly destroyed.⁵ Wayne's men sometimes ap-

Si. M'Kee

20, 1860," Mr. Claiborne remarks: "This day, sixty-six years ago, was fought the great Battle of the Rapids. I send you the original 'Plan of the Line of March' and of the 'Order of Battle.' I found these diagrams among the papers of my father, the late General Claiborne, who was in the battle, a lieutenant and acting adjutant in the First Regiment United States Infantry, Colonel J. F. Hamtramck. I found them in a package of letters from Harrison to my father, the 'Plan of the Line of March' indorsed, in my father's handwriting, 'Lieutenant Harrison's Plan, adopted in council, August 19, '94.'

¹ "Wayne, it appears, called a council of war on the 19th, and the plan, drawn up by Harrison, then a young man of twenty-one years, was adopted by the veteran officers the moment it was submitted—an homage to skill and talent rarely awarded to a subaltern."

² EXPLANATION OF THE PLAN.—A A, two squadrons of expert woodmen; B B, two squadrons of light dragoons; E E, two companies of infantry front and rear; G G, one troop of light dragoons on each flank; H H, one company of infantry on each flank; I I, one squadron of dragoons on each flank; J J, two companies of riflemen on each flank; K K, expert woodmen on the extreme of each flank. F F F F represent the main army in two columns, the legion of regular troops on the right, commanded by General Wilkinson, and the Kentucky volunteers, under Scott, on the left.

³ This conflict is often called in history and tradition the Battle of the Fallen Timbers.

⁴ There were about seventy white men, including a corps of volunteers from Detroit under Captain Caldwell.

⁵ Among the officers mentioned by Wayne, in his dispatch to the Secretary of War, whose services demanded special mention, were Wilkinson and Hamtramck; his aide-de-camp De Butt, Lewis, and Harrison; Mills, Covington of the cavalry, Webb, Slough, Prior, Smith, Van Rensselaer, Rawlins, M'Kenney, Brook, and Duncan. His loss in killed and wounded was 133. Of these, 113 were regulars. The loss of the enemy was not ascertained. In their flight they left forty of their dead in the woods.

⁶ Wayne's dispatch to the Secretary of War from Fort Defiance, August 28, 1794.

The Troops build Fort Wayne.

Colonel Hamtramck.

The humbled Indians sue for Peace.

Having thoroughly accomplished his work, Wayne returned with his army to Fort Defiance,¹ while the Indians, utterly defeated and disheartened, retired to the borders of Maumee Bay, in the vicinity of Toledo, to brood over their misfortunes and ponder upon the future. At the middle of September the victors moved from Defiance to the head of the Maumee, and at the bend of that river, just below the confluence of the St. Mary's and St. Joseph's, which form it, they built a strong fortification, and named it Fort Wayne. It was completed on the 22d of October, and was immediately garrisoned with infantry and artillery, under Colonel Hamtramck.¹ This accomplished, the remainder of the troops left, some for Fort Washington, to be discharged from the service, and the others for Fort Greenville, where Wayne made his head-quarters for the winter. Thither deputations from the various tribes with whom he had been at war came to Wayne, and agreed upon preliminary terms of peace. They well remembered his assurance that the British had neither the power nor the inclination to help them—an assurance verified by the silence of Fort Miami's guns. They promised to meet him in council early in the ensuing summer, for the purpose of forming a definitive treaty of peace between the United States and the Indian tribes of the Northwest. Faithful to their promise, chiefs and sachems began to reach Fort Greenville early in June. A grand council was opened there on the 16th of that month, and was continued until the 10th



He stood upon a large rough stone,
Still dealing random blows alone;
But bleeding fast—glazed wore his eyes,
And feeble grew his battle-cries;
Too frail his arm, too dim his sight,
To wield or aim his axe aright;
As still more frail and faint he grew,
His body on the rock he threw,
As cursed his blood along the ground,
In feeble, low, and hollow sound,
Mingled with frantic peals and strong,
The dying chief poured forth his song."

Here follows "The Death-song of the Sagamore."

¹ John Francis Hamtramck was a most faithful and useful officer. He was a resident of Northern New York when the Revolution broke out, and was a captain in the Continental army. He was appointed a major in the regular army of the United States in September, 1789, and was promoted to be lieutenant colonel commandant of the first sub-legion in February, 1793. He commanded the left wing under General Wayne in the battle of the Maumee, in August, 1794, and held the rank of lieutenant colonel in the First Infantry in 1796. He was retained as colonel on the reduction of the army in April, 1802, and on the 11th of April the following year he died and was buried at Detroit.

While in Detroit, in the autumn of 1860, I visited the grave of Colonel Hamtramck, and made the accompanying sketch. It is in the grounds attached to St. Anne's Orphan Asylum, and between that institution and St. Anne's Church, both belonging to the Roman Catholics. The monument over his grave and the grounds around it were much neglected. The former was dilapidated, the latter covered with weeds and bimbles. The monument is composed of a light freestone slab, grown dingy from the effects of the elements, lying upon a foundation of brick. It bears the following inscription:

"Sacred to the memory of JOHN FRANCIS HAMTRAMCK, Esq., Colonel of the First United States Regiment of Infantry, and Commandant of Detroit and its dependencies. He departed this life on the 11th of April, 1802, aged 43 years, 7 months, and 27 days. True patriot, and zealous attachment to national liberty, joined to a laudable ambition, led him into military service at an early period of his life. He was a soldier even before he was a man. He was an active participator in all the dangers, difficulties, and honors of the Revolutionary War; and his heroic and uniform good conduct procured him the attention and personal thanks of the immortal Washington. The United States, in him, have lost a valuable officer and good citizen, and society a



HAMTRAMCK'S TOMB.

useful and pleasant member. To his family his loss is incalculable, and his friends will never forget the memory of Hamtramck. This humble monument is placed over his remains by the officers who had the honor to serve under his command: a small but grateful tribute to his merit and his worth."

Treaty with the Indians at Greenville.

Peace secured.

of August. Almost eleven hundred Indians were present, representing twelve tribes.¹ A definitive and satisfactory treaty was signed by all parties on the 3d of August, and the pacification of the Indians of the Northwest was thereby made complete.² By the operations of a special treaty between the United States and Great Britain, the Western military posts were speedily evacuated by the British, and for fifteen years the most remote frontier settlements were safe from any annoyance by the Indians. This security gave an immense impetus to emigration to the Northwestern Territory, and the country was rapidly filled with a hardy population.

¹ Wyandots, Delawares, Shawnoese, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawatomes, Miamis, Weas, Kickapoos, Piankeshaw, Kaskaskias, and Eel River Indians.

² After the treaty had been twice read to the Indians, and every section explained by General Wayne, that officer said: "Brothers,—All you nations now present, listen! You now have had, a second time, the proposed articles of treaty read and explained to you. It is now time for the negotiation to draw to a conclusion. I shall, therefore, ask each nation individually if they approve of and are prepared to sign those articles in their present form, that they may be immediately engrossed for that purpose. I shall begin with the Chippewas, who, with the others who approve the measure, will signify their assent. You, Chippewas, do you approve of these articles of treaty, and are you prepared to sign them? [A unanimous answer—yes.] You, Ottawas, do you agree? [A unanimous answer—yes.] You, Pottawatomes? [A unanimous answer—yes.] You, Wyandots, do you agree? [A unanimous answer—yes.] You, Delawares? [A unanimous answer—yes.] You, Shawnoese? [A unanimous answer—yes.] You, Miamis, do you agree? [A unanimous answer—yes.] You, Weas? [A unanimous answer—yes.] And you, Kickapoos, do you agree? [A unanimous answer—yes.] The treaty shall be engrossed; and, as it will require two or three days to do it properly on parchment, we will now part, to meet on the 2d of August. In the interim, we will eat, drink, and rejoice, and thank the Great Spirit for the happy stage this good work has arrived at."

After the treaty was signed, a copy of it on paper was given to the representative of each nation, and then a large quantity of goods and many small ornaments were distributed among the Indians present. On the 10th, at the close of the council, General Wayne said to them: "Brothers, I now fervently pray to the Great Spirit that the peace now established may be permanent, and that it may hold us together in the bonds of friendship until time shall be no more. I also pray that the Great Spirit above may enlighten your minds, and open your eyes to your true happiness, that your children may learn to cultivate the earth and enjoy the fruits of peace and industry. As it is probable, my children, that we shall not soon meet again in public council, I take this opportunity of bidding you all an affectionate farewell, and of wishing you a safe and happy return to your respective homes and families."

By this treaty the Indians ceded about twenty-five thousand square miles of territory to the United States, besides sixteen separate tracts, including lands and forts. In consideration of these cessions, the Indians received goods from the United States, of the value of \$20,000, as presents, and were promised an annual allowance, valued at \$3800, to be equitably distributed among all the tribes who were parties to the treaty.



CHAPTER III.

"What constitutes a state?"

Men, who their duties know,
But know their rights, and, knowing, dare maintain;
Prevent the long-aimed blow,
And crush the tyrant while they read the chain—
These constitute a state."

SIR WILLIAM JONES.

"There's a warfare where none but the morally brave
Stand nobly and firmly, their country to save.
'Tis the war of *opinion*, where few can be found,
On the mountain of principle, guarding the ground;
With vigilant eyes ever watching the foes
Who are prowling around them, and aiming their blows."

MRS. DANA.



WHILE the arm of military power was removing the remains of a hoary barbarism from the beautiful region west of the Alleghenies, preparatory to the founding of great commonwealths there, the new national government was summoning its functions into energetic and beneficent action. Men were never called upon to perform duties of greater importance and momentous consequences. They were charged with the establishment of the foreign and domestic policy of a nation, "not for a day, but for all

time." The President and the Legislature felt the responsibility, and in solemn earnestness they elaborated schemes for the future prosperity of the republic.

The earliest efforts of Congress, after its organization, were directed to the arrangement of a system of revenue, in order to adjust the wretched financial affairs of the country. Mr. Madison, the tacitly acknowledged leader in the House of Representatives, presented the plan of a temporary tariff upon foreign goods imported into the United States, with provisions favorable to American shipping; also a scheme of tonnage duties, in which great discriminations were made in favor of American vessels, as well as those of France, Holland, Sweden, and Prussia, the only nations having treaties of commerce with the United States. An efficient revenue system was speedily adopted and put in motion, for the consolidated government possessed inherent power to do so.

This first practical exhibition of sovereignty by the central government of the United States opened the eyes of British merchants and statesmen to the fact that the Americans had suddenly made a stride toward absolute independence—that their commerce was no longer subjected to the caprice of foreign powers, nor neglected because of the disagreements and jealousies of thirteen distinct Legislatures. They perceived that its interests were guarded and its strength nurtured by a central power of wonderful energy, and that the new republic had taken its place among the family of nations with just claims to the highest respect and consideration. Other nations yielded the same recognition, and its future career was contemplated with peculiar interest throughout the civilized world.

While the House of Representatives was engaged on the subject of revenue, the Senate was occupied in arranging a judiciary system. A bill for the purpose was offered in that body by Oliver Ellsworth, of Connecticut. After undergoing several amendments, it was concurred in by both houses of Congress, and a national judiciary

The Judiciary.	Amendments to the Constitution.	Cabinet Ministers.	Relations with France and England.
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was established similar in all its essential features to that now in operation. It consisted of one chief justice and five associate justices, who were directed to hold two sessions annually at the seat of the national government. Circuit and district courts were also established, which had jurisdiction over certain specified cases. Each state was made a district, as were also the two Territories of Kentucky and Maine. The districts, excepting the two Territories, were grouped so as to form three circuits. A marshal and district attorney were appointed for each district by the President.¹

The subjects of revenue and judiciary being well disposed of, Congress next turned its attention to the organization of executive departments. Only three—Treasury, War, and Foreign Relations—were established. The heads of these were styled Secretaries instead of Ministers, as in Europe. The President of the United States was clothed with power to appoint or dismiss them at his pleasure, with the concurrence of the Senate. They were designed to constitute a cabinet council, ever subject to the call of the President for consultation on public affairs, and bound to give him their opinions in writing when required.

The attention of Congress was next turned to the amendments of the Constitution proposed by the people of the several states, which amounted, in the aggregate, to one hundred and forty-seven, besides separate Bills of Rights proposed by Virginia and New York. Sixteen of the amendments were agreed to, and twelve of them were subsequently ratified by the people and became a part of the organic law of the nation. The profound wisdom of the framers of the Constitution and its own perfection are illustrated by the fact that, of these twelve amendments, not one of them, judged by subsequent experience, was of a vital character.

Before the adjournment of Congress on the 29th of September,^a the President had appointed his Cabinet,² and the new government was fairly set in motion. Its foreign relations were, on the whole, satisfactory, and only in England were other than friendly feelings toward the United States manifested. These were met by corresponding ill feeling toward England on this side of the Atlantic. The resentments caused by the late long war were blunted, but by no means deprived of their strength; and, finally, the fact that the British government still held possession of Western military posts within the boundary of the United States, and that from these had gone out influences which had involved their country in a bloody and expensive war with the Indians, produced much irritation in the American mind. This was intensified by the wounds given to their national pride by the British government, in so long refusing to negotiate a commercial treaty with them, and declining to reciprocate the friendly advances of the United States by sending a minister to reside at the national capital.

With their old ally, France, the most perfect friendship still existed, but it was destined to a speedy interruption. Events in that country, and the position assumed by the President of the United States in relation to them, caused violent animosity to take the place of cordial good will, and were among the causes which gave birth to parties in America whose collisions, for several years, shook the republic to its centre, and at times threatened its existence. The animosities of these parties, and the collateral relations of national policy and events in France and England to them, will be found, as we proceed in our narrative, to have played an important part in the great drama we are considering, at the period immediately preceding and during the progress of the War of 1812.

¹ John Jay, of New York, was appointed Chief Justice of the United States; and John Rutledge, of South Carolina, James Wilson, of Pennsylvania, William Cushing, of Massachusetts, Robert H. Harrison, of Maryland, and John Blair, of Virginia, were appointed associate judges.

² Alexander Hamilton was appointed Secretary of the Treasury; Henry Knox, Secretary of War; and Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of Foreign Affairs, the duties of which were the same as now performed by the Secretary of State, or prime minister. The Navy Department was not created until 1798. Naval affairs were under the control of the Secretary of War. At that time the Attorney General and Postmaster General were heads of departments, but were not, as now, Cabinet officers. Edmund Randolph was appointed Attorney General, and Samuel Osgood Postmaster General.

At the very time when the fruits of the American Revolution were exhibiting their ripeness in the form of a free and vigorous nation full of promise, the Empire of France, made unsound to the core by social and political corruptions most foul, was shaken by a moral earthquake—a revolution severe at the beginning, and terrible in its subsequent course. The French monarch was weak, his advisers were wicked, and the dominant classes, through luxury and concomitant vices, were exceedingly corrupt. The good and the brave of the kingdom had long perceived the abyss of woe upon the brink of which their country was poised, and with a heroism which in the light of history appears almost divine, they resolved to sound the trumpet of political reform, and arouse king, nobles, and people to a sense of solemn duty as men and patriots.

At the head of these brave men was Lafayette, seconded chiefly by the Duke de Rochefoucauld and M. Condorcet. They wished to obtain for France a Constitution similar to that of England, which they regarded as the most perfect model of human government then known. They loved their king because of his many virtues, and would have advised him wisely had their voices been permitted audience in the Tuileries; but they loved France more than their king, and desired to see her crowned with true glory, based upon the welfare and prosperity of her people. To accomplish this, they placed their hopes on a virtuous constitutional monarchy.

For a long time Lafayette and his coadjutors had been elaborating their scheme. At length, in the Assembly of Notables, in April, 1789, that champion of rational liberty stood up in his place and boldly demanded a series of reforms in the name of the people, one of which was a representative National Assembly. "What!" exclaimed the Count D'Artois, one of the king's bad advisers, "do you make a motion for the States General?" "Yes, and even more than that," quickly responded Lafayette. That *more* was a charter from the king, by which the public and individual liberty should be acknowledged and guaranteed by the future States General. The proposition was received with unbounded enthusiasm. The measure was carried. Early in May a session of the States General was opened at Versailles, and they constituted themselves a National Assembly.

Now was the golden opportunity for King Louis. Slight concessions at that moment might have secured blessings for himself and his country. But he heeded the counsels of venal men more than the supplications of his real friends. He opposed the popular will, and took the road to ruin. He ordered the hall of the National Assembly to be closed, and placed a cordon of mercenary German troops around Paris to overawe the people. From that time until early in July the French capital was dreadfully agitated. Passion ruled the hour. The city was like a seething caldron. Every one felt that a terrible storm was about to burst.

The National Assembly was now sitting in Paris, and thoroughly sustained by the people. They called for the organization of forty-eight thousand armed militia. Within two days two hundred and seventy thousand citizens were enrolled. A state mayor was appointed by the town assembly, and the Marquis La Salle was named commander-in-chief.

Court dispatches were intercepted by the people by the arrest of royal couriers. Then they demanded arms. An immense assemblage went to the Hospital of the Invalids on the 10th of July, and demanded from the governor the instant delivery to them of all weapons there. He refused, and they seized thirty thousand muskets and twenty pieces of cannon. Then they visited the shops of the armorers and the depository of the *Garde-meuble*, and seized all the arms found there.

Higher and higher rose the tide of revolution. The girdle of soldiers around Paris was the chief cause for present irritation. The National Assembly sent a deputation to the king at Versailles to ask him to remove them. His good heart counseled compliance, but his weak head bowed to the demands of bad advisers. "I alone have

Excitement in Paris.	Formation of a National Guard.	Treachery at the Bastille.	That Prison destroyed.
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the right to judge of the necessity, and in that respect I can make no change," was the haughty answer of the king borne back to the Assembly. This answer, and the dismissal of M. Necker, the controller of the treasury, and other patriotic ministers who favored reform, produced a crisis.

Paris was comparatively quiet on the night of the 13th of July. It was the ominous lull before the bursting of the tempest. The streets were barricaded. The people formed themselves into a National Guard, and chose Lafayette as their commander. Gun, sabre, scythe, and whatever weapon fell in their way was seized. Multitudes of men of the same opinion embraced each other in the streets as brothers, and, in an instant almost, a National Guard of one hundred thousand determined men was formed.

The morning of the 14th was serene. The sky was cloudless. But storms of passion were sweeping over Paris. The people were in motion at an early hour. Their steps were toward the Bastille, a hoary state prison, which was regarded as the stronghold of despotism. They stood before it in immense numbers. A parley ensued. The gates were opened, and forty leading citizens, as representatives of the populace, were allowed to enter. The bridges were then suddenly drawn, and volleys of musketry soon told a tale of treachery most foul. They were all murdered! That moment marks the opening of the terrible scenes of the French Revolution. With demoniac yells the exasperated populace dragged heavy cannon before the gates, and threatened the destruction of the Bastille. The terrified governor displayed a white flag, and invited a second deputation to enter the gates. These shared the fate of the former! The furious multitude would no longer listen to words of peace. They were treacherous all. A breach was soon made in the walls. The governor and other officers were dragged to execution, and their heads were paraded upon pikes through the streets. The great iron key of the Bastille was sent to the City Hall.¹ The National Assembly decreed the demolition of the hated prison, and very soon it was leveled to the ground.² Upon its site, now the *Place de Bastille*, stands the *Column of July*, erected by Louis Philippe to commemorate the Revolution in 1830, which placed him on the throne. Lafayette sent the key of the Bastille to Washington, who placed it in the broad passage at Mount Vernon, where it still hangs.

The National Assembly elected Lafayette commander-in-chief of the National Guard of all France, a corps of more than four millions of armed citizens. They voted him a salary of fifty thousand dollars a year, but, imitating Washington, he refused to accept any remuneration for his services. The humbled king approved his appointment, and the monarch, deserted by his evil counselors, threw himself upon the National Assembly. "He has been deceived hitherto," Lafayette proclaimed to the public, "but he now sees the merit and justice of the popular cause." The overjoyed people shouted "Long live the king!" and for a moment the Revolution seemed to be at an end and its purposes accomplished.

But Lafayette, who comprehended the labors and the dangers yet to be encountered, was filled with apprehension. The wily Duke of Orleans, who desired the destruction of the king for the base purpose of his own exaltation to the throne, was busied in sowing the seeds of distrust among the people.³ The duke incited them to demand the monarch's presence at the Tuileries. Louis went voluntarily from Versailles to Paris, followed by sixty thousand citizens and a hundred deputies of the

¹ For a picture and description of this key, see Lossing's *Field-Book of the Revolution*, ii., 209.

² A picture of the Bastille may be found in Lossing's *Home of Washington and its Associations*, p. 221.

³ "He does not, indeed, possess talent to carry into execution a great project," said Lafayette to John Trumbull, who was about to leave Paris, "but he possesses immense wealth, and France abounds in marketable talents. Every city and town has young men eminent for abilities, particularly in the law—ardent in character, eloquent, ambitious of distinction, but poor." Many of these were the men who composed the leaders in the Reign of Terror, and reddened the streets of Paris with human blood.

European War expected. Great Britain and Spain in ill-humor. Attempt to extort Justice from Great Britain.

Assembly, and there formally accepted the Declaration of the Rights of Man, which was presented to him. The people were satisfied, and the duke was disappointed. Order reigned in Paris and throughout the kingdom. The bearing of these events upon our subject will be observed presently.

At this time a general European war seemed inevitable. A long-pending controversy between Great Britain and Spain remained unsettled. It was believed that France, with her traditional hatred of Great Britain, would side with Spain. This alliance would menace England with much danger. At the same time, Spain, a declining power, would necessarily be much embarrassed by war. Viewing this situation of affairs in Western Europe with the eye of a statesman, Washington concluded that it was a favorable time to urge upon Spain the claims of the United States to the free navigation of the Mississippi, concerning which negotiations had been for some time pending, and also to press upon Great Britain the necessity of complying with the yet unfulfilled articles of the Treaty of 1783. Mr. Carmichael, the American *Chargé des Affaires* at the Court of Madrid,¹ was instructed not only to press the point concerning the navigation of the Mississippi with earnestness, but to endeavor to secure to the United States, by cession, the island of New Orleans and the Floridas, offering as an equivalent the abiding friendship of the new republic, by which the territories of Spain west of the Mississippi might be secured to that government. At the same time, Gouverneur Morris, then in Paris, was directed by Washington to repair to London, and, with sincere professions of a desire on the part of the United States "to promote harmony and mutual satisfaction between the two countries," sound the British ministry on the subject of a full and immediate execution of the Treaty of 1783.²

Morris had a formal interview with the Duke of Leeds, the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, near the close of March, 1790. He was received with cordiality, and was assured of the earnest desire of Great Britain to cultivate friendly relations with the United States, and the determination of the king to send a minister to America. But when Morris attempted to hold explicit conversation on the subject of his semi-official mission he was met with evasion and reticence. It was immediately made evident to him that there was real reluctance on the part of Great Britain to fulfill the stipulations of the Treaty of 1783, or to make a fair commercial arrangement, and that there was a disposition to procrastinate while the difficulties between Great Britain and Spain remained unadjusted. He found great misapprehensions existing in England concerning the real character of the Americans and their government, even among the best informed. They overrated the importance to Americans of friendship with them. They believed that trade with Great Britain was of vital consequence to the Americans, and that the latter would make an international commercial treaty upon almost any terms to secure it. With this belief, a committee of Parliament, to whom had been referred the revenue acts of the United States, acting under the advice of the merchants of leading maritime towns of Great Britain, reported early in 1790, in favor of negotiating a commercial treaty with the Americans, but with the explicit declaration that the commissioners should not "submit to treat" for the admission of American vessels into any of the British islands or colonial ports. They actually believed that the necessities of the United States would make them acquiesce in an arrangement so ungenerous and partial.

While war with Spain seemed impending, the British ministers listened complacently to what Morris had to say about the frontier military posts, the impressment of American seamen into the British naval service under the plea that they were sub-

¹ William Carmichael went to Spain with Minister John Jay, as secretary of legation, in 1779, and when that functionary left, Mr. Carmichael remained as *Chargé des Affaires*. After the Treaty of Peace was signed in 1783, the Spanish government refused to acknowledge him as such, but finally, through the agency of Lafayette, they reluctantly consented to do so.

² Washington's letter to Gouverneur Morris, October 13, 1789.

Discourtesy of the British Government.

The Americans supposed to be dependent.

A Change of Views.

jects of Great Britain, and the propriety of sending a full minister to the United States.¹ It was evident that the British were willing to allow their relations with the Americans to remain unchanged until they should have a definite perception of the course European affairs were likely to take. This evidence became more and more manifest in the autumn. The French government, embarrassed by its own troubled affairs, was disinclined to take part with Spain in its quarrel, and the latter, unable alone to cope with Great Britain, yielded every point in the controversy, and the dispute was settled. Relieved of this burden of perplexity, and regarding France as hopelessly crippled by her internal difficulties, Great Britain showed marked indifference concerning her relations with the United States. Nothing more was said about sending a minister to America, and Mr. Morris was treated with neglect, if not with positive discourtesy.

At the close of the year Mr. Morris left England. He had been there about nine months, endeavoring to obtain a positive answer to the simple questions, Will you execute the Treaty? will you make a treaty of commerce with the United States? At the end of that time the real views of the British government were as hidden as at the beginning. Ungenerous diplomacy had been employed all the time by the British ministry, while the American government was anxious to establish peaceful relations with Great Britain and all the world upon principles of exact justice. Its agents were unskilled in the low cunning of diplomatic art which at that time distinguished every court in Europe, and they lost the game. Both the government and people of the United States felt aggrieved and indignant at the course of Great Britain, and self-respect would not allow them to farther press the subject of diplomatic intercourse or treaty relations. They therefore resolved to pause in action until the republic should become strong enough to speak in decisive tones, and prepared to maintain its declarations by corresponding vigor of action.

Great changes are wrought by time. The march of stirring events in Europe now became majestic, for a new and important era was dawning; and the dignity and importance of the republic beyond the sea was too apparent to the world to allow the British government to maintain its indifference much longer without evil consequences to itself. Already France, Holland, and Spain, the real enemies of England, had placed representatives at the seat of our national government, and British pride was compelled to yield to expediency. In August, 1791, George Hammond arrived in Philadelphia, clothed with full ministerial powers as the representative of Great Britain, presented his credentials, and was formally received. In December following, diplomatic relations between the two governments were established by the

¹ Great Britain evidently apprehended an alliance of the United States with Spain, in the event of a war between the former and the latter power. Dorchester, the Governor of Canada, was employed to ascertain the disposition of the United States on that point. He accordingly asked permission to pass through New York on his way to England; and when it was readily granted, as he expected, he sent his aid-de-camp, Major Beckwith, to the seat of the United States government, under the pretext of making a formal acknowledgment, but really to seek information upon the subject in question. He first approached Mr. Hamilton, the Secretary of the Treasury. After expressing the thanks of Lord Dorchester, he, with apparent unconcern, remarked that his lordship had reason to fear that the delays which Mr. Morris experienced in England would be attributed to a lack of desire on the part of the British ministry to adjust every matter in dispute between the United States and Great Britain. In behalf of his lordship he was instructed to say, that there could be no doubt, not only of the friendly feeling of Great Britain, but of a desire on her part for an alliance with the United States. Major Beckwith then spoke of the rupture between Great Britain and Spain, and expressed his presumption that, in the event of war, the United States would find it to their interest to take part with Great Britain. He then, in the name of Dorchester, disclaimed any influence, under British authorities, over the Indian tribes in the West. The President laid the matter before his Cabinet, and it was agreed to draw out from the major as much information as possible by treating him and his communication very civilly. But he obtained no information of importance. The matter was so transparent that no one was deceived. "What they [the ministers] are saying to you," Jefferson wrote to Morris in August, "they are saying to us through Quebec; but so informally that they may disavow it when they please. . . . Through him [Major Beckwith] they talk of a minister, a treaty of commerce, and *alliance*. If the object of the latter be honorable, it is useless; if dishonorable, inadmissible. These tamperings prove that they view war as possible; and some symptoms indicate designs against the Spanish possessions adjoining us. The consequences of their acquiring all the country on our frontier from the St. Croix to the St. Mary's are too obvious to you to need development. You will readily see the dangers which would then environ us. . . . We wish to be neutral, and we will be so, if they will execute the Treaty fairly and attempt no conquests adjoining us."

Efforts for the Establishment of the Public Credit. Hamilton's Protest against tampering with the National Honor.

appointment of Thomas Pinckney, of South Carolina, as American minister to the Court of St. James.¹

At about this time two violently antagonistic parties had assumed definite shape and formidable proportions in the United States, the acknowledged heads of which were Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson, members of Washington's Cabinet. On the former, as Secretary of the Treasury, devolved the important duty to arrange a plan for



Thomas Pinckney

that kind. With the sagacity of a statesman, the sincerity of an honest man, and the true heart of a patriot, he planted his foot firmly upon the ground of justice and honor, and declared that public credit could only be established by the faithful discharge of public obligations in strict conformity to the terms of the contract. These debts were originally due to officers and soldiers, farmers, mechanics, and patriotic capitalists, and were sacred in the estimation of honest men; and it was no just plea for their whole or partial repudiation that speculators would profit by the honesty of the government. It was not for the debtor to inquire into whose hands his written promises to pay were lodged, nor how they came there.² Upon this lofty foundation of principle Hamilton stood before hosts of his frowning countrymen, conscious of the importance of financial honor and integrity to the infant republic, and determined to secure for it the dignity which justice confers, at whatever cost of personal popularity.

He accordingly presented to Congress,³ in an able report, a scheme "for the support of the public credit," whose principal feature was the funding of the public debt—a plan proposed by him to Robert Morris as early as 1782. He also proposed the assumption by the general government of the state debts incurred during the war, amounting, in principal and interest, to over twenty millions of dol-

the establishment of the public credit.² Owing to long delay, and doubts and discouragements in the minds of the original holders of the evidences of the public debt, they had fallen into the hands of speculators at one sixth of their nominal value. It was therefore argued that, in the liquidation of these claims, there should be a scale of depreciation adopted, thereby making a saving to the public treasury.

Hamilton would listen favorably to no suggestions of

¹ Thomas Pinckney was born in Charleston, South Carolina, 25d of October, 1760. He was educated in England. When the Revolution broke out he entered the military service, and was active until Gates's defeat near Camden, in August, 1780, when he was made a prisoner. He was Gates's aid. He was chosen Governor of South Carolina in 1787. In 1792 he went as minister to England. In 1794 he was sent in the same capacity to Spain, to treat concerning the navigation of the Mississippi. At the beginning of 1812 the President appointed him to the command of the Southern division of the army. After the war General Pinckney retired to private life. He died on the 25 of November, 1828, aged seventy-eight years.

² The impoverished condition of the country, and the wants of the public treasury at that time, may be comprehended by the fact that, at the close of 1789, the Attorney General and several members of Congress were indebted to the private credit of the Secretary of the Treasury to discharge their personal expenses. Even the President of the United States was obliged to pass his note to his private secretary, Mr. Lear, to meet his household expenses, which was discounted at the rate of two per cent. a month. Members of Congress were paid by due-bills, which the collectors were ordered to receive in payment of duties.—HAMILTON'S *History of the Republic of the United States*, iv., 48.

³ Hamilton argued that, besides motives of political expediency, there were reasons in favor of his view "which rest on the immutable principles of moral obligation; and, in proportion as the mind is disposed to contemplate, in the order of Providence, an ultimate connection between public virtue and public happiness, will be its repugnance to a violation of those principles. This reflection derives additional strength from the nature of the debt of the United States. IT WAS THE PRICE OF LIBERTY. The faith of America has been repeatedly pledged for it, and with solemnities that give peculiar force to the obligation."

Hamilton's Financial Scheme assailed.

Banking Capital in the United States.

A Decimal Currency adopted.

lars. His scheme included the establishment of a national bank,¹ a system of revenue from taxation, internal and external, and a sinking fund.

This scheme—just, patriotic, necessary, and beneficial—was assailed with the greatest vehemence, and the discussions which it elicited, especially upon the subject of the assumption of the state debts, in Congress, in the public press, and in private circles, fearfully agitated the nation, and created the first regular and systematic opposition to the principles on which the affairs of the republic were administered. Its propositions, especially the one relating to the assumption of state debts, were regarded with alarm by the late opponents of the Constitution and a consolidated government, because of their tendency to a centralization of power, as giving an undue influence to the general government by placing the purse as well as the sword in its hands, and as being also of doubtful constitutionality. Many believed that they saw in this scheme great political evils, because it secured the financial union of the states, and might lead to the establishment of a government as absolute as a constitutional monarchy. These suspicions were strengthened by the well-known fact that Hamilton regarded the British government as a model of excellence, and had advocated greater centralization of power, in the Convention of 1787. He was made the target for the shafts of personal and political malice, and his financial system was misrepresented and abused as a scheme for enriching a few at the expense of the many.² The war of opinion was fierce and uncompromising.

While Washington took no part in the discussion of Hamilton's scheme, it commanded his highest admiration, as the most perfect that human wisdom could devise for restoring the public credit and laying the foundation of national policy. He predicted great and lasting good from its adoption, and his prophecies were fulfilled. Confidence was revived, and that acted like magic upon industry; and then com-

¹ At that time the whole banking capital of the United States was only \$2,000,000, invested in the *Bank of North America*, established in Philadelphia by Robert Morris, chiefly as a government fiscal agent; the *Bank of New York*, in New York City; and the *Bank of Massachusetts*, in Boston. In January, 1791, Congress chartered a national bank for the term of twenty years, with a capital of \$10,000,000, to be located in the city of Philadelphia, and its management to be intrusted to twenty-five directors. It did not commence business operations in corporate form until in February, 1794.

The subject of currency had occupied the attention of the old Congress as early as 1782, when Governor Morris presented an able report on the subject, written at the request of Robert Morris.* He proposed to harmonize the moneys of all the states. Starting with one ascertained fraction as a unit, for a divisor, he proposed the following table of moneys: Ten units to be equal to one penny; ten pence to one bill; ten bills, one dollar (about seventy-five cents of our present currency); and ten dollars, one crown. Mr. Jefferson, as chairman of a committee on the subject of coins, reported a table in 1784, in which he adopted Morris's decimal system, but entirely changed its details. He proposed to strike four coins, namely, a golden piece of the value of ten dollars, a dollar in silver, a tenth of a dollar in silver, and a hundredth of a dollar in copper. This report was adopted by Congress the following year, and this was the origin of our *cent*, *dime*, *dollar*, and *eagle*. The establishment of a mint for coinage was delayed, and no legislative action on the subject was taken until early in April, 1792, when laws were enacted for the preparation of one. For three years

afterward the operations of the mint were chiefly experimental, while in Congress long debates were had concerning the devices for the new coins. The Senate proposed the head of the President of the United States who should occupy the chair of state at the time of the coinage. In the House, the head of Liberty was suggested, as being less aristocratic than the effigy of the President—less the stamp of royalty. The head of Liberty was finally adopted. During that interval of three years, several of the coins called "specimens," now so rare in cabinets, and so much sought after by connoisseurs, were struck. Of these the rarest is a small copper coin, known as the "Liberty-eag cent." The engraving is from one in my possession. The mint was first put into full operation, in Philadelphia, in 1796.

* "The public paper suddenly rose, and was for a short time above par," says Marshall. "The immense wealth which individuals acquired by this unexpected appreciation could not be viewed with indifference."



LIBERTY CENT.

* Robert Morris had considered the subject for more than a year. As early as July, 1781, he wrote to Benjamin Dudley, of Boston, an Englishman, requesting him to come to Philadelphia, that he might consult him about the coinage of money. In November Mr. Dudley was employed in assaying. Mr. Morris kept him engaged in experiments, and in the preparation of machinery for a mint. In these Mr. Dudley consulted Dr. Rittenhouse and Francis Hopkinson. A country blacksmith, named Wheeler, was employed to make the rollers for the mint, and it was July the following year before any machinery was perfected. Mr. Morris labored hard to get the mint in operation, but without success. Finally, on the 2d of April, 1793, Morris was enabled to write in his diary, "I sent for Mr. Dudley, who delivered me a piece of silver coin, being the first that has been struck as an American coin." Mr. Dudley was installed superintendent of the mint, having charge, also, of the preparation of the paper moulds, etc., in the manufacture of the currency printed by Hall & Sellers, the printers of the Continental money. Finally, in July, Mr. Morris gave up the idea of establishing a mint, and Mr. Dudley, after delivering up the dies to him, left his service.—ROBERT MORRIS'S DIARY.

Mr. Jefferson in France.

His Reception in New York.

His Suspicions of former Colleagues and Compatriots.

menced that wonderful development of material wealth which has gone on with few intermissions until the present time.

While these discussions were at their height, Jefferson arrived at the seat of government, to assume the duties of Secretary of State. He had but lately returned from France, where he had labored for several years in the diplomatic service of his country. He had



A. Hamilton

tal, and his inherent democratic principles and ideas intensified and enlarged by these experiences, he came home full of enthusiasm, expecting to find every body in his own country ready to speak a sympathizing word for, and to extend a helping hand to the *people* of France, the old ally of Americans in their efforts to establish for themselves a constitutional government.

But Mr. Jefferson was disappointed. When he arrived in New York, after a tedious journey of a fortnight on horseback, he was warmly welcomed by the leading families of the city, and became the recipient of almost daily invitations to social and dinner parties. The wealthier and more aristocratic classes in New York, who gave dinner parties at that time, were mostly Loyalists' families, who remembered the pleasant intercourse they had enjoyed with the British officers during the late war, and had always regarded the British form of government as the most perfect ever devised. Free from political restraint, their conversation was open and frank, and their sentiments were expressed without reserve. Mr. Jefferson was continually shocked by the utterance of opinions repugnant to his faith, and in contrast with his recent experience.¹

Mr. Jefferson, who was sensitively and even painfully alive to the evils of despotism and the dangers of a government stronger than the people, took the alarm, and he became morbidly suspicious of all around him. The conservatism of Washington and his associates in the government, and their lack of enthusiasm on the subject of the French Revolution, which so filled his own heart, were construed by him as indifference to the diffusion of democratic ideas and the triumph of republican principles, for which the patriots in the war for independence had contended. He had scarcely taken his seat in the Cabinet before he declared that some of his colleagues held decidedly monarchical views, and it became a settled belief in his mind that there was a party in the United States constantly at work, secretly and sometimes openly, for the overthrow of republicanism. This idea became a sort of monomania, and haunted him until his death, more than thirty years afterward.

Events in France soon began to make vivid impressions upon the public mind in America. The fears of Lafayette were realized. The lull that succeeded the tempest of 1789, was only the precursor of a more terrible storm in 1791, that shook European society to its deepest foundations, and, like the great earthquake of 1755, was felt in almost every part of the globe.

¹ "I can not describe the wonder and mortification with which the table conversation filled me," Mr. Jefferson wrote. "Politics was the chief topic, and a preference for a kingly over republican government was evidently the favorite sentiment. An apostate I could not be, nor yet a hypocrite; and I found myself, for the most part, the only advocate on the republican side of the question, unless among the guests there chanced to be some member of that party from the legislative houses." This is the first mention that we any where find of a Republican Party in this country.

witnessed the uprising of the people there at the bidding of Lafayette and others a few months before. The example of his own country was the star of hope to the French revolutionists, and as the author of the *Declaration of Independence*, he was regarded as an oracle, and courted by the leaders of the constitutional party there. Fresh from the fields of political excitement in the French capital,

Formation of the Jacobin Club in Paris. Demoralization of the National Guard. A Constitution granted to the People.

Long before the meeting of the States-general at Versailles, forty intelligent men, whose feelings were intensely democratic, who avowed their hatred of kings and their attendant titles and privileges, and who ridiculed and contemned Christianity as an imposture, had met in the hall of the Jacobin monks in Paris, and from that circumstance were called the Jacobin Club. In the commotions that attended and followed the destruction of the Bastille, this club had gained immense popularity. They now published a newspaper, whose motto was LIBERTY AND EQUALITY, and whose design was to disseminate ultra-democratic doctrines, irreligious ideas, and a spirit of revolt and disaffection to the king. They became potential—a power in the state. Their influence was every where seen in the laxity of public morals. The church was polluted with the contagion. A refractory spirit appeared among the National Guards, and the king and his family were insulted in public.

Disgusted with these evidences of demoralization, Lafayette resigned his command of the National Guard, but resumed it on the solicitation of sixty battalions. He was exceedingly popular, yet he could not wholly control the spirit of anarchy that was abroad. The king, alarmed, fled in disguise from Paris. Terror prevailed among all classes. The flight of the monarch was construed into a crime by his enemies, and he was arrested and brought back to Paris under an escort of thirty thousand National Guards. He excused his movement with the plea that he was exposed to too many insults in the capital, and only wished to live quietly, away from the scenes of strife.

The populace were not satisfied. Led by Robespierre, a sanguinary demagogue, and member of the Constituent Assembly, they met in the Elysian Fields, and petitioned for the dethronement of Louis. Four thousand of the National Guard fired upon them, and killed several hundred. The exasperation of the people was terrible, yet the popularity of Lafayette held the factious in check.¹

The Constitution was completed in September. The trembling king accepted it, and solemnly swore to maintain it. Proclamation of the fact was made throughout the kingdom, and a grand fête, whereat one hundred thousand people sang and danced the Carmagnole in the Elysian Fields, was held at Paris, and salvos of cannon thundered along the banks of the Seine.²

There was wide-spread sympathy in the United States with these revolutionary movements in France. The spirit of faction, viewed at that great distance, appeared like patriotism. Half-formed and half-understood political maxims, floating upon the tide of social life in the new republic, began to crystallize into tenets, and assumed antagonistic party positions. The galvanic forces, so to speak, which produced these crystallizations, proceeded from the President's Cabinet, where Mr. Jefferson, the Secretary of State, and Mr. Hamilton, the Secretary of the Treasury, were at direct variance in their views of domestic public measures, and were making constant war upon each other. Jefferson, believing, with Thomas Paine (who now appeared in the field of political strife abroad), that a weak government and a strong people were the best guarantees of liberty to the citizen, contemplated all executive power with distrust, and desired to impair its vitality and restrain its operations. He thought he saw in the funding system arranged by Hamilton, and in the United States Bank and the excise law—creations of that statesman's brain—instruments for enslaving the people;

¹ "I am exposed to the envy and attacks of all parties," he wrote to Washington, "for this single reason, that whoever acts or means wrong finds me an insuperable obstacle. And there appears a kind of phenomenon in my situation—all parties against me, and a national popularity, which, in spite of every effort, has remained unchanged. . . . Given up to all the madness of license, faction, and popular rage, I stood alone in defense of the law, and turned the tide into the constitutional channel."

² Upon a tree planted on the site of the Bastille a placard was placed, in these words:

"Here is the epoch of Liberty;
We dance on the ruins of despotism;
The Constitution is finished—
Long live patriotism!"

Jefferson makes War upon his Opponents. His religious Views. Jefferson and John Adams Antagonists in Opinion.

and he affected to believe that the rights of the states and liberties of the citizens were in danger.

Hamilton, on the other hand, regarded the National Constitution as inadequate in strength to perform its required functions, and believed weakness to be its most radical defect; and it was his sincere desire and uniform practice so to construe its provisions as to give strength and efficiency to the Executive in the administration of public affairs.

Not content with an expression of his opinions, Jefferson charged his political opponents, and especially Hamilton, with corrupt and anti-republican designs, selfish motives, and treacherous intentions; and thus was inaugurated that system of personal abuse and vituperation which has ever been a disgrace to the press and political leaders of this country.

An unfortunate blunder made by John Adams, the Vice-President, at about this time, confirmed Jefferson in his opinions and fears. These men, compatriots in the events out of which the nation had been evolved, cherished dissimilar political ideas, and held widely differing religious sentiments. Mr. Jefferson was always a free-thinker, and his latitudinarianism was greatly expanded by a long residence among the contemners of revealed religion in France. He admired Voltaire, Rousseau, and D'Alembert, whose graves were then green; and one of his most intimate companions was the Marquis of Condorcet, who "classed among fools those who had the misfortune to believe in a revealed religion." He sympathized with the ultra Republicans of France, was their counselor in the early and later stages of the revolutionary movement of 1789, and opened his house to them for secret conclave. He was an enthusiastic admirer of a nation of enthusiasts.

Mr. Adams, on the contrary, was thoroughly imbued with the political and religious principles of New England Puritanism. He discovered spiritual life in every page of the Bible, and accepted the doctrines of revealed religion as an emanation from the fountain of Eternal Truth. His mind was cast in the mould of the English conservative writers, whom he admired. He detested the principles and practices of the French philosophers, whom Jefferson revered; and, from the outset, he detected in the revolutionary movements in France the elements of destructiveness which were so speedily developed. These views were indicated in a letter to the Rev. Dr. Price, of England, acknowledging the receipt of a printed copy of his famous discourse on the morning of the anniversary dinner of the English Revolution Society in 1789, in which the preacher, accepting the French Revolution as a glorious event in the history of mankind, said, "What an eventful period is this! I am thankful that I have lived to see it; and I could almost say, 'Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation.' . . . I have lived to see thirty millions of people indignantly and resolutely spurning at slavery, and demanding liberty with an irresistible voice."

To this Adams replied, "I know that encyclopedists and economists—Diderot and D'Alembert, Voltaire and Rousseau—have contributed to this great event even more than Sidney, Locke, or Hoadley; perhaps more than the American Revolution: and I own to you I know not what to make of a republic of thirty millions of atheists. . . .

¹ Capefigue, ii., 82. Mr. Jefferson's religious views, at that time, may be inferred from the contents of a letter written at Paris on the 10th of August, 1787, to Peter Carr, a young relative of his in Virginia, wherein he lays down some maxims for his future guidance. He enjoins him to exalt reason above creeds. "Question with boldness," he says, "even the existence of a God; because, if there be one, he must more approve the homage of reason than of blindfold fear." He then advises him to read the Bible as he would Livy or Tacitus. "The facts which are within the ordinary course of nature you will believe on the authority of the writer, as you do those of the same kind in Livy or Tacitus." He then cautions him against a belief in statements in the Bible "which contradict the laws of nature." Concerning the New Testament, he said, "It is the history of a personage called Jesus. Keep in your eye the opposite pretensions, 1, of those who say he was begotten of God, born of a virgin, suspended and reversed the laws of nature at will, and ascended bodily into heaven; and, 2, of those who say he was a man of illegitimate birth, of a benevolent heart, enthusiastic mind, who set out with pretensions to divinity, ended in believing them, and was punished capitally for sedition by being gibbeted according to the Roman law."

An English Democrat's Discourse.

Burke's Reflections on the French Revolution.

Paine's "Rights of Man."

Too many Frenchmen, after the example of too many Americans, pant for equality of person and property. The impracticability of this, God Almighty has decreed, and the advocates for liberty who attempt it will surely suffer for it."¹

¹ See Letter to Richard Price, April 19, 1790, in the *Lives and Works of John Adams*, ix., 563.

Richard Price, D.D., LL.D., was an eminent English Dissenting minister, and at this time was preacher at the meeting-house in Old Jewry, London. He was then quite venerable in years, and with a mind as vigorous as when, in 1776, he wrote his famous "Observations on the War in America." He was an ultra democrat, and sympathized strongly with the French Revolution. He did not live to see that Revolution assume its huge proportions and hideous visage that so terrified Europe, for he died in the spring of 1791.

The discourse above alluded to was preached on the anniversary of the Revolution in 1688 (4th of November) which buried James the Second from the throne. Dr. Price was an active member of the "Revolution Club," of which, at that time, the Earl of Stanhope was president. The discourse "On the Love of our Country" was preached before the members, and was subsequently printed. After alluding to the Revolution in France, he said, "I see the dominion of kings changed for the dominion of laws, and the dominion of priests giving way to the dominion of reason and conscience. Be encouraged, all ye friends of freedom and writers in its defense! The times are auspicious. Your labors have not been in vain. Behold kingdoms, admonished by you, starting from sleep, breaking their fetters, and claiming justice from their oppressors! Behold the light you have struck out, after setting America free, reflected to France, and there kindled into a blaze that lays despotism in ashes, and warms and illuminates Europe!"

The Society, at that meeting, on motion of Dr. Price, agreed, by acclamation, to send, in the shape of a formal address, "their congratulations to the National Assembly on the event of the late glorious Revolution in France." This action and the discourse of Dr. Price produced the greatest agitation throughout England. Auxiliary clubs were speedily formed in various parts of the kingdom, encouraged by men like Dr. Priestley, the eminent Unitarian minister at Birmingham. Monarchist and Churchman were greatly alarmed. The king was inclined to deny any more concessions to the Liberal party, making the Revolution in France a sufficient argument against reform in England, while the clergy of the hierarchy raised a cry that the Church was in danger from the revolutionizing and destructive machinations of the Dissenters. To the astonishment of all men, Edmund Burke raised his voice in the House of Commons in cadences never heard before from his lips. He had ever been the eloquent advocate of the rights of man. Now he declared that there was no such thing as natural rights of men, and he condemned the whole body of Dissenters in the strongest terms, as disaffected people, whose principles tended to the subversion of good government. Nor did his denunciations rest there. He professed to regard Dr. Price's sermon with holy horror, and its author as a most dangerous agitator, and he brought to the task of disabusing the public mind of England concerning the real character of the revolt in Paris the whole powers of his mighty intellect. In an almost incredible short space of time he wrote his famous "Reflections on the French Revolution," the publication of which produced a most powerful effect. The king and ministry, and the Tory party, expressed unbounded admiration of this splendid defense of their policy, while all just men agreed that it was a monstrous exaggeration. It called forth many opposing writers—among them the powerful Priestley, the elegant Mackintosh, and the coarse but vigorous Paine. The war of words, and pen, and type was waged furiously for a long time, and satirical ballads and clever caricatures played a conspicuous part in the contest.

Thomas Paine, who had been in Paris some time, and participated in some of the revolutionary scenes there, had lately returned when Burke's "Reflections" appeared, and he lost no time in preparing an answer, which he entitled "The Rights of Man." The first part was published on the 1st of February, 1791, and produced great disturbance. It was sought after with the greatest avidity, and in proportion to its success was the alarm and indignation of the Tory party. There was ample food for the caricaturists, and Gillray's pencil was active. Fox and Sheridan, who were the leaders of the opposition in Parliament, were classed among the leaders of the Revolution Clubs, and appeared in pictures with Priestley and Paine. In May, 1791, Gillray burlesqued Paine in a caricature which he entitled "The Rights of Man; or, Tommy Paine, the American Tailor, taking the



A BAD MEASURE.

Measure of the Crown for a new pair of Revolution Breeches." Paine is seen with the conventional type of face given by the caricaturists to a French democrat. His tri-colored cockade bears the inscription, "Vive la liberté!" and from his mouth proceeds an incoherent soliloquy, as if from a man half drunk.* This was in allusion to his well-known intemperance. Paine was finally prosecuted by the government for libel on account of some remarks in his "Rights of Man," and was compelled to flee to France, where he was warmly received by the revolutionists. A Tory mob destroyed Dr. Priestley's church in Birmingham, and his dwelling and his library a short distance in the country; also he and his family barely escaped with their lives.

* The following is a copy of the soliloquy: "Fathom and a half! fathom and a half! Poor Tom! ah! mercy upon me! that's more by half than my poor measure will ever be able to reach! Lord! Lord! I wish I had a bit of the stay-tape (allusion to Paine's former business of stay-maker) or buckram which I used to cabbage when I was a 'prentice, to lengthen it out. Well, well, who would ever have thought it, that I, who have served seven years as an apprentice, and afterward worked four years as a journeyman to a master tailor, then followed the business of

an exciseman as much longer, should not be able to take the dimension of this bawble! for what is a crown but a bawble,

Mr. Adams had discerned with alarm the contagion of revolution which went out from Paris in the autumn of 1789. He saw it affecting England, and menacing the existence of its government; and he perceived its rapid diffusion in his own country with surprise and pain. It was so different in form and substance from that which had made his own people free, that he was deeply impressed with its dangers. With a patriotic spirit he sought to arrest the calamities it might bring upon his country, and with that view he wrote a series of articles for a newspaper, entitled "Discourses on Davila." These contained an analysis of Davila's *History of the Civil War in France*¹ in the sixteenth century. The aim of Mr. Adams was to point out to his countrymen the danger to be apprehended from factions in ill-balanced forms of government. In these essays he maintained that, as the great spring of human activity, especially as related to public life, was self-esteem, manifested in the love of superiority, and the desire of distinction, applause, and admiration, it was important in a popular government to provide for the moderate gratification of all of them. He therefore advocated a liberal use of titles and ceremonial honors for those in office, and an aristocratic Senate. To counteract any undue influence on the part of the Senate, he proposed a popular assembly on the broadest democratic basis; and, to keep in check encroachments of each upon the other, he recommended a powerful Executive. He thought liberty to all would thus be best secured.² From the premises which formed the basis of his reasoning, he argued that the French Constitution, which disavowed all distinctions of rank, which vested the legislative authority in a single Assembly, and which, though retaining the office of king, divested him of nearly all actual power, must, in the nature of things, prove a failure. The wisdom of this assumption has been vindicated by history.

The publication of these essays at that time was Mr. Adams's blunder.³ His ideas were presented in a form so cloudy that his political system was misunderstood by the many and misinterpreted by the few. He was charged with advocating a monarchy and a hereditary Senate; and it was artfully insinuated that he had been seduced by Hamilton (whose jealous opponents delighted in pointing to him as the arch-enemy of republican government) from his loyalty to those noble principles which he had exhibited before he wrote his "Defense of the American Constitution," published in London three years before.

Those essays filled Jefferson with disgust, and he cherished the idea that Hamilton, Adams, Jay, and others were at the head of a party engaged in a conspiracy to overthrow the republican institutions of the United States, and on their ruins to construct a mixed government like that of England, composed of a monarchy and aristocracy.⁴

¹ *Dell' Istoria delle Guerre Civili di Francia*, by Henrico Caterino Davila.

² This was only an amplification of the thought thus expressed in his *Defense of the American Constitutions*: "It is denied that the people are the best keepers, or any keepers at all, of their own liberties, when they hold collectively, or by representative, the executive and judicial power, or the whole uncontrolled legislature." He did not believe in the efficiency or safety of a government formed upon the simple plan of M. Thurgot and other clear-minded men of France, in which all power was concentrated in one body directly representing the nation. That was the doctrine and the practice of the French revolutionists, enforced by the logic of Condorcet and the eloquence of Mirabeau. Mr. Adams wished a system of checks and balances, which experience has proved to be the wisest.

³ They were published in the *Gazette of the United States*, at Philadelphia, then the seat of the national government. Their more immediate object was a reply to Condorcet's pamphlet, entitled *Quatre Lettres d'un Bourgeois de New Haven, sur l'Unité de la Législation*. Mr. Adams soon perceived that his essays were furnishing the partisans of the day with too much capital for immediate use in the conflict of opinion then raging, and ceased writing before they were completed. Twenty years later, when a new edition was published, Mr. Adams wrote, "This dull, heavy volume still excites the wonder of its author—first, that he could find, amidst the constant scenes of business and dissipation in which he was enveloped, time to write it; secondly, that he had the courage to oppose and publish his own opinions to the universal opinion of America, and indeed of all mankind. Not one man in America then believed him. He knew not one, and has not heard of one since, who then believed him.—J. A., 1812."

⁴ "The Tory paper, Fenno's," he wrote to Mr. Short, in Paris, "rarely admits any thing which defends the present form

which we may see in the Tower for sixpence a-piece? Well, although it may be too large for a tailor to take measure of, there's one comfort—he may make mouths at it, and call it as many names as he pleases! And yet, Lord! Lord! I should like to make it a Yankee-doodle night-cap and breeches, if it was not so d—d large, or I had stuff enough. Ah! if I could once do that, I would soon stitch up the mouth of that barnaced Edmund from making any more *Reflections* upon the Flints. And so, Flints and Liberty forever, and d—n the Dungs! Huzza!"

Effect of Paine's "Rights of Man."

Feud between Jefferson and Hamilton.

Newspaper War.

To thwart these fancied designs, and to inculcate the doctrines of the French Revolution which he so much admired, and on which he grounded his hopes of a stable government in his own country,¹ Jefferson hastened to have printed and circulated Thomas Paine's famous reply to Burke's "Reflections on the French Revolution," called "The Rights of Man," which had just been received from England. That essay, originally dedicated "To the President of the United States," was admired by Jefferson, and it was issued from the Philadelphia press, with a complimentary note from him.

This apparent indorsement of the essay by the government, in the persons of the President and Secretary of State, was very offensive to Great Britain, and produced a good deal of stir in the United States. Major Beckwith, the aid-de-camp of Lord Dorchester, already mentioned,² was in Philadelphia at that time, and expressed his surprise; but subsequent assurances that the President knew nothing of the dedication, and that Mr. Jefferson "neither desired nor expected" to have the note printed, soon smoothed the ripple of dissatisfaction so far as the British government was concerned.³

The political and personal feud between Jefferson and Hamilton became more intense every hour. Freneau's *United States Gazette*, believed to be under the control of the former, was filled with bitter denunciations of Hamilton and the leading measures of the administration; and Fenno's *National Gazette*, the supporter of the government policy, was made spicy by Hamilton's vigorous retorts.⁴ The public mind was greatly excited thereby, and Washington was compelled to perceive (as he did with alarm and mortification) that there was a schism in his Cabinet, which threatened to be destructive of all harmony of action, and perilous to the public good. He anxiously sought to end the strife by assuming the holy office of peace-maker, but in

of government in opposition to his desire of subverting it, to make way for a king, Lords, and Commons. There are high names here in favor of this doctrine . . . Adams, Jay, Hamilton, Knox, and many of the Cincinnati. The second says nothing; the third is open. Both are dangerous. They pant after union with England, as the power which is to support their projects, and are most determined Anti-Gallicans. It is prognosticated that our republic is to end with the President's life; but I believe they will find themselves all head and no body."

¹ "You will have heard," Mr. Jefferson wrote to Edward Rutledge in August, 1791, "before this reaches you, of the pearl into which the French Revolution is brought by the flight of their king. Such are the fruits of that form of government which heaps importance on idiots, and which the Tories of the present day are trying to preach into our favor. I still hope the French Revolution will issue happily. I feel that the permanence of our own leans in some degree on that, and that a failure there would be a powerful argument to prove that there must be a failure here."

² See note 1, page 68.

³ The political sentiments of Paine's *Rights of Man* were in accordance with the feelings and opinions of the great body of the American people. The author sent fifty copies to Washington, who distributed them among his friends. His official position cautioned him to be prudently silent concerning the work. Richard Henry Lee, to whom Washington gave a copy, said, in his letter acknowledging the favor, "It is a performance of which any man might be proud; and I most sincerely regret that our country could not have offered sufficient inducements to have retained, as a permanent citizen, a man so thoroughly republican in sentiment and fearless in the expression of his opinions." See *Lossing's Home of Washington, or Mount Vernon and its Associations*, p. 262.

The note alluded to in the text was from Mr. Jefferson to a stranger to him (Jonathan Bayard Smith), to whom the owner of Paine's pamphlet, who lent it to the Secretary of State, desired him to send it. "To take off a little of the dryness of the note," Mr. Jefferson made some complimentary observations concerning the pamphlet, and expressed his satisfaction that something public would be said, by its publication, "against the political heresies which had lately sprung up." To the astonishment of Mr. Jefferson, this private note was printed with the pamphlet the next week. Mr. Jefferson acknowledged that his remarks in it were aimed at the author of the *Discourses on Davila*, and the affair produced a temporary estrangement between him and Mr. Adams.

Warm discussions arose, soon after the publication of Paine's pamphlet, on the doctrines which it promulgated. A series of articles in reply to the "Rights of Man" appeared in the *Boston Centinel*, over the signature of *Publicola*, which were attributed to John Adams, and were reprinted in London, in pamphlet form, with his name on the title-page. They were written by his son, the late John Quincy Adams. They were answered by several writers. "A host of champions," Jefferson wrote to Paine, "entered the arena immediately in your defense."

⁴ Philip Freneau, a poet of some pretensions, and a warm Whig writer during the Revolution, was called from New York, where he was editing a newspaper, to fill the post of translating clerk in the State Department under Mr. Jefferson. A new paper, called *The National Gazette*, opposed to the leading measures of the administration, was started, and Freneau was made its editor. It was understood to be Mr. Jefferson's "organ," but it would be both ungenerous and unjust to believe that the bitter attacks made upon all the measures of the administration were approved by Mr. Jefferson; yet, when the Secretary well knew that the President, whom he professed to revere, was greatly hurt and annoyed by them, it was, as Mr. Irving justly remarks (*Life of Washington*, v., 164), "rather an ungracious determination to keep the barking cur in his employ." Fenno published the *United States Gazette*, the supporter of the measures of the administration.

Federalists and Republicans.	Their Differences.	Popular Sentiment.	Europe against France.
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vain.¹ The antagonisms of the Secretaries had become too violent to be easily reconciled. Their partisans were numerous and powerful, and had become arranged in tangible battle order, under the respective names of *Federalists* and *Republicans*—names which for many years were significant of opposing opinions: first, concerning the administration of the national government; secondly, on the question of a neutral policy toward the warring nations of Europe; and, thirdly, on the subject of the war with Great Britain declared in 1812.

The Federalists, called the "British party" by their opponents, were in favor of a strong central government, and were very conservative. They were in favor of maintaining a strict neutrality concerning the affairs of European nations during the exciting period of Washington's administration, and were opposed to the War of 1812. The Republicans, called the "French party," were favorable to a strong people and a weak government, sympathized warmly with the French revolutionists, and urged the government to do the same by public expressions and belligerent acts if necessary, and were favorable to the War of 1812 when it became an apparent national necessity. *Federal* and *Republican* were the distinctive names of the two great political parties in the United States during the first quarter of a century of the national existence, when they disappeared from the politician's vocabulary. New issues, growing out of radical changes in the condition of the country, produced coalitions and amalgamations by which the identity of the two old parties was speedily lost.

The zeal of the opposing parties was intensified by events in Europe during the summer and autumn of 1792; and at the opening of the last session of the second Congress, in November, the party divisions were perfectly distinct in that body.

All Europe was now effervescing with antagonistic ideas. The best and wisest men stood in wonder and awe in the midst of the upheaval of old social and political systems. Popular sentiment in the United States was mixed in character, and yet crude in form, and for a while it was difficult to discern precisely in what relation it stood to the disturbed nationalities of Europe. The blood of nearly all of them coursed in the veins of the Americans; and notwithstanding a broad ocean, and perhaps more than a generation of time, separated the most of them from the Old World, they experienced lingering memories or pleasant dreams of Fatherland.

France, the old ally and friend of the United States, was the centre of the volcanic force that was shaking the nations. The potentates of Europe, trembling for the stability of their thrones, instinctively arrayed themselves as the implacable enemies of the new power that held the sceptre of France, and disturbed the political and dynastic equilibrium. They called out their legions for self-defense and to utter a solemn protest. The *people* were overawed by demonstrations of power. The gleam of bayonets and the roll of the drum met the eye and ear every where, and in the autumn of 1792 nearly all Europe was rising in arms against France.

Revolution had done its work nobly, wisely, and successfully in the United States, and the experiment of self-government was working well. The memory of French arms, and men, and money that came to their aid in their struggle for liberty, filled the hearts of the Americans with gratitude, for they were not, as a people, aware of

* August 23, 1792. ¹ Both ministers discharged their respective duties to the entire satisfaction of the President, and he felt greatly disturbed by their antagonisms, now become public. To Jefferson he wrote, "after referring to the Indian hostilities, and the possible intrigues of foreigners to check the prosperity of the United States, "How unfortunate, and how much to be regretted is it, that while we are encompassed on all sides by armed enemies and insidious friends, internal dissensions should be harrowing and tearing our vitals. . . . My earnest wish and my fondest hope, therefore, is that, instead of wounding suspicions and irritating charges, there may be liberal allowances, mutual forbearances, and temporizing yieldings on all sides. Under the exercise of these, matters will go on smoothly, and, if possible, more prosperously. Without them, every thing must rub; the wheels of government will clog, our enemies will triumph, and, by throwing their weight into the disaffected scale, may accomplish the ruin of the goodly fabric we have been erecting."

Washington wrote to Hamilton in a similar strain, and from both he received patriotic replies. But the feud was too deep-seated to be healed. Jefferson would yield nothing. He harbored an implacable hatred of Hamilton, whom he had scourged into active retaliation, and whose lash he felt most keenly.

the utterly selfish motive of the Bourbon in giving that aid, and how little it had really contributed to their success in that struggle; and their own zeal for freedom, while enjoying the fruition of their efforts, awakened their warmest sympathies for those yet in the toils of slavery. Without inquiring, they cheered on the people of France, who were first led by the beloved Lafayette; and with corresponding detestation, heightened by the memory of old wrongs and the irritations of present un-friendliness, they saw Great Britain, so boastful of liberty, arrayed against the French people in their professed struggle for the establishment of a constitutional government like that of England.

But there were wise, and thoughtful, and prudent men in the United States and in Great Britain, who had made the science of government their study and human nature their daily reading, who clearly perceived the vast difference between the revolutions in America and France, and thought they observed in the latter no hope for the real benefit and prosperity of the people. These, in the United States, formed the leaders of the Federal or conservative party. Washington had hailed with great satisfaction the dawning of what he hoped to be the day of liberty in France, but, from the beginning, his own sagacity, and the gloomy forebodings manifested by Lafayette from time to time in his letters, made him doubtful of the success of the movement. He often expressed an earnest *wish* that republicanism might be established in France, but never breathed a *hope*, because he never felt it. And when, in the summer of 1792, he perceived the bloody and ferocious character of the French Revolution, and the departure of its course from the high and honorable path marked out for it by Lafayette and his compatriots, he and the conservative party, then fortunately holding the reins of executive and legislative power, resolved that the government of the United States should stand aloof from all entanglements with European politics.

Jefferson and his party, on the other hand, deeply sympathized with the French revolutionists, and bore intense enmity toward Great Britain. They were greater in numbers than the Federalists, and their warfare was relentless. They denounced every man and measure opposed to their own views with a fierceness and lack of generosity that appears almost incredible, and they shut their ears to the howling of that lawless violence that had commenced drenching the soil of France in blood. Even the dispatches of government agents abroad were sneered at as instruments of needless alarm, if not something worse.¹

But "the inexorable logic of events" soon revealed to the people of the United States those terrible aspects of the French Revolution which made them for a moment recoil with horror. Anarchy had seized unhappy France, and the ferocious Jacobin Club reigned supreme in Paris. They were the enemies of the king and Constitution, and were determined to overthrow both. Incited by them, the populace of Paris, one hundred thousand in number, professedly incensed because the king had refused to sanction a decree of the National Assembly against the priesthood, and another for the establishment of a camp of twenty thousand men near Paris, marched to the Tuileries^a with pikes, swords, muskets, and artillery, and demanded entrance. The gates were thrown open, and forty thousand armed men, many of them the vilest *sans-culottes* of the streets of Paris, went through the palace, and compelled the king, in the presence of his family, to put the *bonnet rouge*, or red cap of liberty, upon his head.

Lafayette was then at the head of his army at Maubeuge, a fortified town in the Department of the North. He hastened to Paris, presented himself at the bar of the

¹ Gouverneur Morris, who had been appointed minister to France after Jefferson left, kept Washington continually informed of the scenes of anarchy and licentiousness in the French capital, and presented gloomy prognostications respecting the future of that country. Because of this faithfulness, and his testimony against the tendency of the French Revolution, Mr. Jefferson, in his blind devotion to that cause, and his ungenerous judgment concerning all who differed from him, spoke of Morris as "as a high-flying monarchy-man, shutting his eyes and his faith to every fact against his wishes, and believing every thing he desired to be true."

Lafayette before the National Assembly. He demands the Punishment of Traitors. French Paper-money.



National Assembly, and in the name of the army demanded the punishment of those who had insulted the king and his family in the palace and violated the Constitution. But Lafayette was powerless. Paris was drunk with passion and unrestrained license.

Monarchy in France overthrown.

Lafayette imprisoned.

The National Convention established.

The doom of royalty was decreed. The populace and members of the Assembly demanded the deposition of Louis. The sittings of the Assembly were declared permanent until order should be restored. At midnight^a the dreadful tocsin, or alarm-bell, was sounded, and the drums beat the *generale* in every direction. The streets were filled with the mad populace, and in the morning the Tuileries were attacked by them. The king, attended by the Swiss Guard, fled to the National Assembly for protection. Nearly every man of the guard was butchered. The monarch escaped unhurt, but the overawed Assembly decreed the suspension of the royal authority.¹ Monarchy in France was virtually overthrown, and with it fell Lafayette and the constitutional party. The Jacobins of the Assembly procured a decree for the arrest of the marquis. He and a few friends turned their faces toward Holland as a temporary refuge from the storm until they could escape to the United States. They were arrested on the way, and for three years Lafayette was entombed in an Austrian dungeon at Olmutz, while pretended republicans, with bloody hands, were holding the uncertain and slippery reins of anarchical power in his beloved France.

The Jacobins were not satisfied with the suspension of the king's authority. They felt unsafe while he lived. They conspired against his life and the lives of all who might sympathize with him. They filled the prisons with priests and nobles, and other suspected persons. These men were dangerous while their pulses beat healthily. Their prisons became human slaughter-houses. Thither the demoniac populace were sent on the evening of the 2d of September,^b and before the dawn, at least eighteen hundred persons were slain!

The conspirators now took bolder steps. They abolished the Constituent Assembly, and constituted themselves a National Convention. The Hall of the Tuileries was their meeting-place, and there, in the palace of the kings, they assumed the executive powers of government. They decreed the abolition of royalty, and proclaimed France a republic.^c With wonderful energy they devised and put in motion schemes of conquest and propagandism. They assumed to be the deliverers of the people of Europe from kingly rule. Frontier armies, with the aid of paper-money alone,² were speedily put in motion to execute the decree of Danton and his fellow-regicides that "there must be no more kings in Europe." They invaded Belgium and Savoy, and conquered Austrian Netherlands. At the sound of the Marseilles Hymn, sung by these knights-errant of the new chivalry, the people flocked to the standards of revolt.³

¹ The king wrote a touching letter to his brother, dated "August 12, 1792, seven o'clock in the morning." The following is a copy:

"My brother, I am no longer king; the public voice will make known to you the most cruel catastrophe. I am the most unfortunate of husbands and of fathers. I am the victim of my own goodness, of fear, of hope. It is an impenetrable mystery of iniquity. They have bereaved me of every thing. They have massacred my faithful subjects. I have been decoyed by stratagem far from my palace, and they now accuse me! I am a captive. They drag me to prison, and the queen, my children, and Madame Elizabeth [his sister] share my fate.

"I can no longer doubt that I am an object odious in the eyes of the French, led astray by prejudice. This is the stroke which is most insupportable. My brother, but a little while, and I shall exist no longer. Remember to avenge my memory by publishing how much I loved this ungrateful people. Recall one day to their remembrance the wrongs they have done me, and tell them I forgave. Adieu, my brother, for the last time."

This letter was sent in a bit of bread to a friend of the king. It was intercepted, and never reached his brother.—*Correspondence of Louis XVI.*, translated by HELEN MARIA WILLIAMS, III., 45.

² This paper-money, a specimen of which is given on page 74, was called *Assignat*. It was first issued in 1789, and the basis for its credit was the property of the clergy and the emigrants, which the government had seized, and which was intended for sale. For three years it held a market value of over ninety per cent., but in 1792 it began to depreciate, and, like our own Continental money, soon became worthless. The first issue was to the amount of about \$200,000,000. The amount that was finally put in circulation was about \$1,750,000,000. This paper-money, which for a season played so important a part in the history of the world, was productive of the greatest evils. Specimens of it are now rarely to be found. The engraving represents one in the author's possession.

³ In the National Convention, on the 28th of September, Danton declared, amid the loud applauses of the assembly, that "the principle of leaving conquered peoples and countries the right of choosing their own constitutions ought to be so far modified that we should expressly forbid them to give themselves kings. *There must be no more kings in Europe. One king would be sufficient to endanger general liberty*; and I request that a committee be established for the purpose of promoting a general insurrection among all people against kings." They thus made a distinction between the monarchs and the people, and professed to be the deliverers of the latter. The Revolution Clubs of England affiliated with them in sentiment, and Dr. Priestley and Thomas Paine were elected members of the National Convention. Priestley de-

Egotism of the French Revolutionists.

Paine in France.

Execution of Louis XVI.

Success gave the revolutionists *prestige*, and, with egotism unparalleled, the National Convention, by acclamation, declared that, "in the name of the French nation, they would grant fraternity and assistance to all those peoples who wished to procure liberty;" and they charged the executive power "to send orders to the generals to give assistance to such people, and to defend citizens who had suffered, and were then suffering in the cause of liberty."



LOUIS XVI.

The revolutionists, flushed with victories, and emboldened by the obedience which their reign of terror inspired, soon executed a long-cherished plan of the Jacobins, and murdered their king in the presence of his subjects.¹ They declared war against England and Holland,² and soon afterward against Spain,³ and with the battle-cry of "*Liberty and Equality*," they defied all Europe. For a

Feb. 1,
1793.
March
7.

moment England was alarmed, for she had numerous enemies in her own household, and the civilized world looked upon the sanguinary tragedy on the Gallie stage with dismay and horror.

The contagion of that bloody Revolution had so poisoned the circulation of the social and political system of the United States, that, strange as it may appear to us, when the proclamation of the French Republic, with all its attendant horrors of August and September, was made known here, followed speedily by intelligence of

clined, but Paine accepted, went over to France, and took his seat in that blood-thirsty assembly. This called forth squibs and caricatures in abundance. In one of the latter, entitled "Fashion for Ease; or, a Good Constitution sacrificed for a Fantastic Form," Paine is represented fitting Britannia with a new pair of stays, in allusion to the occupation of his early life. Over a cottage door on one side was a sign, "Thomas Paine, Stay-maker, from Thetford. Paris Modes by Express." Paine never ventured to return to England. His popularity in France was brief. In the National Convention he offended the ferocious Jacobins by advocating leniency toward the king. He incurred their hatred, and Robespierre and his associates cast him into prison, where he composed his "Age of Reason." He was saved from the guillotine by accident, escaped to the United States, and spent much of his time there, until his death, in course abuse of men and measures in that country and England.



PAINE FITTING STAYS.

¹ They went through the form of a trial. The king was accused of treason to the people and the Constitution, and was found guilty, of course. Weak in intellect, and dissipated in habits as he was, Louis was innocent of the crimes alleged against him. He was beheaded by the guillotine. When standing before the instrument of death, and looking upon the people with benignity, he said, "I forgive my enemies; may God forgive them, and not lay my innocent blood to the charge of the nation! God bless my people!" He was cut short by an order to beat the drums and sound the trumpets, when the brutal officer in charge called out to him, "No speeches! come, no speeches!"

The death of Louis was sincerely mourned. He was weak, but not wicked. He was an amiable man, and loved his country. His friends dared not make any public demonstrations of grief, or even of attachment. A small commemorative medal of brass was struck, and secretly circulated. These were cherished by the Loyalists for a generation with great affection. On one side is a head of Louis, with the usual inscription—*LUD. XVI. REX GALL. DEI GRATIA*. On the other side is a memorial urn, with "*LOUIS XVI.*" upon it, and a fallen crown and sceptre at its base. Beneath is the date of his death, and over it the significant words, *SOUL BEGONE ABIDE*—"The sun of the kingdom has departed." The engraving is from a copy in the author's possession.*



MEMORIAL MEDAL.

* Louis was born on the 23d of March, 1754, and in 1770 married Maria Antoinette, of Austria. He ascended the throne of France, on the death of his grandfather, in 1774.

Forgetfulness of Holland's Friendship.

Arrival of "Citizen Genet."

Washington's Wisdom and Prudence.

the conquest of Austrian Netherlands by a French army, there was an outburst of popular feeling in favor of the Gallic cause that seemed to be almost universal. They were blind to the total difference between their own Revolution and that in France. They were forgetful of the friendship of Holland during that struggle—a friendship far more sincere than that of the French; forgetful also of the spirit of true liberty which for centuries had prevailed in Holland, and made it an asylum for the persecuted for conscience' sake in all lands; and the people in several towns and cities celebrated these events with demonstrations of great joy.¹ With a similar spirit the death of the French king was hailed by the leaders of the Republican party in the United States; and the declaration of war against England and Holland by France awakened a most remarkable enthusiasm in favor of the old ally of the Americans, aroused old hatreds toward England, and called loudly for compliance with the letter and spirit of the treaty of 1778.²

These demonstrations were soon followed by the arrival of "Citizen Genet," as he was styled,³ as minister of the French Republic to the United States. He came in a frigate, and landed at Charleston, South Carolina, early in April. His reception there was all that his ambition could have demanded; and his journey of three or four weeks by land from there to Philadelphia, the national capital, was a continued ovation. He was a man of culture and tact, spoke the English language fluently, and was frank, lively, and communicative. He was precisely the man for his peculiar mission. He mingled familiarly with the people, proclaimed wild and stirring doctrines, scorned all diplomatic art and reserve, and assured the citizens of the United States of the unbounded affection of his countrymen for the Americans. The Republican leaders hailed his advent with delight; and a large portion of the people were favorable to immediate and active participation by their government with France in its impending struggle against armed Europe. Many, in the wild enthusiasm of the moment, would not have hesitated an instant in precipitating their country into a war that might have proved its utter ruin.

It was fortunate for the country that a man like Washington, and his wise counselors, were at the helm and halliards of the vessel of state at that time, and endowed with courage sufficient to meet the dangerous popular gale. When intelligence of the declaration of war between France and other nations reached him, the President was at Mount Vernon. He had no confidence in the self-constituted rulers of France or their system of government. "They are ready to tear each other in pieces," he wrote to Governor Lee, of Virginia, "and will, more than probably, prove the worst foes the country has."

Perceiving the proclivity of the public mind in his own country, the President felt great anxiety, and he made immediate preparations to arrest, as far as possible, the terrible evils which a free course of the popular sympathy for the French might have.

¹ There was a grand fête held in Boston on the 24th of January, 1793. An ox was roasted whole. It was then decorated with ribbons, and placed upon a car drawn by sixteen horses. The flags of the United States and France were displayed from the horns of the ox. It was paraded through the streets, followed by carts bearing sixteen hundred loaves of bread and two hogheads of punch. These were distributed among the people; and at the same time a party of three hundred, with Samuel Adams, then Lieutenant Governor of Massachusetts, at their head, assisted by the French consul, sat down to a dinner in Faneuil Hall. To the children of all the schools, who were paraded in the streets, cakes were presented, stamped with the words "*Liberty and Equality*." By public subscription, the sums owed by prisoners in the jail for debt were paid, and the victims of that barbarous law were set free. In Philadelphia the anniversary of the French alliance, mentioned in the subjoined note, was commemorated by a public dinner. Governor (late General) Mifflin presided. At the head of the table a pike was fixed, bearing upon its point the *bonnet rouge*, with the French and American flags intertwined in festoons, and the whole surmounted by a dove and olive branch.

² A treaty of alliance, friendship, and commerce was entered into by the United States and France on the 6th of February, 1778, by which the former was bound to guarantee the French possessions in America; and by a treaty of commerce executed at the same time, French privateers and prizes were entitled to shelter in the American ports, while those of the enemies of France should be excluded.—See Article XVII. of the Treaty.

³ The French Jacobins affected the simplicity of the republics of Greece and Rome. All titles were abolished, and the term *citizen* was universally applied to men. When the king was spoken of, his family name of Capet was used. He was called "Citizen Capet" or "Louis Capet." They affected to regard liberty as a divinity, and a cortesana, in the conventional costume of that divinity, was paraded in a car through the streets as the Goddess of Liberty.

"April 12, 1793. He sent^a a most unwelcome letter to the Secretary of State. "War," he wrote, "having actually commenced between France and Great Britain, it behoves the government of this country to use every means in its power to prevent the citizens thereof from embroiling us with either of those powers, by endeavoring to maintain a strict neutrality." He required Mr. Jefferson to give the subject his careful thought, and lay his views before him on his arrival in Philadelphia. A similar letter was sent to the head of every other department.

Washington reached Philadelphia on the 17th of April, and on the 19th held a Cabinet council. It was agreed that the President should issue a proclamation of neutrality, warning citizens of the United States not to take part in the kindling war. At the same meeting it was agreed that the minister of the French Republic should be received.¹

The President's proclamation of neutrality was issued on the 22d of April, and was assailed with the greatest vehemence by the "French party," as the Republicans were called. Reverence for the President's character and position was forgotten in the storm of passion that ensued. The proclamation was styled a "royal edict," a "daring and unwarrantable assumption of executive power," and was pointed at as an open manifestation by the President and his political friends of partiality for England, a bitter foe, and hostility to France, a warm friend and ancient ally. It is fair to infer, from the tone of his private letters at that time, that the Secretary of State (who voted very reluctantly in the Cabinet for the proclamation), governed by his almost fanatical hatred of Hamilton, and his sympathies with the French regicides, secretly promoted a public feeling hostile to the administration.²

¹ The following is a copy of the President's proclamation:

"Whereas it appears that a state of war exists between Austria, Prussia, Sardinia, Great Britain, and the United Netherlands on the one part, and France on the other, and the duty and interests of the United States require that they should, with sincerity and good faith, adopt and pursue a conduct friendly and impartial toward the belligerent powers:

"I have therefore thought fit, by these presents, to declare the disposition of the United States to observe the conduct aforesaid toward those powers respectively, and to exhort and to warn the citizens of the United States carefully to avoid all acts and proceedings whatsoever which may in any manner tend to contravene such disposition.

"And I do hereby make known, that whosoever of the citizens of the United States shall render himself liable to punishment or forfeiture under the law of nations, by committing, aiding, or abetting hostilities against any of the said powers, or by carrying to any of them those articles which are deemed contraband by the modern usage of nations, will not receive the protection of the United States against such punishment or forfeiture; and farther, that I have given instructions to those officers to whom it belongs to cause prosecutions to be instituted against all persons who shall, within the cognizance of the courts of the United States, violate the laws of nations with respect to the powers at war, or any one of them. In testimony whereof, etc., etc.

Signed, GEORGE WASHINGTON."

² It is an unpleasant duty to arraign men whom the nation delights to honor as tried patriots, on a charge of complicity with those who at one time would have wrecked the government upon the rocks of anarchy, not designedly, perhaps, but nevertheless effectually. But historic truth sometimes demands it, as in the case before us. Mr. Jefferson was openly opposed to the policy of Washington's administration. This was manly. But it was not manly to be a covert enemy. He always denied any complicity with Freneau, his translating clerk, in his coarse abuse of Washington and his political friends, while Jefferson was Secretary of State; but the very minutes made by Mr. Jefferson himself, and printed in his *Anas*, sufficiently indicate his relative position to Freneau at that time. He says that at a Cabinet council Washington spoke harshly of Freneau, who impudently sent him three copies of his paper every day, filled with abuse of the administration. "He could see nothing in it," Jefferson recorded, "but an impudent design to insult him: he ended in a high tone." Again Jefferson says, "He [the President] adverted to a piece in Freneau's paper of yesterday. He said he despised all their attacks on him personally, but that there had never been an act of the government, not meaning in the executive line only, but in any line, which that paper had not abused. . . . He was evidently sore and warm, and I took his intention to be, that I should interpose in some way with Freneau, perhaps withdraw his appointment of translating clerk in my office. But I will not do it. His paper has saved our Constitution, which was galloping fast into monarchy, and has been checked by no one means so powerfully as by that paper. It is well and universally known that it has been that paper which has checked the career of the monarchs."—*Memoir and Correspondence of Jefferson*, London edition, iv., 497. But the evidence against Mr. Jefferson in this matter is not entirely circumstantial. The late Dr. John W. Francis, of New York, who was Freneau's physician in the latter years of his life, informed the author that it was one of the most poignant griefs of that journalist that he had seemed to be an enemy of Washington. He assured Dr. Francis that the *National Gazette* was entirely under the control of Mr. Jefferson, and that the Secretary dictated or wrote the most violent attacks on Washington and his political friends. The only excuse for the conduct of Mr. Jefferson at that time is political monomania.

Genet's Reception in South Carolina. Privateers commissioned. Arrival and Reception of one of them at Philadelphia.

CHAPTER IV.

"While France her huge limbs bathes recumbent in blood,
And society's base threats with wide desolation,
May Peace, like the dove who returned from the flood,
Find an ark of abode in our mild Constitution.
But though peace is our aim,
Yet the boon we disclaim
If bought by our Sovereignty, Justice, or Fame;
For ne'er shall the sons of Columbia be slaves
While the earth bears a plant, or the sea rolls its waves."

ROBERT TRIST PAINÉ.



HE wisdom and timeliness of Washington's proclamation of neutrality was soon made manifest. Genet came with blank commissions for naval and military service, and proceeded to fit out two privateers at Charleston. He was also empowered to give authority to every French consul in the United States to constitute himself a court of admiralty, to dispose of prizes captured by French cruisers and brought into American ports. In defiance of the proclamation, his privateers, manned principally by American citizens, sailed from Charleston, with the consent and good wishes of the governor and citizens, to depredate on British commerce.¹

One of these privateers was *L'Embuscade*, the frigate that brought Genet to our shores. She went prowling up the coast, seizing several vessels, and at last captured a fine British merchantman, named *The Grange*, within the Capes of the Delaware, when she proceeded to Philadelphia in triumphant attitude.* Her arrival was greeted by a great assemblage of people on the brink of the river. ^{* May 2, 1793}

"When the British colors were seen reversed," Jefferson wrote to Madison, "and the French flying above them, the people burst into peals of exultation." Upon her head, her foremast, and her stern, liberty-caps were conspicuous; and from her masts floated white burgees, with words that echoed the egotistic proclamation of the French National Convention.²

L'Embuscade was the precursor of the French minister, who arrived at Philadelphia fourteen days later.^b According to preconcert, a number of citizens ^{* May 18} met him at the Schuylkill and escorted him to the city, in the midst of the roar of cannon and the ringing of bells. There he received addresses from societies and the citizens at large; and so anxious were his admirers to pay homage to their idol, that he was invited to a public dinner before he presented his credentials to the President of the United States!

At that presentation, which occurred on the 19th,^c the minister's pride was ^{* May} touched, and his hopeful ardor was chilled. He found himself in an atmos-

¹ General William Moultrie, the heroic patriot of the Revolution, was then Governor of South Carolina. A wit of the day wrote:

"On that blest day when first we came to land,
Great Mr. Moultrie took us by the hand;
Surveyed the ships, admired the motley crew,
And o'er the envoy friendship's mantle threw;
Received the *am-accueil* with soft embrace,
And bade him welcome with the kindest grace."

² From her foremast were displayed the words, "Enemies of equality, reform or tremble;" from her mainmast, "Freemen, we are your friends and brethren;" from the mizen-mast, "We are armed for the defense of the rights of man." *L'Embuscade* saluted the vast crowd with fifteen guns, and was responded to on shore by cheers, and gun for gun.

Genet in the Presence of Washington.	His Reception by his Political Friends.	Democratic Societies.
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phere of the most profound dignity in the presence of Washington; and he was made to realize his own littleness while standing before that noble representative of the best men and the soundest principles of the American Republic. He withdrew from the audience abashed and subdued. He had heard sentiments of sincere regard for the French nation that touched the sensibilities of his heart, and he had felt, in the genuine courtesy and severe simplicity and frankness of the President's manner, wholly free from effervescent enthusiasm, a withering rebuke, not only of the adulators in public places, but also of his own pretentious aspirations and ungenerous duplicity.¹

Genet affected to be shocked by the evidences of monarchical sympathies in the President's house.² He was supremely happy when he was permitted to escape from the frigidity of truth, virtue, and dignity into the fervid atmosphere of a banquet-hall filled with his "friends."³ There his ears were greeted with the stirring Marseilles Hymn, an ode in French, composed for the occasion,⁴ and toasts brimful of "Liberty and Equality." There his eyes were delighted with a "tree of liberty" upon the table, and the flags of the two nations in fraternal unfoldings. There his heart was made glad by having the red cap of liberty placed upon his own head first, and then upon the head of each guest, while the wearers, under the inspiration of its symbolism—

"That sacred Cap, which fools in order sped
In grand rotation, round from head to head!"—

uttered some patriotic sentiment. There his hopes of success were made to bud anew as he saw the officers and sailors of the privateer receive a "fraternal embrace" from each guest, and bear away to the robber the flags of the two nations amid the cheers of the convivialists.

Genet's presence intensified the party spirit of the Republicans. "Democratic Societies," in imitation of the Jacobin Clubs of France, were formed, secret in their proceedings, and disloyal in the extreme in their practice at that time. In servile imitation of their prototypes, they adopted the peculiar phrases of the populace of Paris;⁵ and a powerful faction was soon visible, more French than American in their habits of thought and political principles. By some strange infatuation, sensible and patriotic men were drawn into the toils of the charmer, and they sanctioned and participated in scenes which composed a most astounding and humiliating farce.⁶

¹ Genet's address to Washington was full of friendly professions. "It was impossible," Jefferson wrote to Madison, "for any thing to be more affectionate, more magnanimous than the purport of Genet's mission. . . . He offers every thing, and asks nothing." And yet, while making these professions, he had secret instructions in his pocket to foment discord between the United States and Great Britain, and to set the American government at defiance, if necessary, in the execution of his designs. He had already openly insulted that government by his acts at Charleston—a city which, on that occasion as on subsequent ones, earned the "bad eminence" of standing alone in the attitude of disloyalty to the national government.

² He was "astonished and indignant" at seeing a bust of Louis XVI. in the vestibule, and complained of it to his "friends" as an "insult to France." He was equally "astonished" by discovering in the President's parlor "certain medallions of Capet and his family;" and he was "shocked to learn" that the Marquis De Noailles (a relative of Madame Lafayette) and other emigrant Frenchmen had lately been admitted to the presence of Washington. Indeed he found most things disagreeable outside of the charmed circle of his "friends."

³ This was written by "Citizen Duponceau," of Philadelphia, a worthy French gentleman, who came to America with the Baron De Steuben, and was for many years a distinguished citizen of Pennsylvania. The ode was translated into English at the table by Freneau, the translating clerk of the Secretary of State, and then sung again.

⁴ "The title of *citizen*," says Griswold, "became as common in Philadelphia as in Paris, and in the newspapers it was the fashion to announce marriages as partnerships between Citizen Brown, Smith, or Jones and the *citess* who had been wooed to such an association."—*Republican Court*, p. 350.

⁵ At a dinner at which Governor Mifflin was present, a roasted pig received the name of the murdered French king, and the head, severed from the body, was carried round to each of the guests, who, after placing the liberty-cap on his own head, pronounced the word 'tyrant,' and proceeded to mangle with his knife that of the luckless creature doomed to be served for so unworthy a company. One of the Democratic taverns displayed as a sign a revolting picture of the mutilated and bloody corpse of Marie Antoinette."—*Republican Court*, p. 350. Strange as it may seem, Jefferson was so influenced by his prejudices at that time that he shut his eyes, apparently, to all passing events, and could write to Mad-

⁶ Marie Antoinette, the unhappy queen of Louis XVI., became the victim of Jacobin malignity, and was beheaded on the 16th of October, 1793. She was a daughter of the Emperor of Austria, and is represented as a beautiful and accomplished woman. Her murderers accused and convicted her of crimes of which they knew she was innocent. She was taken to the scaffold on a cart. Her body was cast into the Magdalen church-yard, and immediately consumed with quick-lime! The winds denied her a grave.

Enthusiasm for the French Cause. The American and French Revolutions contrasted. Genet rebuked by Jefferson.

But the ludicrous picture of Genet's reception in Philadelphia was relieved by a dignified act. On the day of his arrival in that city, an address, signed by three hundred merchants and other substantial men of that city, in which was expressed the soundest loyalty to the letter and spirit of his proclamation of neutrality, was presented to President Washington.

Similar enthusiasm for the French cause was manifested in New York and a few other places, but the citizens were never obnoxious to the charge of overt disloyalty to the government. Although the *Carmagnole*¹ was sung hourly in the streets, and Democratic societies fanned the zeal for the Jacobin system of government into intemperate heat, the citizens, as such, remained loyal to the Constitution and the laws.²

The government, unawed by the storm of passion that beat upon it, went steadily forward in the path of right and duty. *The Grange* was restored to its British owners, and the privateers were ordered to leave the American waters. Orders were sent to the collectors of all the ports of the United States for the seizure of all vessels fitted out as privateers, and to prevent the sale of any prizes captured by such vessels. Americans from one of the privateers fitted out at Charleston were arrested and indicted for a violation of law; and Chief Justice Jay declared it to be the duty of grand juries to present all persons guilty of such violation of the laws of nations with respect to any of the belligerent powers.

These measures greatly irritated the French minister and his American partisans. He protested; and the Secretary of State, soon finding him to be a troublesome friend, reiterated the opinions of the President, and plainly told him that, by commissioning privateers, he had violated the sovereignty of the United States, and that it was expected that *The Genet* and *L'Embuscade* (the two privateers fitted out at Charleston) would leave the American waters forthwith.

ison, after expressing his opinion that Genet's magnanimous offers would not be received, "It is evident that one or two of the Cabinet (meaning Hamilton and Knox), at least, under pretense of avoiding war on the one side, have no great antipathy to run foul of it on the other, and to make a part in the confederacy of princes against human liberty."

¹ A dance, with singing, performed in the streets of Paris during the French Revolution. See page 60.

² These societies and the newspapers in their interest attempted to deceive the people by comparing the French Revolution to their own, as equally justified and holy. Many, totally ignorant of the facts, believed; but enlightenment and better counsels kept their passions in check. The informed and thoughtful saw no just comparison between the two Revolutions.



THE CONTRAST.

The aspect of dignity, decorum, gravity, order, and religious solemnity so conspicuous in the American Revolution was wholly wanting in that of the French. "When I find," Hamilton wrote to Washington, "the doctrine of atheism openly advanced in the Convention, and heard with loud applauses: when I see the sword of fanaticism extended to enforce a political creed upon citizens who were invited to submit to the arms of France as the harbinger of liberty: when I behold the hand of rapacity outstretched to prostrate and ravish the monuments of religious worship erected by those citizens and their ancestors; when I perceive passion, tumult, and violence usurping those seats where reason and cool deliberation ought to preside—I acknowledge that I am glad to believe there is no real resemblance between what was the cause of America and what is the cause of France." The difference between *American liberty* and *French liberty* was graphically illustrated by a print called *The Contrast*, of which our engraving is a reduced copy.

Persistence of the French Minister.

His "Fillbustering" Schemes.

His Attempt to create a Rebellion.

Genet, with offensive pertinacity, denounced this doctrine as contrary to right, justice, and the law of nations, and threatened "to appeal from the President to the people." The Republican papers sustained him in his course.¹ The Democratic societies became more bold and active; and Genet, mistaking the popular clamor in his favor for the deliberate voice of the nation, actually undertook to fit out as a privateer at Philadelphia, during the absence of the President at Mount Vernon, under the very eyes of the national government, a British vessel that had been captured and brought in there by *L'Embuscade*, and which he named in French *The Little Democrat*. Mifflin, the Democratic Governor of Pennsylvania, interfered, and threatened to seize the vessel if Genet persisted in his course. The minister refused to listen. Jefferson begged him to desist until the return of the President. Genet spurned his kind words, and raved like a madman. He declared his determination to send *The Little Democrat* to sea, complained that he had been thwarted in all his undertakings by the government, denounced the President as unfaithful to the wishes of the people, and resolved to press him to call the Congress together to act upon the subjects in dispute.²



Thos Mifflin

Genet's official and private conduct became equally offensive; and when, on Washington's return to the seat of government, it was recited to him, his indignation was aroused. "Is the minister of the French Republic to set the acts of the government at defiance *with impunity*?" he asked. His Cabinet answered No. Forbearance toward the insolent minister was no longer required by the most exacting courtesy, and it was agreed in Cabinet council that the French government should be requested to recall him because he was offensive to that of the United States. Jefferson had become disgusted with him, and the tone of popular sentiment soon became more sensible and patriotic. His reiterated threat of appealing from the President to the people—in other words, to excite an insurrection for the purpose of overthrowing the government—had shocked the national pride; and many considerate Republicans,

¹ A writer in *Freneau's Gazette* said, "I hope the minister of France will act with firmness and spirit. The people are his friends, or the friends of France, and he will have nothing to apprehend; for, as yet, the people are the sovereigns of the United States. Too much complacency is an injury done to his cause; for, as every advantage is already taken of France (not by the people), farther condescension may lead to farther abuse. If one of the leading features of our government is pusillanimity when the British lion shows his teeth, let France and her minister act as becomes the dignity of her cause, and the honor and faith of nations."

² *Freneau's* paper, at that time, was assisted in its attacks upon the government by the *General Advertiser* (afterward known as the *Aurora*), edited by B. F. Baer, a grandson of Dr. Franklin, who had been educated in France. It was even more violent and abusive than its colleague, and even charged Washington with an intention of joining in the league of kings and priests against the French Republic!

³ Genet was intrusted by his government with bolder schemes than the fitting out of privateers. He was to organize what are called in our day "fillbustering expeditions," on an extensive scale, against the Spanish dominions, the object being no less than the seizure of Florida and New Orleans. An expedition against the former was to be organized in South Carolina, and against the latter in Kentucky. The one in the Mississippi Valley was to be led by General George Rogers Clarke, the conqueror of the Northwest, to whom was given the magnificent title of "Major General in the Armies of France, and Commander-in-chief of the French Revolutionary Legions on the Mississippi." Funds for carrying on these expeditions were to be derived from the payment to the minister, by the United States, of a portion of the national debt due to France. French emissaries were employed in South Carolina and Kentucky, and in the latter district, the public mind, irritated by the Spanish obstructions to the navigation of the Mississippi, was very favorable to the movement. The failure of Genet's mission put an end to these schemes of conquest, not, however, until they had produced annoying effects upon the national government.

A Reaction.	Genet recalled.	His Successor.	Biographical Sketch of Genet.
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who had been zealous in the cause of the Revolution in France, paused while listening to the audacious words of a foreigner who presumed to dictate the course of conduct to be pursued by the beloved Washington. The tide turned. Very soon there were demonstrations throughout the Union of agreement with the proclamation of neutrality, which the partisans of Genet never dreamed of, and a strong and irresistible reaction in favor of the national government speedily manifested itself on every hand.



E. C. Genet

appointed his successor. At the close of the year, Mr. Jefferson, whose views of French affairs had become much modified by the course of events at home and abroad, left the Cabinet and retired to private life, much to the regret of Washington, who found in him an able minister of state. Jefferson was a patriot, but, for several years, his jealousy and hatred of Hamilton and his friends made him a political monomaniac.

While the government of the United States, unswayed by the popular sentiment in favor of France, and national resentment

Genet¹ was recalled, and M. Fouchet, a man equally indiscreet, was sent against Great Britain, had hastened, on the breaking out of war between those two countries, to adopt a strictly neutral policy, thereby showing great magnanimity and a conciliatory spirit toward the late enemy in the field, that enemy, inimical still, was pursuing a selfish and ungenerous course, which the wisest and best men of England deplored. Regardless of the opinions of Europe expressed in the treaty for an armed neutrality in 1780,² she revived the rule of war laid down by herself alone in

¹ Mr. Genet never returned to France. At about the time of his recall, a change of faction had taken place in his country, and he thought it prudent not to return. He remained, married a daughter of George Clinton, Governor of the State of New York, and became an ornament to American society. It is only of his official conduct, while the minister of the French Jacobin government, that Americans have reason to complain of him. He was a man of eminent abilities. At the time of his arrival in the United States, he was a few months more than thirty years of age, having been born in January, 1763. He was a precocious boy, and from childhood was engaged in public employments. He was attached to the embassies at Berlin, Vienna, London, and St. Petersburg. Because of a spirited letter which he wrote to the Emperor of Russia, indignantly protesting against his expulsion from his dominions after the death of Louis XVI., he became a favorite of the French revolutionists. He was made adjutant general of the armies of France and minister to Holland, and was employed in revolutionizing Geneva and annexing it to France. He was finally sent to America as minister and consul general. He was twice married. His second wife was the daughter of Mr. Osgood, the first Postmaster General under the Constitution. He took great interest in agriculture, and his last illness was occasioned by his attendance at the meeting of an agricultural society of which he was president. He died at his seat on Prospect Hill, near Greenbush, opposite Albany, on the 14th of July, 1834.* One of his sisters was the celebrated Madame Campan, and another was Madame Anguie, mother-in-law of the distinguished Marshal Ney. Mr. Genet often spoke of the wisdom of Washington and his administration, the folly of his own countrymen at that time and of their admires in America, and rejoiced that the proclamation of neutrality deflected his wild schemes.

² During the American Revolution the superior maritime power of Great Britain was able to damage the commerce

* Genet was buried in the grave-yard of the Reformed Dutch Church at Greenbush. Upon a plain marble tablet placed over his remains is the following inscription:

"Under this humble stone are interred the remains of EDWARD CHARLES GENET, late Adjutant General, Minister Plenipotentiary and Consul General from the French Republic to the United States of America. He was born at Versailles, parish of St. Louis, in France, January 8, 1763, and died at Prospect Hill, town of Greenbush, July 14, 1834.

"Driven by the storms of the Revolution to the shades of retirement, he devoted his talents to his adopted country, where he cherished the love of liberty and virtue. The pursuits of literature and seclusion enlivened his peaceful solitude, and he devoted his time to usefulness and benevolence. His last moments were like his life, an example of fortitude and true Christian philosophy. His heart was love and friendship's sun, which has set on this transitory world, to rise with radiant splendor beyond the grave."

British "Rules" and Orders in Council. Their Injustice. The Armed Neutrality. Feeling in the United States.

1756,¹ and first by a "provisional order in council," as it was called, issued in June, 1793,² and then by another order in council, issued in November following,³ and secretly promulgated, she struck heavy blows at her antagonist, regardless of the fact that they fell almost as heavily upon those who favored her by neutrality. Citizens of the United States were then carrying on an extensive trade with the French West India Islands, whose ports had been opened to neutrals for the same reasons as in 1756, and felt no apprehension of interference from any source. But Great Britain had determined to again apply her starvation measures against her old enemy, and a secret order in council was issued, and silently circulated among the British cruisers, without the least notice or intimation to the American merchants, directing all vessels engaged in trading with any colony of France to be taken into British ports for adjudication in the courts of admiralty.³

This lawless invasion of neutral rights, conducted secretly and treacherously, prostrated at one blow a great portion of American commerce. The property of American merchants to the amount of many millions of dollars was swept from the seas into British ports and lost. This was regarded as little better than highway robbery, judged by the law of nations and common justice.

When intelligence of this high-handed measure reached the United States, it produced the hottest indignation throughout the land. Political strife instantly ceased, and both parties were equally zealous in denunciations of the treachery and aggressions of Great Britain, for which she offered no other excuse than expediency, growing out of her evident determination to maintain her boasted position of "mistress of the seas," regardless of the rights of all the rest of the world. Congress was then in session, and measures were proposed for retaliation, such as reprisals, embargoes, se-

of other European nations immensely. The British government revived the rule of 1756, below mentioned, and infringed largely upon neutral commerce. To resist these encroachments, and to protect neutral maritime rights, Russia, Sweden, Denmark, and Holland formed a treaty of alliance, which they denominated The Armed Neutrality, by which they pledged themselves to support, at the hazard of war, if necessary, the following principles: 1. That it should be lawful for any ships to sail freely from one port to another, or along the coast of the powers at war. 2. That all merchandise and effects belonging to the subjects of the belligerent powers, and shipped in neutral bottoms, should be entirely free: that is, free ships make free goods. 3. That no place should be considered blockaded except the assailing power had taken a station so as to expose to imminent danger any ship attempting to sail in or out of such ports. 4. That no neutral ships should be stopped without material and well-grounded cause; and, in such cases, justice should be done them without delay." The British navy triumphed over all opposition, the designs of the armed neutrality were defeated, and Holland was made a party to the war with the Americans and France. A similar attempt to restrict the maritime power of Great Britain was made in the year 1800, which resulted in the destruction of the Danish fleet before Copenhagen in April, 1801. Soon after this The Armed Neutrality was dissolved, and the dominion of the seas was accorded to England.

¹ When the war between Great Britain and France was formally declared in 1756, the former power announced, as a principle of national law, "that no other trade should be allowed to neutrals with the colonies of a belligerent in time of war than what is allowed by the parent state in time of peace." This was in direct opposition to the law of nations promulgated by Frederick the Great, of Prussia, namely, "the goods of an enemy can not be taken from on board the ships of a friend;" and also in direct violation of a treaty between England and Holland, in which it was stipulated expressly that "free ships make free goods"—that the neutral should enter safely and unmolested all the harbors of the belligerents, unless they were blockaded or besieged. England not only violated the treaty, but, having the might, exercised the right of invading the sovereignty of Holland, and capturing its vessels whose cargoes might be useful for her navy. This assumption—this dictation of law to the nations to suit her own selfish purposes—turned against England the denunciations of the civilized world, and which for more than a century she has never ceased to receive. At that time her "law" was aimed directly at France, then much the weaker naval power. Unable to maintain her accustomed trade with her West India Islands, she opened their ports to neutrals. It was to destroy the trade by neutrals, so lucrative to them and so beneficial to France, that Great Britain introduced that new principle of national law.

² This order, intended as a starvation measure against France, declared that all vessels laden wholly or in part with breadstuffs, bound to any port of France, or places occupied by French armies, should be carried into England, and their cargoes either disposed of there, or security given that they should be sold only in ports of a country in friendship with Great Britain. This order was issued on the 8th of June, 1793.

³ The following is a copy of the order:

"George R.: Additional instructions, to all ships of war, privateers, etc.:

"That they shall stop and detain all ships laden with goods the produce of any colony belonging to France, or conveying provisions or other supplies for the use of such colonies; and shall bring the same, with their cargoes, to legal adjudication in our courts of admiralty. By his majesty's command. Signed, DUNDAS.

"November 6, 1793."

So secretly was this order issued that the first account of its existence reached the London Exchange with the details of several captures which it authorized and occasioned. And Mr. Pinckney, the American minister, was unable to procure a copy of it until the 26th of December, more than six weeks after it was issued.—*Pinckney's letter to his government, December 26, 1793.*

British Impressment of American Seamen.

War threatened.

John Jay a special Minister to England.

questrations, and even war. The whole country was violently agitated; and the excitement was increased by events on the Indian frontier, already mentioned, showing the hand of British influence in the bloody battles in the Northwest.

Another and more serious element of discord between the two nations came up for consideration, and which, in after years, was one of the immediate causes of open hostilities between the two countries. This was the impressment of American seamen into the British service. In efforts to maintain her position of "mistress of the seas," Great Britain found herself under the necessity of announcing another "law of nations" to suit her particular case. High wages, humane treatment, and security from danger, to be found in the American merchant service, had attracted a great many British seamen to it. Their government, alarmed at the threatened weakening of its naval power by this drain, planted itself upon the theory that a subject can not expatriate himself—once an Englishman, always an Englishman; proclaimed the doctrine that in time of war the government had a right to the services of every subject; and that, at the command of their sovereign, every natural-born subject was bound to return and fight the battles of his country. In accordance with this doctrine a proclamation was issued, by which authority was given to the commanders of British ships of war to make up any deficiency in their crews by pressing into their service British-born seamen wherever found, not within the immediate jurisdiction of any foreign state. Under this authority many American merchant vessels were crippled, while in mid-ocean, by British seamen being taken from them. Nor were subjects of Great Britain alone taken. It was sometimes difficult to discover the nationality of English and American seamen; and as the British commanders were not very nice in their scrutiny, native-born Americans were frequently dragged on board British war vessels, and kept in servitude in the royal navy for years. This was a great and irritating grievance.

War with Great Britain now seemed inevitable. To avert it was Washington's most anxious desire. To do so, and maintain strict neutrality, was a difficult task. He resolved to try negotiation. He well knew that the temper of his countrymen would oppose it. With a moral heroism commensurate with the occasion, he nominated John Jay, the Chief Justice of the United States, as envoy extraordinary to the Court of Great Britain, to negotiate for a settlement of all matters in dispute between the two governments. The proposition was met with a storm of indignation. It was scouted as pusillanimous. The Democratic societies and Democratic newspapers were aroused into uncommon activity. The tri-colored cockade was seen on every side, and the partisans of the French regicides ruled the hour. Better counsels prevailed in the Senate, and on the 19th of April¹⁷⁹⁴ that body confirmed the nomination by a vote of eighteen to eight. On the 12th of May



John Jay —

following, Mr. Jay sailed from New York for London.

The French "Republic," meanwhile, had become offended with the United States because of the virtual dismissal of Genet, and demanded the recall of Mr. Morris.

Washington prudently complied, and appointed James Monroe in his place. The latter arrived in France at an auspicious moment.^a Intelligence of the new American mission to England had aroused the most bitter enmity toward the United States among the violent leaders of the National Convention. But their bloody rule was at an end. Robespierre and his fiendish associates had fallen. For some time they had been hated in the Convention. At length Billaud Varennes mounted the tribune, and, in a speech full of invective, denounced Robespierre as a tyrant.^b The accused attempted to speak. "Down with the tyrant!" burst from many a lip, and he and his guilty colleagues were dragged to execution amid the shouts of the populace, who had huzzaed as loudly when the king was murdered. With their fall the dreadful Reign of Terror ended. The Jacobin society was suppressed. Reason and conscience were asserting their sway in the Convention. The nation breathed freer, and the curtain fell on one of the bloodiest tragedies in the history of the human race.

Monroe was received with great cordiality. He sent a judicious letter to the President of the Convention. Its sentiments were consonant with the feelings of the hour. When he afterward entered the hall of the Convention the president embraced him affectionately. It was decreed that the flags of the two nations should be entwined and hung up there, in token of international union and friendship; and Monroe, with reciprocal courtesy, presented the banner of his country to the Convention in the name of the American people. The Convention, in turn, resolved to present their national flag to the President of the United States.

Jay's mission to England was partially successful. He found many obstacles to contend with. He entered upon the business in June, with Lord Grenville, and on the 19th of November following, the contracting parties signed a treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation. Although Mr. Jay accomplished much less than his instructions directed him to ask for, the treaty was a long step in the direction of right, justice, and national prosperity, and led to the execution, to a great extent, of the Treaty of 1783. It also laid the solid foundation of the commercial policy of the United States.¹

Jay's treaty was doomed to a severe trial, and, with it, the administration, the Constitution, and even the republic itself. The Democrats had resolved to oppose it, whatever might be its provisions, especially if it should remove all pretexts for a war

¹ The treaty provided for the establishment of commissions to determine the eastern boundary of the United States, then in dispute; the amount of losses incurred by British subjects by impediments being thrown in the way of collecting debts in the United States incurred before the Revolution; and to ascertain and estimate the losses of the Americans by irregular and illegal captures by British cruisers, such losses to be paid by the British government. It was provided that the Western military posts should be given up on the 1st of June, 1796, in consideration of the adjustment of the ante-Revolutionary debts. The Indian trade was left open to both nations, the British being allowed to enter all American harbors, with the right to ascend all rivers to the highest port of entry. This was not reciprocated in full. Americans were not allowed free navigation of the rivers in the Hudson's Bay Company's possessions, nor those of others of the British colonial possessions in America, except *above* the highest ports of entry. The citizens or subjects of each government holding lands in the dominions of the other government were to continue to hold them without alienage, nor were confiscations of the property of such persons to be allowed. In a word, the existing conditions of property should not be disturbed. Such are the substantial provisions in the first ten articles of the treaty, which were declared to be perpetual. The remaining eighteen, having special reference to commerce and navigation, were limited in their operations to two years after the termination of the war in which Great Britain was then engaged. American vessels were allowed to enter the British ports in Europe and the East Indies on equal terms with those of British vessels, while participation in the East India coasting-trade, and trade between European and British East Indian ports, was left to the contingency of British permission. The British were permitted to meet the discrimination in the American tonnage and import duties by countervailing measures. American vessels not exceeding seventy tons were allowed to trade to the British West Indies on condition that they should not, during the continuance of the treaty, transport from America to Europe any of the principal colonial products. British vessels were to be admitted into American ports on terms equal to the most favored nations. There were provisions made favorable to neutral property on the high seas, and that a vessel entering a blockaded port should not be liable to capture unless previously notified of the blockade. There were satisfactory arrangements made concerning enlistments; of courtesy between ships of war and privateers of the two countries; to prevent the arming of privateers of any nation at war with the two contracting parties, and the capture of goods in the bays and harbors of the parties. In the event of war between the two countries, the citizens or subjects of either should not be molested, if peaceable; and fugitives from justice, charged with high crimes, to be mutually given up.*

* The Treaty in full may be found in the *Statesman's Manual*, iv., 298.

Violent Opposition to the Treaty.

Its Friends assailed.

Secession proposed by Virginians.

with Great Britain. It reached the President early in March,^a but the Senate were not convened to consider it until June.^b Meanwhile an unfaithful Cabinet minister (Mr. Randolph, of Virginia) revealed enough of its character to warrant attacks upon it. The mad, seditious cry of faction was immediately raised in the Democratic societies and spread among the people.¹

^a March 5, 1796.

^b June 8.

The Senate finally voted to ratify the treaty, and it was published to the world.² Then the opposition opened upon it their heaviest batteries of abuse. The chief targets for their shot were its provisions for the payment of honest debts contracted before the Revolution, and the omission to provide for the remuneration of slaveholders for their negroes carried away during that war. As the Constitution of the United States, and the public sentiment and judicial decisions of Great Britain did not recognize man as property,³ the claim relating to slaves in the old treaty was passed over.

The author of the treaty, the approving senators, the administration, and the President personally, were violently assailed. The treaty was declared to be a token of national cowardice; an insult to the American people; a covert blow at France, their old ally. Bold attempts were made to intimidate the President and prevent his signing it. Public meetings were held all over the country, at which the most violent language and seditious suggestions and menaces were made. A mob in Philadelphia paraded in the streets with effigies of Jay and the ratifying senators.⁴ A meeting in Boston denounced the treaty as containing not one article "honorable or beneficial to the United States." Hamilton and other speakers in favor of the treaty were stoned at a public meeting in New York, not only by a low mob, but by decent people.⁵ South Carolinians called Jay a "traitor," longed for a guillotine, trailed the British flag in the dust of the streets of Charleston, and burned it at the door of the British consul; while Virginians, ever ready with the grand panacea of *disunion* for political evils, offered their prescription in emphatic if not elegant language.⁶

¹ The following is a specimen of those factious cries: "Americans, awake! Remember what you suffered through a seven years' war with the satellites of George the Third (and I hope the last). Recollect the services rendered by your allies, now contending for liberty. Blush to think that America should degrade herself so much as to enter into *any kind of treaty* with a power, now tottering on the brink of ruin, whose principles are directly contrary to the spirit of republicanism. The United States are a republic. Is it advantageous to a republic to have a connection with a monarch? Treaties lead to war, and war is the bane of a republican government. . . . France is our natural ally; she has a government congenial with our own. . . . The nation on whom our political existence depends we have treated with indifference bordering on contempt. . . . Citizens, your security depends on France. . . . Let us unite with France, and stand or fall together."

² The Senate, on voting to recommend the ratification of the treaty, removed the seal of secrecy, but forbade the publication of the treaty itself, for prudential reasons connected with measures for ascertaining the construction by the English of the order of the 8th of June, 1793 (see page 84), which, it was rumored, had just been renewed. Regardless alike of the rules of the Senate, of official decorum, and of personal honor, Senator Thomson Mason, of Virginia, sent a copy of it to the *Aurora* newspaper, the bitter enemy of the administration, and a full abstract of it was published therein on the 2d of July. A poet of the day thus ironically addressed Mr. Mason:

"Ah, Thomson Mason! long thy fame shall rise
With Democratic incense to the skies!
Long shall the world admire thy manly soul,
Which scorned the haughty Senate's base control;
Came boldly forward with thy weighty name,
And gave the treaty up for public game!"—*The Echo*.

³ In 1697 an English court decided that "negroes being usually bought and sold among merchants as merchandise, and also being *insidels*, there might be a property in them sufficient to maintain trover." In 1702 Chief Justice Holt decided that "so soon as a negro lands in England he is free." To this Cowper alluded when he said, "Slaves can not breathe in England." Holt also decided that "there is no such thing as a slave by the law of England." Just before the kindling of the Revolution these decisions were reaffirmed by Chief Justice Lord Mansfield in the case of James Somerset, a native of Africa, who had been carried to Virginia, sold as a slave, and taken to England by his master, where he was induced to assert his freedom.

⁴ That of Jay bore a pair of scales: one was labeled "*American liberty and independence*," and the other, which greatly preponderated, "*British gold*." From the mouth of the figure proceeded the words, "*Come up to my price, and I will sell you my country*."

⁵ "These are hard arguments," said Hamilton, who was hit a glancing blow upon the forehead by one of the stones. "Edward Livingston," says the late Dr. Francis, in his *Old and New York* ("afterward so celebrated for his Louisiana Code), was, I am informed, one of the violent young men by whom the stones were thrown."

⁶ "Notice is hereby given," said a Richmond paper (July 31, 1795), "that in case the treaty entered into by that damned arch-traitor, John Jay, with the British tyrant should be ratified, a petition will be presented to the next General Assembly of Virginia at the next session, praying that the said state may recede from the Union, and be under the government of one hundred thousand free and independent Virginians."

⁷ P.S. As it is the wish of the people of the said state to enter into a treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation with

None of these things moved Washington. He signed the treaty, and awaited calmly to see the storm pass by. It did so, and the foundations of the government were found to be stronger than ever. It was, says Lyman, "the first act of the government that proved the stability of the Federal Constitution. It was a severe trial, and the steadiness with which the shock was borne may be attributed, in some degree, to the personal character of the President."¹ In after years, when the republic was menaced by internal factions and external foes, the result of the conflict over "Jay's Treaty" was pointed to as a warrant for faith and hope.

While these unpleasant relations with Great Britain and France were exciting the people of the United States, the government was sorely perplexed by other events at home and abroad. At home there had been, for a long time, much discontent on account of excise laws which levied a duty on domestic distilled liquors. These discontents were fanned into a flame by the Democratic societies, and, in the summer of 1794, the inhabitants of some of the western counties of Pennsylvania arrayed themselves in armed opposition to the authority of the national government. A formidable insurrection prevailed. Buildings were burned, mails were robbed, and government officers were insulted and abused. At one time there were nearly seven thousand insurgents in arms, many of them being the militia of the country, who had assembled at the call of rebel leaders. The insurgent spirit also infected the border counties of Virginia.

The President perceived with alarm this imitation of the lawlessness of French politics, then so assiduously propagated, and took immediate steps to crush the growing monster. He first issued two warning proclamations.² They were unheeded. After exhausting all peaceable means for the restoration of order, he sent a large body of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Virginia, and Maryland troops, under General Henry Lee (then Governor of Virginia), into the disaffected district. This argument was effectual; and very soon the outbreak, known in history as the "Whisky Insurrection," like that of Shays's in Massachusetts a few years earlier, was subdued and thoroughly allayed. This alarming insurrection was ended without the shedding of a drop of blood—a result chiefly due to the prompt energy and prudence of Washington. The government was amazingly strengthened by the event. Every good citizen expressed his reprobation of violent resistance to law, and the Democratic societies, the chief fomenters of the rebellion,³ after that showed symptoms of a desire to become less conspicuous.³

any other state or states of the present Union who are averse to returning again under the galling yoke of Great Britain, the printers of the (at present) United States are requested to publish the above notification."

¹ Lyman's *Diplomacy of the United States*, 1, 208.

² "That the self-constituted societies," Washington wrote to John Jay, "which have spread themselves over this country, have been laboring incessantly to sow the seeds of distrust, jealousy, and of course discontent, thereby hoping to effect some revolution in the government, is not unknown to you." That they have been the fomenters of the Western disturbances, admits of no doubt in the mind of any one who will examine their conduct."

"I consider this insurrection," he wrote to General Henry Lee on the 26th of August, "as the first formidable fruit of the Democratic societies, brought forth, I believe, too prematurely for their own views, which may contribute to the annihilation of them."

³ I have before me the certificate of membership granted to Captain (afterward Commodore) Joshua Barney by the

* At that time there existed in the city of New York an association called the *Tammany Society*, or *Columbian Order*. It was formed by William Mooney, an upholsterer, residing in New York during the administration of Washington. Its first meeting was on the 13th of May, 1789. It took its name from the Indian chief Tammany, of whom it was said "he loved liberty more than life." Its officers were composed of a grand sachem and thirteen sachems, representing the President and the governors of the thirteen states. Besides these there was a grand council, of which the sachems were members. It was a very popular society, and its membership included most of the best men of New York. Its anniversary on the 12th of May came to be regarded as a holiday. No party politics were tolerated in its meetings. But when Washington denounced "self-constituted societies" for reasons above named, nearly all of the members left it, believing their society to be included in the just reproof. Mooney and others adhered to the organization, and from that time it became a political organization, and took part with Jefferson and the Democratic party. It is still in existence, and is known as a centre of Democratic organization, in the political sense of that name. Its head-quarters are Tammany Hall, fronting on the eastern side of the City Hall Park, at the junction of Nassau Street and Park Row. They met at first at Martling's Long Room, on the southeast corner of Nassau and Spruce Streets. In the year 1800 they determined to build a "wigwam." Tammany Hall was accordingly erected by them. The corner-stone was laid on the twenty-second anniversary of the society, in May, 1811, and was finished the following year. Of the original committee of thirteen appointed at the meeting in 1800 to carry out the design of erecting a building, only one now (1867) survives: that is the venerable Jacob Barker, of New Orleans.

Difficulty with Algiers.

British Interference.

Algerine Corsairs let loose upon American Commerce.

The new difficulty abroad was with Algiers, one of the Barbary Powers, on the southern coast of the Mediterranean Sea. The corsairs of those states, and especially of Algiers, had long depredated upon commerce in that region, and had grown bold by suffered impunity. When, at the close of the Revolution, American vessels began to find their way within the Pillars of Hercules, they frequently became the prey of these sea-robbers, who appropriated their cargoes and sold their crews into slavery, where they were held for ransom-money. President Washington called the attention of the national government to these piracies as early as 1790; and, in an able report, Secretary Jefferson laid before Congress important details touching the position of American interests in that part of the globe. Little, however, could be done, as the Americans had no navy; and the commerce of the United States in that quarter was for a long time dependent on the Portuguese fleet for protection.

Portugal was at war with Algiers for several years, and the fleet of the former confined the cruisers of the latter to the Mediterranean Sea. This barrier was broken in 1793, by British instrumentality acting secretly, for the avowed purpose of damaging France. Portugal was then seriously dependent on Great Britain, and had asked its aid in procuring a peace with Algiers. The British agent at the Court of the Dey was instructed to do so, and, without due authority being given him by Portugal to act in its behalf, he concluded a truce between the belligerents for one year. In that treaty was introduced the extraordinary stipulation that the Portuguese government *should not afford protection to any nation against Algerine cruisers!* This truce was immediate in its operations, and the robbers were released without notice being given to other powers.

The effect of this measure was disastrous to American commerce. Notwithstanding the British ministry disclaimed any intention to injure the United States, it was very evident that it was a part of a scheme to cripple the growing commerce of the Americans, or at least so to alarm it as to prevent its carrying supplies to France. And such was the result. The corsairs spread themselves over the Atlantic near the European coasts, and captured a large number of American vessels making their way to Portugal and other parts of the Continent, unsuspecting of any danger. The corsairs of Tunis joined those of Algiers, and thus a powerful fleet of pirate ships was formed.¹

Democratic or Republican Society of Baltimore, with the seal of the society attached, by the side of which his name is written. The following is a copy of the certificate and seal:

"To all other Societies established on principles of LIBERTY and EQUALITY, UNION, PATRIOTIC VIRTUE, and PERSEVERANCE.

"We, the Members of the Republican Society of Baltimore, certify and declare to all Republican or Democratic Societies, and to all Republicans individually, that Citizen JOSHUA BAENEY hath been admitted and now is a member of our Society, and that, from his known zeal to promote Republican principles and the rights of humanity, we have granted him this our certificate (which he hath signed in the margin), and do recommend him to all Republicans, that they may receive him with fraternity, which we offer to all those who may come to us with similar credentials.

"In testimony whereof, etc.
"GEORGE SEARS, Secretary."

Signed, ALEXANDER M'KIM, President.



Alexr. McKim

This certificate is dated the "twelfth day of August, and in the nineteenth year of the independence of the United States and the establishment of the American Republic," or 1795.

¹ The maritime force of Algiers at that time, according to O'Brien (see *American State Papers*, x., 323), consisted of four frigates, with an aggregate of 124 guns; one polacca (a vessel with three short masts, without tops, caps, or cross-trees to the upper yard), with 18 guns; one brig of 80; four xebecs (a small three-masted vessel used in the Mediter-

The Pride and Avarice of the Dey of Algiers. An American Navy recommended. First Steps toward its Creation.

The Americans felt justly indignant toward Great Britain because of the important part she had played in letting those robbers out of the Mediterranean. But the government was powerless to act. David Humphreys, who had been appointed commissioner for the United States to negotiate with the Dey of Algiers, had been treated with contempt by the haughty semi-barbarian, who was as avaricious as he was proud. "If I were to make peace with every body," he said, "what should I do with my corsairs? What should I do with my soldiers? They would take off my head for the want of other prizes, not being able to live on their miserable allowance!"

Such logic was unanswerable by words, and Humphreys wrote to his government at the close of 1793, at the suggestion of Captain Richard O'Brien,¹ "If we mean to have a commerce, we must have a navy to defend it." With the same recognition of the necessity for nautical power, Washington, in his message at the opening of Congress early in December,² said, when alluding to the war in Europe, and the delicate international questions arising out of the frontier relations of the republic, "There is a rank due to the United States among nations, which will be withheld, if not absolutely lost, by the reputation of weakness. If we desire to avoid insult, we must be able to repel it; if we desire to secure peace, one of the most powerful instruments of our prosperity, it must be known that we are at all times ready for war."

The President's wise counsels prevailed. In January,³ 1794, a committee was appointed, with instructions to report the amount of force necessary to protect American commerce against the Algerine pirates, and the ways and means for its support.² This measure, and the general subject of British aggressions, elicited, as we have seen, long and warm debates, and party lines were very distinctly drawn. The feeling against Great Britain became intense, and in March⁴ an embargo for a limited period was laid, chiefly for the purpose of obstructing the supply of provisions for the British fleet in the West Indies.³ Then followed the appointment of Mr. Jay as minister extraordinary to Great Britain, already noticed.

There was a powerful and determined opposition to the creation of a navy. With strange ideas of national honor and national independence, some advocated the purchase of a peace with the Dey of Algiers, and the future security of his forbearance, by ransom and tribute money, rather than prepare for, and thus, as they believed, provoke a war. And these cowardly counsels had great influence; for when, finally, a bill was passed⁴ providing for the construction of six frigates, it was encumbered with a clause commanding a suspension of labor upon them in the event of a peace with Algiers being secured. For the purchase of such peace a million of dollars were appropriated. An act was also passed for the fortification of the harbors of the republic.⁴ These were the first steps toward the creation of the navy, army, and fortifications of the United States under the National Constitution.

anean), with an aggregate of 168 guns; a brig on the stocks of 20 guns; three galliots, with 4 guns each; and sixty gun-boats. The vessels were all manned at the rate of twelve men for each gun. Tunis had, at the same time, twenty-three corsairs, mounting from 4 to 24 guns each.

¹ Letter of O'Brien to Humphreys, dated "Algiers, November 12, 1793."—See *American State Papers*, Boston edition, 1817, x., 819.

² This was the first Committee of Ways and Means ever appointed by the Congress, questions of that sort having been hitherto referred to the Secretary of the Treasury. It was an opposition measure.

³ First for thirty days, and afterward for sixty. At the end of that time the embargo expired by limitation, but a temporary act authorized the President to renew it at any time before the next session of Congress.

⁴ The naval bill provided that four of the six frigates should carry 44 guns each, and the other two 36 guns each. About \$700,000 were appropriated for the purpose. In the matter of harbor defenses, the President was authorized to commence fortifications at Portland, Portsmouth, Gloucester, Salem, Boston, Newport, New London, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Annapolis, Alexandria, Norfolk, Ocracoke Inlet, Wilmington, Cape Fear River, Georgetown, S. C., Charleston, Savannah, and St. Mary's. But the whole amount of money appropriated for this purpose was the paltry sum of \$136,000. True, this was only for the commencement of the fortifications. The President was authorized to purchase two hundred cannon, and artillery munitions for the forts, for which \$96,000 were appropriated. For the establishment of arsenals and armories \$81,000 were appropriated, and \$340,000 were provided for the purchase of arms and

Building of Frigates. Tribute to the Dey of Algiers. Release of Captives. The French Directory offended.

Perceiving an urgent necessity in the aspect of foreign affairs in relation to his own government, the President resolved to have the six frigates built immediately, and their keels were soon respectively laid in six different ports.¹ The work was going on briskly, when it was suspended, at the close of 1795, by the conclusion of a treaty of peace^a with the African robber, which cost the government a million ^{a November 28, 1795.} of dollars without ultimate advantage.² The work on the six frigates was suspended, and the mercantile marine of the United States lost all hope of protection in the event of a war with any foreign government.

At the beginning of 1796 the aspect of the foreign affairs of the republic was peaceful. The Indian war in the West had ceased; a better understanding with Great Britain prevailed than had been known since the close of the Revolution; and the French government, then in the hands of a Directory,³ showed no special symptoms of enmity toward that of the United States. But clouds soon began to appear in that section of the political horizon. The ratification of Jay's treaty gave such offense to the Directory that they declared^b the alliance between France and the ^{b February 15, 1796.} United States at an end, and that Adet, the successor of Fouchet, should ^{c July 2.} be recalled, to make room for a special minister. In July,^c when intelligence was received that the Congress of the United States had made an appropriation for the due execution of Jay's treaty, the Directory issued a secret order authorizing French ships of war to treat neutral vessels in the same manner as they had suffered themselves to be treated by the English. Under this authorization, numerous American ships were seized in the West Indies by French cruisers. This was followed in

military stores. The importation of arms for two years was to be free, and no arms were allowed to be exported for a year.

¹ These were Portsmouth, N. H., Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Norfolk. The President also proceeded to appoint the following officers, constructors, and navy agents:

Captains and Superintendents.	Naval Constructors.	Navy Agents.	For Ships to be built at
John Barry. Samuel Nicholson. Silas Talbot. Richard Dale. Thomas Truxton. James Sever.	Joshua Humphreys. George Cleghorn. Forman Cheesman. John Morgan. David Stodert. James Hackett.	Isaac Coxe. Henry Jackson. John Blagge. W. Pennock. Jeremiah Yillott. Jacob Sheaffe.	Philadelphia. Boston. New York. Norfolk. Baltimore. Portsmouth.

² The relations of those African sea-robbers to the commerce of the world at that time was a disgrace to the civilized nations who suffered themselves to be made tributary to the piratical rulers of the semi-barbarian states on the southern shores of the Mediterranean Sea.

The first contact of those powers with the Americans was in 1785, when Algerine corsairs captured two vessels from the United States, and consigned their crews, twenty-one in number, to slavery. Measures were immediately taken by the diplomatic agents of the United States in Europe for their release. The rapacious Dey believed he had found a new mine of wealth, and he asked an enormous price for their ransom. The American government determined not to establish a precedent that would be followed by more exorbitant demands. In France was a religious order, called Mathurins, established in ancient times for the purpose of redeeming Christian captives in the hands of the infidels. On the solicitation of Mr. Jefferson, then minister of the United States at the French Court, the principal of this order undertook to procure a release of the American captives. He was unsuccessful. Others made similar attempts, with like results. The Dey refused to lower his demands, believing that the United States would pay any price rather than allow Americans to remain in bondage. Finally our government appropriated \$40,000 for their ransom, and first John Paul Jones, and then Mr. Barclay, were appointed commissioners to negotiate for their release. Each died before he reached Algiers, and the business was placed in the hands of Colonel David Humphreys, American minister at Lisbon. This was at about the time when the truce between Portugal and Algiers, already mentioned, was concluded. The Algerine fleet was then upon the Atlantic, and, within a month after the truce was agreed upon, ten American vessels were captured by them, and over one hundred American seamen consigned to slavery. Colonel Humphreys asked the Dey for a passport to Algiers. The elated ruler said that he would not make peace with the Americans on any terms, nor allow any American ambassador to come to his capital. Humphreys hastened to the United States, when Congress appropriated about a million of dollars to be applied to the release of the captives. In the spring of 1795 Humphreys sailed for Europe, with Mr. Donaldson, consul for Tunis and Tripoli. While the former remained in France to obtain the aid of that government, Donaldson made a treaty with the Dey. The captives were finally released on the payment of a large sum of money, and an agreement on the part of the United States to pay to the Dey of Algiers an annual tribute. The amount to be paid down was \$600,000, and, in addition, the United States agreed to present the Dey with a frigate worth one hundred thousand dollars. The amount of annual tribute-money was twenty-five thousand dollars. This treaty was humiliating to the United States, but it was in accordance with the usages of European nations, and could not then be avoided.

³ The Directory was installed at the Luxembourg at Paris, under a new constitution of government, on the 1st of November, 1795, and was appointed to hold executive power for four years. It was composed of five members, and ruled in connection with the Chambers, namely, the Council of Ancients and the Council of Five Hundred.



C. C. Pinckney

America by Minister Adet's famous "cockade proclamation," calling upon all French residents in the United States, in the name of the Directory, to mount on their hats a tri-colored cockade. The call was loyally responded to, and many American Democrats, also, were seen with this token of their devotion to the French Republic.

Mr. Monroe, having failed to please either the French Directory or his own government, was superseded by Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, of South Carolina. That gentleman embarked as minister to France in September, bearing with him Monroe's letters of recall.

Washington's second administration was now drawing to a close, and he resolved to retire to private life. In September he issued his admirable Farewell Address to his countrymen—a political legacy of inestimable value. At the same time the first great

struggle of the Federal and Democratic parties for power was going on, in the canvass for Washington's successor. The candidates were Adams and Jefferson; and every appeal which party spirit or party rancor could invent was made to the people all over the land. Adet, with unparalleled impudence, issued an inflammatory appeal to the people, containing a summary of alleged violations of friendship to France on the part of the United States government. It was chiefly intended to arouse the feelings of the Americans against Great Britain. Other partisans of Jefferson, in their zeal to injure the Federal party, made outrageous assaults upon Washington's character, charging him with using the public money for private use, and of being a traitor to his country.¹ The notorious Thomas Paine, lately released from a French prison, with his moral sensibilities all blunted by habitual dissipation, wrote a scurrilous letter to Washington, from under the roof of Monroe in Paris, in the summer of 1796. This was published in the United States for the purpose of promoting Jefferson's election. But Adams was successful. The attack on Washington strengthened the Federal party, and the last growl of the opposition toward him personally was given by a writer in the *Aurora* on the first President's retirement from office at the beginning of March, 1797, and on the eve of his departure for Mount Vernon.²

When Washington retired from public life the clouds of difficulty between the United States and France were thickening. French cruisers were inflicting great wrongs on American commerce, and near the close of the session of the Congress of 1796, '97, the Secretary of State laid before that body³ a full

¹ February 27, 1797.

¹ "If ever a nation has been debauched by a man," said a writer in the *Aurora*, "the American nation has been debauched by Washington. If ever a nation was deceived by a man, the American nation has been deceived by Washington. Let his conduct, then, be an example to future ages. Let it serve to be a warning that no man may be an idol. Let the history of the Federal government instruct mankind that the mask of patriotism may be worn to conceal the foulest designs against the liberties of the people."

² "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation," said this politician. "If ever there was a time that would license the repetition of the exclamation of the pious Simeon," he said, "that time is now arrived; for the man who is the source of all the misfortunes of our country is this day reduced to a level with his fellow-citizens, and is no longer possessed of power to multiply evils upon the United States. . . . When a retrospect is taken of the Washingtonian administration for eight years, it is a subject of the greatest astonishment that a single individual should have cankered the principles of republicanism in an enlightened people just emerged from the gulf of despotism, and should have carried his designs against the public liberty so far as to have put in jeopardy its very existence. Such, however, are the facts, and, with them staring us in the face, this day ought to be a *scorpius* in the United States!"

President Adams. Aspect of Public Affairs. Treatment of an American Minister. — The French Directory.

exhibit of them. From that communication it appeared that not only were American vessels captured, but their crews were treated with great indignity, and even cruelty. Many bitter complaints were made against Commodore Joshua Barney, then in the French service, in command of two frigates in the West Indies, who was accused of treating his own captive countrymen with indifference and neglect. He was also charged with having insulted the American flag by hoisting it union down. And yet, when he arrived in Chesapeake Bay to learn and carry away to France the result of the Presidential election, though he boasted of having in his pocket the orders of the French Directory to capture American vessels, and declared that, if Jefferson were not elected, war would be proclaimed by France within three months, he was not the less on that account honored and feasted by infatuated politicians who read the *Aurora* and believed Washington to be a traitor!¹

Adams² came into office with a powerful party opposed to him—a party which lacked only two votes of giving the election to Mr. Jefferson, his rival, who became Vice-President. An open rupture with France was becoming more and more imminent. The accession of Spain to their alliance, and the victories of young Napoleon Bonaparte in Italy, gave the Directory strength, and their bearing toward other governments became more and more insolent. Their corsairs were depredating upon American commerce, and in their pride they declared that, until the United States had redressed certain alleged grievances of which they complained, no minister of the republic would be received by them. Pinckney, who had never been officially received as minister, was ordered to leave France. He retired to Holland, after sending a narrative of his bad treatment to his government, and there awaited farther orders.



John Adams

The conduct of the French Directory soon wrought a great change in the public mind in the United States. Disappointed by the failure of Jefferson to be elected President, the Directory determined to punish the people who dared to thwart their plans. They issued a decree³ which was almost tantamount to a declaration of war. It not only authorized the capture of American vessels under certain conditions, but declared that any American found on board of a hostile ship, though placed there without his consent by impressment, should be hanged as a pirate. American seamen, continually liable to impressment by the British, were to be subjected to a pirate's fate by the French! Strange to say, the eminent American,

¹ Biddle's *History of the United States*, Second Series, i., 765.

² John Adams was born at Quincy, Massachusetts, October 13, 1735. He was educated at Harvard University, and at the age of twenty-two years commenced the practice of the law. He was brought prominently into public life by his defense of Captain Preston at Boston, who was engaged in the so-called "massacre," in the spring of 1770. He became a member of the Massachusetts Legislature, and in 1774 was elected to the Continental Congress. He was one of the most active men in that body until sent on diplomatic missions to Europe. He was the representative of the new republic abroad for many years, and was one of the negotiators for peace in 1783. In 1789 he was chosen Vice-President of the United States, and in 1797 was elevated to the seat of the President, as Washington's successor. He served one term, and retired to Quincy in 1801. He engaged but little in public life afterward. He and Jefferson died on the same day, July 4, 1826, just fifty years after they voted for the Declaration of Independence. Mr. Adams was then ninety-one years of age. The above portrait was painted by Stuart at about the time Adams was elected President.

Joel Barlow a French Democrat.

Madness of Partisans.

"God save the Guillotine."

Joel Barlow, at that time a resident in Paris, coolly wrote a friend concerning this brilliant decade. "The government here is determined to fleece you to a sufficient degree to bring you to your feeling in the only nerve in which your sensibility lies, which is your pecuniary interest."¹



J. Barlow

administration party, and many Republicans talked with complacency of a war with France. But a majority of the Cabinet favored farther attempts at negotiation. John Marshall, a Federalist (afterward Chief Justice of the United States), and Elbridge Gerry, a Democrat (afterward Vice-President), were appointed envoys extraordinary to proceed to Europe, join Mr. Pinckney, and attempt to settle by diplomacy all matters in

President Adams had called an extraordinary session of Congress at the middle of May. The reaction every where had greatly strengthened the dispute between the United States and France. After a session of little more than six weeks, during which time provision was made for a small loan for calling out eighty thousand militia, and creating a small naval force, and acts against privateering were passed, Congress adjourned² in time to escape the yellow fever that ravaged Philadelphia that season.³

¹ July 10, 1797.

² Letter to his brother-in-law, Abraham Baldwin, of Georgia. Barlow, who went to France with a communication to the National Convention from a sympathizing society in England, was made a French citizen. By some commercial operations he accumulated a large fortune, lived in sumptuous style in Paris, and, being a thorough French Democrat, was the bitter enemy of the administrations of Washington and Adams. While at Hamburg, in 1793, he was invited to a Jacobin festival, and he furnished for the occasion a copy of the following song, written by Thelwall, a celebrated English Jacobin. It was sung on that occasion, and has been generally considered a composition by Mr. Barlow himself. It was entitled *God save the Guillotine*, and is a parody of the English national song *God save the King*:

"God save the guillotine!
Till England's king and queen
Her power shall prove;
Till each anointed knob
Affords a clipping job,
Let no rude halter rob
The guillotine.

"France, let thy trumpet sound—
Tell all the world around
How Cæsar fell;
And when great Genoa's poll

Shall in the basket roll,
Let mercy then control
The guillotine.

"When all the sceptred crew
Have paid their homage due
The guillotine,
Let Freedom's flag advance
Till all the world, like France,
O'er tyrants' graves shall dance,
And peace begin."

³ At about this time a letter written by Jefferson to Philip Mazzei, an Italian republican, who had lived near him in Virginia for a while, was published in the Federal newspapers, and made a great stir. The letter was written a year before, and was translated and published by Mazzei in a Florentine journal. It contained a virtual indorsement of all the charges made against Washington and his political friends. Its publication brought to an end the friendship between Jefferson and the late President. Jefferson was placed in such an unpleasant dilemma by it that he prudently kept silence. It was used with great effect at the time, and was again brought up against him at the Presidential canvass in the year 1800. It was made the subject of a caricature called *THE PROVIDENTIAL DETECTION*. At a place for

* It may not be out of place here to remark that "God save the King," in words and air, did not originate with Handel in the time of George the First, as is generally supposed, but is almost a literal translation of a *couplet* which was always sung by the maidens of St. Cyr when Louis the Fourteenth entered the chapel of that establishment to hear the morning prayer. M. De Brinon was the author of the words, and the music was by the eminent Lulli, founder of the French opera. The following is a copy of the words:

"Grand Dieu sauve le Roi!
Grand Dieu venge le Roi!
Vive le Roi!
Que toujours glorieux,
Louis victorieux!
Voye ses ennemi
Toujours soumis!
Grand Dieu sauve le Roi!
Grand Dieu venge le Roi!
Vive le Roi!"

This air is still sung by the vine-dressers in the south of France.—See *Memoirs of Madame de Croissy*.

Pride of the French Directory. Attempt to extort Tribute from the Americans. Pinckney's Reply. A French Decree.

Darker and darker appeared the storm-clouds of European politics, and the muttering of their thunders shook the social fabric in America with some alarm. England, for a moment, seemed tottering to its fall. Its financial power was sorely smitten by the suspension of specie payments by the Bank of England, and its naval strength and supremacy seemed menaced by a great mutiny at the Nore. Bonaparte was making his splendid conquering marches in the direction of the Danube, and the Carpathian Mountains beyond, and Austria had already been compelled to make peace with his government. Success waited on French arms and French diplomacy every where; and when the three American envoys reached Paris in October,^a and asked for an audience with the Directory, they met with a haughty refusal, unless they should first pay into the deficient French treasury a large sum as an equivalent for friendship. Overtures for this purpose were made by unofficial agents, and the sum demanded was two hundred and forty thousand dollars, besides an arrangement for purchasing from the French government a large amount of Dutch securities, which had been wrung from the Hollanders as the price of peace. Threats were made that, if these conditions were not complied with, the envoys might be ordered to leave France at any time with only twenty-four hours' notice, and that the coasts of the United States would be ravaged by French vessels from St. Domingo.

Delay followed delay. The envoys were firm; and the occasion was given for Pinckney to utter the noble sentiment, "Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute!" At length the envoys, having presented a list of grievances of which their government complained, asked for their passports if they could not be recognized as ministers. These were finally granted^b to the *Federal* envoys, but under circumstances of insult and indignity which amounted to virtual expulsion from the country. Gerry, the *Democrat*, who had held interviews with Talleyrand, the French premier, without the knowledge of his colleagues, and who doubtless encouraged him to believe that the "French party" in America were sufficiently numerous to avert a war with France, and insure a partial if not full compliance with her demands, was directed to remain in the character of an accepted minister.¹ He did so, and received the severest censures from his indignant countrymen. After being treated with mingled insolence and contempt by Talleyrand and his associates, Gerry also embarked for the United States.^c

Meanwhile the French Directory had issued a decree^d concerning neutrals on the ocean, more outrageous than any yet put forth, and calculated to effectually destroy American commerce in European waters.² This action, the indecent treatment of the envoys, and the continued depredations of the French cruisers, aroused a violent war spirit in the United States. It had been manifested, in a degree, at the opening of the Fifth Congress, and it increased with every fresh item of intelligence from France.

The President, in his first annual message,^e had recommended preparations for war; and in Congress the administration grew stronger every hour. At length, at the middle of March, dispatches came from the envoys giving a history of the infamous proceedings of the French Directory.³ A general outburst

burnt sacrifice called the "Altar of French Despotism," before which Jefferson is kneeling, a flame is seen, fed by papers marked *Age of Reason, Godwin, Aurora, Chronicle, J. J. Rousseau, Voltaire, Ruins of Volney, Helvetius*, etc. Around the altar lie sacks for consumption, marked *AMERICAN Spoiltations, Dutch Restitution, Sardinia, Flanders, Venice, Spain, Plunder*, etc.

¹ Gerry was much petted while in France, while his colleagues were neglected. At a ball given by Talleyrand as early as January, 1798, at which General and Madame Bonaparte were present, Mr. Gerry appeared. His brother envoys not having been invited, he at first refused, but finally attended, he said, in compliance with the dictates of policy.

² It proclaimed that all vessels having merchandise on board, the production of England or her colonies, whoever the owner of the merchandise might be, were liable to seizure as good prizes; and any vessel which at any previous part of her voyage had touched at any English port or possession was forbidden to enter any French port. Just before the issuing of this decree an American at Nantes wrote to his friends at home that no less than sixty privateers were fitting out in that port alone to prey upon American commerce.

³ The Directory at that time were Barras, Moulins, Siéyès, Gohier, and Roger Ducos. All but Barras were soon after-

of indignation followed. The people of the United States, as a nation, felt deeply insulted, and Pinckney's patriotic sentiment was repeated in every part of the republic. And yet there were those slavish enough to justify France and criminate their own government. In this cowardly course the *Aurora* took the lead. By some disloyal hand it was placed in possession of Talleyrand's rejoinder to the complaints of the envoys, and published it before it reached the government of the United States, for whom alone it was intended. It was argued that it would be better to comply with the demands of the Directory for money than to incur the risk of a war—better to purchase peace by humbly paying tribute, than to vindicate the claims of the nation to independence by asserting and maintaining its rights at all hazards!

Such logic did not suit the character nor temper of the American people at that time. The rampant war spirit, fed on every hand by fresh aggressions and patriotic appeals, was not to be appeased. The President issued a special message,^a calling upon Congress to make provisions for hostilities. His appeal was responded to with alacrity. Means for administering chastisements for injuries received, and for repelling those which were threatened, were provided without hesitation. Provision was made for the organization of a regular provisional army, in magnitude sufficient for the exigencies of the case, and the employment of a volunteer force. Measures were also taken, on the recommendation of the Secretary of War, for strengthening the navy, and making it a power to be respected on the high seas.¹

To a great extent party spirit disappeared in the National Legislature. Their proceedings were approved by the great majority of the people, and the President received addresses from all parts of the Union, warmly commending his course, and overflowing with the most fervid patriotism.² The young Federalists, with a spirit of defiant response to the Democrats, who still wore the badge of devotion to French politics ordered by Adet, mounted a black cockade, such as was worn by officers in the Revolution;³ and between the wearers of these opposing decorations there was

ward driven from office; and when, in the autumn of 1799, Bonaparte usurped the government, he expelled from France the first two above named as utterly corrupt.

¹ After much manœuvring on the part of the opposition to prevent the adoption of these measures to meet any hostilities on the part of France, the men who in 1794—only four years before—were eager for war with England, and voted for preparations for it with alacrity, were now as vehement for peace—an inconsistency which many of their partisans throughout the country pointed at with scorn. Congress authorized a regular provisional army of about twenty thousand men, and gave the President authority to appoint officers for it; also to receive and organize volunteer corps, who should be exempted from ordinary militia duty. The sum of \$800,000 was appropriated for the purchase of cannon, arms, and military stores. Provision was made for fortifying the harbors of the United States—a labor already commenced—and, for the farther security of ports, the purchase and equipment of ten galleys. The President was also authorized to cause twelve ships of not less than 32 guns each, twelve of not less than 20 nor exceeding 24 guns each, and six not exceeding 18 guns each, besides galleys and revenue cutters, to be built. A Navy Department, the duties of which the Secretary of War had hitherto performed, was created, and on the 30th of April, 1798, Benjamin Stoddert, of Georgetown, in the District of Columbia, was appointed the first Secretary of the Navy, and took his seat in the Cabinet.

Ben Stoddert

² The city of New York was greatly excited by the prospect of a war with France. Its commerce had suffered much by the depredations of French cruisers, and the mercantile classes were greatly exasperated. The Republicans or Democrats had a debating association, whose meetings were public, called "The Society of Free Debate." A meeting was called for the 27th of April, 1798, to discuss the question, "Would it be better policy, under existing circumstances, to lay an embargo [a scheme proposed by some as a less dangerous measure], than to arm in defense of our carrying-trade?" The Federalists went to the meeting in great numbers, and, by an overwhelming vote, elected Jacob Morton chairman. By ten to one they voted for arming. They expressed by resolutions full approbation of the conduct of the government, and their determination to support it. They appointed a committee, consisting of Colonel Jacob Morton, Colonel Ebenezer Stevens, Nicholas Ewartson, John Cozine, and Josiah Ogden Hoffman, to draft an address to the President and Congress, expressive of their satisfaction with the course pursued toward France. After the adjournment a Quaker addressed the multitude.

On the 5th of May a meeting was held, and addressed by the late Chief Justice Samuel Jones. Nine hundred young men present pledged themselves to be in readiness, at a moment's warning, to offer their services to their country against the French.

On the 8th of June the New York Chamber of Commerce took action concerning the defenses of New York. They appointed a committee to confer with the military authorities and the Corporation. A conference was held the next day at the Tontine Coffee-house, and it was resolved to call a public meeting of citizens who might be ready to defend an "insulted country" and the "defenseless port." The call was made, and an invitation was given for such citizens to enroll themselves as an artillery corps, it having been ascertained that Colonel Stevens, an experienced artilleryist of the Revolution, was willing to take the direction of them and to give them instructions.

³ This gave them the name of "Black-cockade Federalists," which was a term of reproach until ten years after the War of 1812-15.

intense hatred, which sometimes led to personal collisions. In the streets of cities opposing processions were seen; and all over the land the new songs of *Hail, Columbia!* and *Adams and Liberty*, were sung with unbounded applause.¹ The excitement against some of the opposition leaders in Congress soon became intense, and the most obnoxious of them, from Virginia, sought personal safety in flight, under the pretense of attention to their private affairs at home.

¹ The history of the origin and fate of these two songs is curious. The former, almost totally destitute of poetic merit, is still sung, and is regarded as a national song; the latter, full of genuine poetry, has been forgotten. *Hail, Columbia!* was written in the spring of 1798, when the war spirit of the nation was aroused by the irritating news from France. Mr. Fox, a young singer and actor in the Philadelphia Theatre, was to have a benefit. There was so little novelty at the play-house that he anticipated a failure. On the morning previous, he called upon Joseph Hopkinson, and said, "Not a single box has been taken, and I fear there will be a thin house. If you will write me some patriotic verses to the tune of the 'President's March,' I feel sure of a full house. Several people about the theatre have attempted it, but they have come to the conclusion that it can not be done. Yet I think you may succeed." Hopkinson retired to his study, wrote the first verse and chorus, and submitted them to Mrs. Hopkinson, who sang them with a harpsichord accompaniment. The time and words harmonized. The song was soon finished, and the young actor received it the same evening. The theatre placards the next morning announced that Mr. Fox would sing a new patriotic song. The house was crowded—the song was sung—the audience were wild with delight; for it touched the public heart with electrical effect at that moment, and eight times the singer was called out to repeat the song. When it was sung the ninth time the whole audience arose and joined in the chorus. On the following night (April 30, 1798) the President and his wife and some of the heads of departments were present, and the singer was called out time after time. It was repeated night after night in the theatres of Philadelphia and other places, and it became the universal song of the boys in the streets. On one occasion a crowd thronged the street in front of the author's residence, and suddenly "Hail, Columbia!" from five hundred voices broke the stillness of the midnight air.

In June following Robert Treat Paine was requested to write a song, to be sung at the anniversary of the "Massachusetts Charitable Fire Society." He wrote a political song adapted to the temper of the times, and called it "Adams and Liberty." At the house of Major Russell, editor of the *Boston Centinel*, the author showed it to that gentleman. "It is imperfect," said Russell, "without the name of Washington in it." Mr. Paine was about to take some wine, when Russell politely and good-naturedly interfered, saying, "You can have none of my wine, Mr. Paine, until you have written another stanza, with Washington's name in it." Paine walked back and forth a few moments, called for a pen, and wrote the finest verse in the whole poem—a verse which forms the epigraph of the chapter on the next page. This song, in nine stanzas, became immensely popular. It was sung all over the country, in theatres and public places, in workshops and drawing-rooms, and by the boys in the streets. The sale of it on "broad-sides" yielded the author a profit of \$750. The temper of the large majority of the American people at that time is expressed in the following verses of the ode:

- "While France her huge limbs bathes recumbent in blood,
And Society's base threats with wide dissolution;
May Peace, like the dove, who returned from the flood,
Find an ark of abode in our mild Constitution.
But though Peace is our aim,
Yet the boon we disclaim,
If bought by our Sov'reignty, Justice, or Fame.
- "Tis the fire of the flint, each American warms;
Let Rome's haughty victors beware of collision,
Let them bring all the vassals of Europe in arms—
We're a world by ourselves, and disclaim a division.
While with patriot pride
To our laws we're allied,
No foe can subdue us, no faction divide.
- "Our mountains are crowned with imperial oak,
Whose roots, like our liberties, ages have nourished;
But long ere our nation submits to the yoke,
Not a tree shall be left on the field where it flourished.
Should invasion impend,
Every grove would descend
From the hill-tops they shaded, our shores to defend.
- "Let our patriots destroy Anarch's pestilent worm,
Lest our Liberty's growth should be checked by corrosion;
Then let clouds thicken round us, we heed not the storm,
Our realm fears no shock but the earth's own explosion.
Foes assail us in vain,
Though their fleets bridge the main,
For our altars and laws with our lives we'll maintain.
For ne'er shall the sons of Columbia be slaves
While the earth bears a plant, or the sea rolls its waves."

Preparations for War. Washington invited to command the Army. He accepts. Hamilton acting General-in-chief.

CHAPTER V.

"Should the tempest of war overshadow our land,
Its bolts could ne'er rend Freedom's temple asunder;
For, removed, at its portal, would Washington stand,
And repulse with his breast the assaults of the thunder!
His sword from the sleep
Of its scabbard would leap,
And conduct with its point ev'ry flash to the deep!
For ne'er shall the sons of Columbia be slaves
While the earth bears a plant, or the sea rolls its waves."

ROBERT TRIST PATTER.



HAVING resolved on war, if necessary, for the dignity of the nation, the question arose spontaneously in the hearts of the American people, Who shall command our armies at this important crisis? All minds instinctively turned toward Washington as the only man who could command the respect of the whole nation and keep a dangerous faction in check.¹ "In such a state of public affairs," Hamilton wrote, "it is impossible not to look up to you. . . . In the event of an open rupture with France, the public voice will again call you to command

the armies of your country. . . . All your past labor may demand, to give it efficacy, this farther, this great sacrifice."² "We must have your name, if you will in any case permit us to use it," President Adams wrote to him on the 22d of June. "There will be more efficiency in it than in many an army." And four days later, James M'Henry, the Secretary of War, wrote to him, "You see how the storm thickens, and that our vessel may soon require its ancient pilot. Will you—may we flatter ourselves that, in a crisis so awful and important, you will accept the command of all our armies? I hope you will, because you alone can unite all hearts and all hands, if it is possible that they can be united."

These intimations were followed by corresponding action. On the 7th of July President Adams, with the consent of the Senate, appointed Washington Lieutenant-general and commander-in-chief of all the armies raised and to be raised for the service of the United States. The venerated patriot, then sixty-five years of age, instantly obeyed the call of his country. "You may command me without reserve," he said to President Adams, qualifying the remark only by the expressed desire that he should not be called into active service until the public need should demand it. His friend, Mr. Hamilton, then forty-one years of age, was appointed first major general, and placed in active supreme command; and in November, Washington held a conference at Philadelphia with all the general officers, when arrangements were made for the complete organization of a provisional army on a war footing.

Washington all this while had looked upon the gathering tempest with perfect confidence that the clouds would pass by, and leave his country unscathed by the

¹ It was the settled conviction of many of the wisest men of that day that the leaders of the opposition wished to overthrow the Constitution. "It is more and more evident," Hamilton wrote to Washington late in May, 1776, "that the powerful faction which has for years opposed the government is determined to go all lengths with France. I am sincere in declaring my full conviction, as the result of a long course of observation, that they are ready to *renounce* our Constitution under the influence or suggestion of France, to form with her a perpetual alliance, *offensive and defensive*, and to give her a monopoly over trade by *peculiar and exclusive* privileges. This would be in substance, whatever it might be in name, to make this country a province of France. Neither do I doubt that her standard, displayed in this country, would be, directly or indirectly, seconded by them, in pursuance of the project I have mentioned."

² Hamilton to Washington, May 18, 1776.

The Pride of the Directory humbled.

A Minister-Plenipotentiary to France appointed.

lightning and the hail. Events soon justified his faith. The pride of the haughty Directory was speedily humbled, and the fears of England, toward whom many thoughtful men in America had looked as a possible friend and aid in the event of a war with France, were allayed. The victorious Bonaparte, who had threatened Great Britain with invasion, had gone off to Egypt on a romantic expedition, his avowed object being to march into Palestine, take possession of Jerusalem, rebuild the Temple, and restore the Jews to their beloved city and land. This he unsuccessfully attempted after the battle of the Nile, in which the proud Toulon fleet had been vanquished by Nelson.^a A few weeks later Sir John Borlase Warren had scattered a French fleet^b that hovered on the coast of Ireland to aid insurgents there; and many minor victories were accorded to English prowess.¹

^a August 1,
1798.

^b October 12,

These successes of the English, intelligence of the war feeling in America, and the appointment of Washington as commander-in-chief of the armies of the United States, made the intoxicated Directory pause in their mad career. The wily Talleyrand began to think of conciliation. In letters to Pinchon,^c French secretary of legation at the Hague, he intimated that any advances for negotiation that the government of the United States might make would be received by the Directory in a friendly spirit. These intimations, as intended, were communicated to William Vans Murray, the United States minister at the Hague, who transmitted them to his government.

^c August 28 and
September 28,
1798.

Without consulting his Cabinet, or taking counsel of national dignity, President Adams nominated Mr. Murray minister plenipotentiary to France. The country was astounded. It came upon the Cabinet, the Congress, and the people without premonition. The Cabinet opposed it, and the Senate resolved not to confirm it. No direct overtures had been made by the French government; and some of Mr. Adams's best friends, who regarded war as preferable to dishonor, deprecated a cowardly cringing to a half-relenting tyrant, and warmly remonstrated with him. He persisted, and they were estranged. He finally so far yielded to public opinion as to nominate three envoys extraordinary, Mr. Murray being one, to negotiate a settlement of all matters in dispute between the United States and France. These were confirmed by the Senate at near the close of the session, in February, 1799, not willingly, but from a conviction that a refusal to do so might endanger the existence of the Federal party, for Mr. Adams had many and powerful supporters. It was stipulated, however, that the two envoys yet at home (Chief Justice Oliver Ellsworth and Patrick Henry²) should



JOHN BULL TAKING A LUNCH.

¹ England had for some time trembled violently before the wonderful operations of Bonaparte on the Continent. For a while invasion of the island seemed imminent. But when the cloud disappeared in the autumn of 1798, and scarcely a day passed without bringing intelligence of some new success of the British navy, the feeling of exultation was intense. The pencil of Gillray, the great caricaturist, was exceedingly active, and in quick succession he brought out several prints illustrating John Bull as being surfeited with his immense captures. In one of these, entitled "John Bull taking a Luncheon; or, British Cooks cramming Old Grumble-gizzard with *Bonne Chère*," the representative of English nationality, a burly old fellow is seen sitting in a chair at a well-furnished table, while the naval cooks are zealous in their attentions. The hero of the Nile offers him a "fricasseé à la Nelson," consisting of a large dish of battered French ships of the line. Another admiral offers him a "fricando à la Howe," "dessert à la Warren," "Dutch cheese à la Duncan," et cetera. John Bull is deliberately snapping up a frigate at a mouthful, and is evidently fattening on his diet. "What!" he exclaims, "more fricassees? Where do you think I shall find room to stow all you bring in?" By his side is an immense jug of brown stout to wash them down. Behind him is a picture of "Bonaparte in Egypt" suspended against the wall, nearly concealed by Nelson's hat, which is hung over it.

² Mr. Henry declined the nomination because of his advanced age and increasing infirmities. Governor William R.

^a The portion of this celebrated caricature here given, with the description, is copied from Wright's *England under the House of Hanover*, ii., 298.

Three Envoys sent to France. Bonaparte First Consul. Naval Warfare between the Americans and the French.

not embark for Europe until authentic and satisfactory assurances should be given as to their reception. Such assurances were received by the government in October following, and in November Ellsworth and W. R. Davie (the latter having taken Mr. Henry's place) sailed for Europe. Fortunately for all parties, when the envoys reached France a change had taken place in the government of that country. The Directory was no more. Bonaparte had suddenly returned from the East, after great and brilliant movements with various results, and was hailed as the good genius of the Republic. He found, as he expected, his country rent by political dissensions, and the Directory in disrepute among the most powerful classes. With the assistance of a strong party, supported by bayonets, he dissolved the Assembly of Representatives and took the government into his own hands,^a with the title of First Consul, which was at first conferred upon him for ten years, and afterward for life.

The audacity and energy of Bonaparte saved France from anarchy and ruin. To please the people he proclaimed a pacific policy, and opened correspondence with the powers then at war with the Republic with professions of peaceful desires. It was at this auspicious moment that the American envoys arrived^b at Paris.

While these political movements were in progress, and preparations were making in the United States for a French invasion, war between the two nations actually commenced on the ocean, although hostilities had not been proclaimed by either. On the 7th of July, 1798, Congress declared the old treaties with France at an end, and two days afterward passed a law authorizing American vessels of war to capture French cruisers wherever they might be found. On the 11th, a new marine corps of nearly nine hundred men, rank and file, commanded by a major, was established by law, and a total of thirty active cruisers was provided for.

We have observed that some movements for strengthening the navy were begun early in 1797. The frigates *United States*, 44, *Constitution*, 44, and *Constellation*, 38,¹ were launched, and ordered to be put in commission that year. The *United States* first reached the water, and was the beginning of the American navy—created after the adoption of the National Constitution. She was launched at Philadelphia on the 10th of July,^c and was followed in September by the *Constellation* and *Constitution*.

The former was set afloat on the 7th of that month, at Baltimore, and the latter on the 20th, at Boston;² yet none of these were ready for sea when, in the spring of 1798, war with France seemed inevitable.

An Indiaman, called the *Ganges*, was armed and equipped at Philadelphia as a 24-pounder, and placed in the command of Captain Richard Dale. She sailed on the 22d of May, to cruise along the coast from the east end of Long Island to the Capes of Virginia, to watch the approach of an enemy to the ports of New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. On the 12th of June Captain Dale received instructions off the Capes of Delaware to seize French cruisers and capture any of their prizes that might fall in his way.

The *Constellation*, 38, first went down the Patapsco on the morning of the 9th of April,^d and early in June went to sea under the command of Captain Thomas Truxtun, in company with the *Delaware*, 20, Captain Decatur,³ each having

Davie, of North Carolina, was appointed in Henry's place. The commission then stood: Murray, of Maryland; Ellsworth, of Connecticut; and Davie, of North Carolina. Mr. Murray, still at the Hague, was instructed to inform Talleyrand of the appointment.

¹ These numbers, 44, 88, etc., refer to the number of guns carried by each vessel, or, rather, the number they were rated at. The armament of vessels sometimes varies from the rate.

² The *Constellation* was constructed by David Stoddert.

³ Stephen Decatur was born at Newport, Rhode Island, in 1751. He commanded several privateers during the Revolution, and captured several English ships. He received a commission as captain in the United States navy in 1798, and served with distinction during the hostilities with the French cruisers. In 1800 he commanded a squadron of thirteen sail on the Guadaloupe station, his flag-ship being the *Philadelphia*, 38. He left the service in 1801, and engaged in

Capture of *Le Croyable*.

The *United States* and the *Constitution*.

Life and Services of Commodore Barry.

orders similar to Dale's. When only a few days out, De-

Stephen Decatur

catur fell in with the French corsair *Le Croyable*, 14, captured her, and sent her to Philadelphia as a prize. She was condemned by the prize court, added to the United States navy with the name of *Retaliation*, and placed under the command of Lieutenant William Bainbridge. She was the first vessel captured during the "French War of '98," so called, and was the first vessel taken by the present navy of the United States.



John Barry

Early in July the *United States*, 44, Captain John Barry,¹ went to sea, and cruised eastward. She carried among her officers several young men who afterward became distinguished in the annals of naval warfare.² The government soon afterward determined to send a force to the West Indies, where American commerce was most exposed, and Captain Barry was ordered there with a small squadron, consisting of the *United States*, 44, *Delaware*, 20, and *Herald*, 18.

The *Constitution* (yet in the service) went to sea in July, in command of Captain Samuel Nicholson, and, in company with four revenue vessels, sailed in August to cruise off the coast southward of the Virginia Capes. One of these vessels was in command of Lieutenant (afterward Commodore) Preble.

In August the *Constitution*, Captain Trux-

commercial pursuits in Philadelphia, where he died in 1808. A plain slab, near the noble granite monument erected to the memory of his distinguished son in St. Peter's (Episcopal) Church burying-ground, marks the grave of the gallant captain and his wife, who died in 1812.

¹ John Barry was born in Ireland, County of Wexford, in 1745. He came to America in his youth, as a seaman. In 1775 he entered the naval service of Congress, and it is a disputed point whether he was the first of the commanders who got to sea at that period. He was in active service during the whole war. In the establishment of the new navy in 1794 he was named the senior officer, in which station, in command of the *United States*, he died on the 18th of September, 1803, in the city of Philadelphia. He died childless, at the age of fifty-eight years.

Commodore Barry's tomb is near the entrance to the cemetery of St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church, on Fourth Street, Philadelphia. The following is a copy of the inscription:

"Let the patriot, the soldier, and the Christian who visit these mansions of the dead, view this monument with respect. Beneath are deposited the remains of JOHN BARRY. He was born in the County of Wexford, in Ireland, but America was the object of his patriotism, and the theatre of his usefulness and honor. In the Revolutionary War, which established the independence of the United States, he bore the commission of a captain in their infant navy, and afterward became commander-in-chief. He fought often and once bled in the cause of freedom. But his habits of war did not lessen in time the peaceful virtues which adorn private life.

He was gentle, kind, just, and charitable; and not less beloved by family and friends than by his grateful country. In a full belief in the doctrines of the Gospel, he calmly resigned his soul into the arms of his Redeemer on the 18th of September, 1803, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. His affectionate widow hath caused this marble to be erected, to perpetuate his name after the hearts of his fellow-citizens have ceased to be the living record of his public and private virtues."

² Her first lieutenant was David Ross, who was last seen on the 30th of November, 1799; John Mullanoy, who died in



COMMODORE BARRY'S MONUMENT.

British Outrages. The Obsequiousness of the American Government. Instructions of the Secretary of the Navy.

tun, and the *Baltimore*, 20, Captain Phillips, performed signal service by safely conveying sixty American merchant vessels from Havana to the United States, in the face of several French cruisers lying in that port. Both the British and French authorities in the West Indies were surprised at the appearance of so many American cruisers in that region. At the close of the year 1798 the American navy consisted of twenty-three vessels, with an aggregate armament of four hundred and forty-six guns.

It was at this time that the first of the series of most flagrant outrages upon the American flag, which finally aroused the people of the United States to vindicate their honor and independence by an appeal to arms, was committed by a British commander. The American ship *Baltimore*, Captain Phillips, sailed out of Havana on the morning of the 16th of November, 1798, in charge of a convoy bound to Charleston, South Carolina, and in sight of Moro Castle met a British squadron. At that time the governments of the United States and Great Britain were on friendly terms, and Phillips bore up to the *Carnatick*, the flag-ship of his majesty's squadron, to speak to the commander. To his surprise, three of the convoy were cut off from the rest and captured by the British vessels. By invitation Phillips went on board the *Carnatick*, when he was informed that every man on board the *Baltimore* who had not a regular American protection should be transferred to the British flag-ship. Captain Phillips protested against the outrage, and declared that he would formally surrender his ship, and refer the matter to his government. His protest was of no avail. On returning to the *Baltimore*, he found a British officer mustering his men. He immediately ordered that gentleman and those who accompanied him to walk to the leeward, and then sent his men to their quarters. After consultation with a legal gentleman on board his ship, he determined to formally surrender her if his men were taken from him. Fifty-five of them were transferred to the *Carnatick*, and the colors of the *Baltimore* were lowered. Only five of her crew were retained by the British captain. These were pressed into the service of the king. The remainder were sent back, and the *Baltimore* was released. The British squadron then sailed away with the five captive seamen, and the three merchant vessels as prizes.

The *Baltimore* hastened to Philadelphia, and her case was laid before the government. At that time the trade between the United States and Great Britain was extremely profitable to American merchants; and the mercantile interest was such a power in the state that almost any indignity from the "mistress of the seas" would have been submitted to rather than provoke hostilities with that government.¹ The American Cabinet, in its obsequious deference to the British, had actually instructed the commanders of American cruisers on *no account*—not even to save a vessel of their own nation—to molest those of other nations, France excepted.² The government dismissed Captain Phillips from the navy without trial because he surrendered without a show of resistance; but the outrage of the British commander was passed by unnoticed!

At about the time of this occurrence near Havana, a small American squadron was

1801, was her second lieutenant; her third was James Barron, afterward commodore; and her fourth was Charles Stewart, the venerable commodore, yet (1862) living. Among the midshipmen were Decatur, Somers, and Caldwell, who distinguished themselves at Tripoli. Jacob Jones and William M. Crane joined her soon afterward, both of whom became commodores.

¹ The country had just entered upon a career of great commercial prosperity, notwithstanding many perils and hindrances beset that branch of national industry. American tonnage had doubled in ten years. American agricultural products found a ready market. The exports had increased from nineteen millions to almost ninety millions, and the imports in about the same proportion; and the amount of revenue from imports greatly exceeded the most sanguine anticipations.

² "The vessels of every other nation (France excepted"), ran the instructions of the Secretary of the Navy, "are on *no account* to be molested; and I wish particularly to impress on your mind that, should you ever see an American vessel captured by the armed ship of any nation at war with whom we are at peace, you can not lawfully interfere to prevent the capture, for it is to be taken for granted that such nation will compensate for such capture if it shall prove to have been illegally made."

Naval Engagements.

Increase of the Navy.

Victory of the *Constellation* over the *Insurgente*.

cruising off Guadaloupe. One of the vessels was the captured *Le Croyable*, now the *Retaliation*, commanded by Lieutenant Bainbridge. They discovered some French cruisers, and mistook them for English vessels. The *Retaliation* reconnoitered them, and perceived her mistake too late to avoid trouble. She was attacked by two French frigates (the *Volontaire* and *Insurgente*), and was compelled to surrender. The *Insurgente*, to whom the *Retaliation* was a prize, was one of the swiftest vessels on the ocean. She immediately made chase after two of the American ships, who were pressing all sail in flight. Bainbridge was a prisoner on the *Volontaire*, and, with the officers of that vessel, witnessed the chase with great interest from the fore-castle. The *Insurgente* continually gained upon the fugitives. "What are their armaments?" the commander of the *Volontaire* asked Bainbridge. "Twenty-eight twelves and twenty nines," he quickly responded. This false statement doubled their forces, and startled the commander. He was the senior of the captain of the *Insurgente*, and immediately signaled him to give up the chase. The order was reluctantly obeyed. The American vessels escaped, and Bainbridge's deceptive reply cost him only a few curses. In this affair the *Retaliation* gained the distinction of being the first cruiser taken by both parties during the war.

The strength of the navy was considerably increased during the year 1799. Many vessels were launched, and most of them were commissioned before the close of autumn. At the beginning of the year the active force in the West Indies was distributed into four squadrons. Commodore Barry, the senior officer in the service, was in command of ten vessels, with an aggregate of two hundred and thirty-two guns, whose general rendezvous was St. Rupert's Bay. Another squadron of five vessels, under Commodore Truxtun, in the *Constellation*, rendezvoused at St. Kitt's, and cruised to leeward as far as Porto Rico. Captain Tingey, with a smaller force, cruised between Cuba and St. Domingo; and Captain Decatur, with some revenue vessels, watched the interests of American commerce off Havana. These squadrons captured many French vessels during the year.

At meridian on the 9th of February,¹ while the *Constellation* was cruising off Nevis, a large vessel was discovered at the southward. Truxtun gave chase, and brought on an engagement at little past three in the afternoon. It lasted an hour and a quarter, when the antagonist of the *Constellation* struck her colors and surrendered. She was the famous French frigate *Insurgente*, Captain Barreault, just mentioned as the captor of the *Retaliation* a few weeks earlier. The gallant Frenchman did not yield until his fine ship was dreadfully shattered, and he had lost seventy men, killed and wounded. The *Constellation* had lost only three men wounded. The prize was put in charge of Lieutenant (afterward Commodore) Rodgers, and at the end of three days of tempest, danger, and suffering, she was taken into St. Kitt's (St. Christopher), and received a salute from the fort. * 1800.

This victory produced great exultation in the United States, and the navy was declared to be equal to any in the world. The *Insurgente* carried 40 guns and 409 men; the *Constellation* only 32 guns and 309 men. The battle was fought with great skill and bravery on both sides. The press was filled with eulogiums of Truxtun. He received congratulatory addresses from all quarters, and the merchants of Lloyd's Coffee-house, London, sent him a service of plate worth over three thousand dollars, on which a representation of the action was elegantly engraved.² The captives were loud in praises of Truxtun's courtesy and kindness;³ and for a long time a

¹ Cooper's *Naval History of the United States*, i., 297; Truxtun's dispatch to the Secretary of the Navy.

² Wyatt's *Generals and Commodores of the American Army and Navy*, p. 197.

³ "I am sorry," Captain Barreault wrote to Truxtun, "that our two nations are at war; but since I unfortunately have been vanquished, I felicitate myself and crew upon being prisoners to you. You have united all the qualities which characterize a man of honor, courage, and humanity. Receive from me the most sincere thanks, and be assured I shall make it a duty to publish to all my fellow-countrymen the generous conduct which you have observed toward us."

American Cruisers in the West Indies.

Contest between the *Constellation* and *La Vengeance*.

song, called "Truxtun's Victory," was sung every where, in private and at public gatherings.¹

During the remainder of the year nothing of importance was performed by or be-
^{November 3,} fell our cruisers. In November Commodore Barry sailed from Newport^a
^{1799.} for France in the *United States*, having Messrs. Wolcott and Davie, the two envoys, on board. He met with no adventures, and performed his errand with satisfaction. Meanwhile our cruisers were busy in the West Indies, watching the interests of American commerce there, and making the French corsairs exceedingly cautious and circumspect. At length another victory gave lustre to the American navy, rendering it very popular, and causing many leading families of the country to place their sons in the service.²

The victory was again by Truxtun, in the *Constellation*. Early on the morning of the 1st of February, 1800, while off Guadaloupe seeking for the large French frigate *La Vengeance*, said to be in those waters, he discovered a sail to the south which he took to be an English merchantman. He ran up English colors, but receiving no response, he gave chase. The stranger pressed sail, and it was almost fifteen hours before the *Constellation* came within hailing distance of her. It was then discovered that she was a large French frigate. Truxtun, unabashed, prepared for action. It was opened by the Frenchman, at eight o'clock in the evening, by shots from the stern and quarter guns. A desperate engagement at pistol-shot distance ensued. It lasted until one in the morning, the combatants all the while running free, side by side, and pouring in broadsides. The French frigate suddenly ceased firing, and disappeared so completely in the gloom that Truxtun believed she had gone to the bottom of the sea. At that moment it was discovered that the *Constellation's* shrouds had been nearly all cut away, and that the mainmast was ready to fall. A heavy squall came on, and the mast went by the board, carrying with it a midshipman and several topmen who were aloft. The stranger, dreadfully crippled, made her way to

^a February, 1800. Curaçao, where she arrived on the 6th.^b She was the sought-for frigate *La Vengeance*, carrying 54 guns and 400 men, including passengers. Captain Pitot, her commander, acknowledged that he had twice struck his flag during the engagement. She would have been a rich prize for the *Constellation*. It was lost only by the utterly helpless condition of that vessel's mainmast. Truxtun bore away for Jamaica, and it was some time before he knew the name and character of his antagonist, and the prize he had lost.³

¹ The song was not poetry, but touched a chord of popular sentiment which responded with great animation. The following is a single verse of the song, which contains eight:

"On board the *Constellation* from Baltimore we came;
 We had a bold commander, and Truxtun was his name;
 Our ship she mounted forty guns,
 And on the main so swiftly runs,
 To prove to France Columbia's sons
 Are brave Yankee boys."

² "The Navy" became a favorite toast at public meetings, and pictures of naval battles and doggerel verses called "naval songs" were sold in the shops and streets. An enterprising crockery merchant had some pitchers of different sizes made in Liverpool, commemorative of the navy. One of them, before me, that belonged to the late W. J. Davis, Esq., of New York, is a white pitcher, about a foot in height. Under the spout, in a wreath, are the words, "SUCCESS TO THE INFANT NAVY," and below this the American eagle, in form like that on the great seal of the United States. On one side is a picture of a full-rigged vessel of war, and some naval emblems in the foreground. On the other side is a map of the United States, having on one side Washington and Liberty, in full-length figures, Fame, with trumpet and wreath, above it; and on the other side Franklin sitting making a record, and a helmeted female, representing America, near which stands Justice. This device was upon pitchers made at about the time of Washington's inauguration as the first President of the United States.

³ *La Vengeance* had on board the Governor of Guadaloupe and his family, and two general officers, returning to France. She had also a full cargo of sugar and coffee, and a very large amount of specie. She lost, in killed and wounded, one hundred and sixty-two. The *Constellation* lost fourteen men killed and twenty-



NAVAL PITCHER.

Truxtun's Victory welcomed.

He is honored by Congress.

His public Services.

This second victory over a superior foe gave Truxtun great renown at home and abroad, and the Congress of the United States, by action approved on the 29th of March, 1800, authorized the President to present him a gold medal "emblematical of the late action," with the thanks of the nation.¹



MEDAL PRESENTED TO COMMODORE TRUXTUN.

five wounded. Eleven of the latter died of their wounds. Among the lost was Midshipman Jarvis, of New York, who commanded the men in the top. He was warned by an old seaman that the mast would soon fall. He gallantly said, "Then we must go with it." They did so, and only one man was saved. Congress, by vote, recognized the bravery of young Jarvis, "who gloriously preferred certain death to an abandonment of his post."

¹ This medal is represented in the engraving, the exact size of the original. On one side is a profile bust of Truxtun in relief, with the legend, "PATRIÆ PAVRES FILIO IGNO THOMAS TRUXTUN." On the reverse are seen two ships of war (the French a two-decker), both shattered, and the rigging of both much cut up. Legend: "THE UNITED STATES FRIGATE CONSTELLATION, OF THIRTY-EIGHT GUNS, PURSUES, ATTACKS, AND VANQUISHES THE FRENCH SHIP LA VENGEANCE, OF FIFTY-FOUR GUNS, 1ST OF FEBRUARY, 1800."

Thomas Truxtun was born at Jamaica, Long Island, on the 17th of February, 1755. He went to sea at the age of twelve years. During his apprenticeship he was impressed into the British service, but was soon released. He commanded a vessel in 1775, and brought considerable powder to the colonies at that time. He was engaged in privateering from Philadelphia during the whole war. While carrying Mr. Barclay, consul general of the United States, to France, he had a successful engagement with a British man-of-war. In 1794 he was appointed by Washington one of the six naval commanders, and the *Constellation* was built under his superintendence at Baltimore. His exploits in her are related in the text. The cruise which resulted in the defeat of *La Vengeance* was his last. In 1803 he was ordered to the command of a squadron destined for the Mediterranean. Being denied a captain to command his flag-ship, he declined the service. His letter to this effect was construed by President Jefferson as a resignation, which was accepted, and the American navy was deprived of one of its brightest ornaments. He retired to a farm not far from Philadelphia, where he remained in quiet until 1816, when the citizens of Philadelphia elected him high sheriff. He held that office three years, and died on the 5th of May, 1822, in the sixty-seventh year of his age. He was buried to Christ Church-yard, Fifth Street, Philadelphia, where a plain upright slab of white marble marks his grave, on which is the following inscription: "Sacred to the memory of Commodore Thomas Truxtun, formerly of the United States Navy, who died May 5th, 1822, aged sixty-seven years." In considering the little sketch of Truxtun's grave, the spectator is exposed to be standing with his back to Fifth Street looking east.



TRUXTUN'S GRAVE.

Peace. Troubles among the Federalists. Character of President Adams. Opposition to Adams in his own Party.

Other victories of less magnitude were won by the American cruisers during the earlier months of the year 1800, and contributed to make the little navy of the United States a subject for praise and wonder in Europe. But its services were now less needed, and efforts to increase the navy were sensibly relaxed during the summer of that year. Active negotiations for peace and amity were in progress between the United States and the First Consul of France, which led to a settlement of difficulties. The American envoys were cordially received, and three plenipotentiaries, with Joseph Bonaparte at their head, were appointed to treat with them. Many difficulties arose, and sometimes an utter failure of the effort seemed inevitable. Finally a convention was concluded,¹ peace was established, the envoys returned home, and the provisional army of the United States was disbanded.

Allusion has been made to the divisions in the Federal party on account of President Adams's course in the appointment of diplomatic agents for negotiations with the French government before that government had officially signified its willingness to receive them. The instant dissatisfaction caused by that act only gave intensity to feelings already existing. Mr. Adams was an honest patriot, of much ability, but totally unfitted by temperament and disposition for the leadership of a great political party. He was excessively vain, and correspondingly sensitive and jealous. His vivid and sometimes eccentric imagination seldom yielded obedience to judgment. His prejudices were violent and inexorable, and his frankness made him indiscreet in his expressions of opinion concerning men and measures. He held resentment against Hamilton as relentless as did Jefferson, and he openly accused him of British proclivities, and hostility to the National Constitution. Because Wolcott, and Pickering, and Ames, and M'Henry, and other leading Federalists could not agree with him concerning public policy, the President regarded them as personal enemies, actuated by selfish objects, and desirous of defeating his most earnest wishes, namely, a re-election to the seat he then occupied. Cunning Democrats fanned the flame of discord; and they strengthened Adams's political aspirations by assuring him that he might unite the moderate and virtuous men of both parties, and thus crush the oligarchy of radical Federalists, to whom all national troubles should be attributed.²

It was not long before confidence among the members of the Federal party was almost destroyed. Such were their divisions in the House of Representatives that, notwithstanding they had a decided majority there, they were not able, as Jefferson exultingly wrote, to carry a single measure during the session of 1799-1800. The simple truth appears to be that Adams would not be controlled by the leaders who claimed to have elevated him and his party to power. He exercised his own judgment as President without regard to party. His most ardent political partisans, now become his opponents, reciprocated his own suspicions, and believed that his conduct was prompted by jealousy of Hamilton, and a disposition to secure his own re-election at whatever sacrifice of principle, or at whatever risk to the Federal party.³

These suspicions created zealous action. The most influential Federal leaders, two of whom (Timothy Pickering and James M'Henry) were in Adams's Cabinet, adopted a scheme for quietly preventing his re-election to the Presidency, which he ardently desired. The method of choosing the President and Vice-President, at that time, was

¹ This convention was signed at Paris on the 30th of September, 1800, by Oliver Ellsworth, William R. Davie, and William Vans Murray, on the part of the United States, and Joseph Bonaparte, Charles P. E. Fleuriot, and Pierre L. Roderer, in behalf of France. It provided that the old treaties should remain inoperative until a new negotiation should decide concerning them as well as indemnities mutually claimed. It provided for the mutual restoration of captured public ships and property not already condemned; for the mutual payment of all debts due by the respective governments and individuals thereof; for reciprocal commercial relations to be equal to those of the most favored nations, and for security of American commerce against the vexatious pretensions of French cruisers. The convention also declared that *free ships should make free goods*, thus affirming the doctrine of Frederick the Great fifty years earlier, and denying that of England in her famous rule of 1766, revived in 1798.—See the convention in full in the *Statesman's Manual*, iv., 838.

² Oliver Wolcott to Fisher Ames, Dec. 20, 1799.

³ Hildreth's *History of the United States*, Second Series, ii., 865.

Plans of Federalists for defeating Adams.

Tactics of the Democrats.

The Alien and Sedition Laws.

for two persons to be voted for without distinction as to the office for which they were respectively intended; and the one receiving the highest number of votes was declared President, and the other Vice-President.¹ This plan gave facility to the scheme of Mr. Adams's opponents. A caucus of the Federal members of Congress resolved to place Mr. Adams and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, of South Carolina, on the same ticket, with the understanding that both should receive the same number of votes, and thus cause the election to be carried to the House of Representatives, where Mr. Pinckney would have a considerable majority. Caution was necessary, for the foe was vigilant, and ever ready to take advantage of the weakness which dissensions would create in the Federal camp. Open opposition to Adams, whose high personal character was appreciated every where, and especially in New England, might have imperiled the success of the party. Mr. Adams, on the other hand, was aware of the intrigues against him, and that members of his Cabinet were leaders in the scheme; yet for once he was discreet enough not to denounce them openly, nor dismiss them from his council, for he was doubtful of his own strength in the powerful Middle States where they were popular, and where the Alien and Sedition Laws, which brought such odium upon his administration, were heartily detested. A Democratic caucus pursued a similar course, and selected Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr, but with the understanding that the former was the choice of the party for President.

The Alien and Sedition Laws just alluded to were used adroitly by the Democrats to excite the people against Adams's administration and the Federal party, and that use was made powerful in securing the election of Mr. Jefferson to the Presidency in the year 1800.²

¹ For the young reader, or a foreigner to whom the working of our political system in detail may not be familiar, an explanation here may be useful. The President of the United States is not voted for directly by the people. Persons in each state, in number equal to the respective senators and representatives in Congress, are elected by the people, and delegated with full powers to choose a President and Vice-President. These meet at a specified time, and form what is termed the Electoral College. Although the electors may vote for whom they please, the candidates named by the people are always voted for in the college, so that practically the people do vote directly for President and Vice-President. In the event of an equal number of votes being cast in the college for both candidates, the election is carried to the House of Representatives, in accordance with the provisions of the National Constitution, Article II., section 1.

² The action of Virginia and Kentucky politicians in the matter were so powerful at the time, and remote, even to our day, in their influence upon public opinion in a portion of the republic concerning the theory of our government, as to warrant the introduction here of the following brief history of the affair:

In the year 1798, when war with France seemed to be unavoidable, Congress passed acts for the security of the government against internal foes. By the first act alien enemies could not become citizens at all. By the second, which was limited to two years, the President was authorized to order out of the country all aliens whom he might judge to be dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States. By a third act, in case of war declared against the United States, or an actual invasion, all resident aliens, natives or citizens of the hostile nation, might, upon a proclamation of the President issued according to his discretion, be apprehended, and secured or removed. These were known as *Alien Laws*. The President never had occasion to employ them, but several prominent Frenchmen, who felt that the laws were aimed at them, speedily left the country. Among them was the celebrated French writer, M. Volney, who, in the preface to his *View of the Soil and Climate of the United States of America*, complained bitterly of the "violent and public attacks made upon his character, by the connivance or instigation of a certain eminent personage," meaning President Adams.

In July, 1798, an act was passed for the punishment of sedition. It made it a high misdemeanor, punishable by a fine not to exceed \$5000, imprisonment from six months to five years, and binding to good behavior at the discretion of the court, for any persons unlawfully to combine in opposing measures of the government properly directed by authority, or attempting to prevent government officers executing their trusts, or inciting to riot or insurrection. It also provided for the fine or imprisoning any person guilty of printing or publishing "any false, scandalous, and malicious writings against the government of the United States, or either House of Congress, or the President, with intent to defame them, or to bring them into contempt or disrepute." This was called the *Sedition Law*.

The laws brought out the heaviest batteries of denunciation from the opposition, and were deplored by many of the Federalists. The wise Hamilton perceived the dangers that might arise from the enactment of the Sedition Law, and immediately wrote a hurried note of warning to Wolcott on the 29th of June, saying, "LET US NOT ESTABLISH A TYRANNY. Energy is a very different thing from violence. If we take no false step, we shall be essentially united; but if we push things to the extreme, we shall then give to faction *body and solidity*." The fears of Hamilton were realized. Nothing contributed more powerfully to the speedy downfall of the Federal party than these extreme measures.

The Alien and Sedition Laws aroused individual resentments, and led to the public avowal of the doctrine of independence and supreme state sovereignty in its most dangerous form. The right of "nullification" was as distinctly proclaimed by Jefferson and others as it ever was by Calhoun or Hayne. In a series of resolutions drawn up under the seal of secrecy as to their authorship, Mr. Jefferson declared the National Constitution to be a mere compact made by sovereign states *as states*, each having the sole right of interpreting for itself the "compact," and bound by no interpretation but its own: that the general government has no final right, in any of its branches, to interpret the extent of its own powers, and that all its acts not considered constitutional by a state may be properly nullified by such state within

Most of the Presidential electors at that time were chosen by the respective State Legislatures, and not by the people, as now, and the contest was really commenced in the election of members to those bodies. New York was regarded as the custodian of the balance of political power, and the election of that state which occurred at the close of April, 1800, was looked to with great anxiety by both parties. A radical change had taken place. Burr, the most unscrupulous intriguer of the day, worked incessantly, and New York, which the year before gave the Federalists five hundred majority, now gave almost as great a majority for the Democrats. The latter were jubilant—the former were alarmed.

At this time the germ of a new party was distinctly visible in Virginia and the states south of it, which was born of slavery and the doctrine of independent state sovereignty. Virginia was its sponsor, and it allied itself to the Democratic party. And yet, strange as it may seem, Mr. Adams at this time looked to the Southern States for his forlorn hope in the coming election contest. Believing Pickering and M'Henry to be unpopular there, he abruptly called upon them to resign. M'Henry instantly complied, but Pickering refused. Adams dismissed him with little ceremony.¹ The event caused much excitement, and had considerable influence in reducing the Federal vote. Bitter animosities prevailed. Criminations and recriminations ensued.

The open war in the Federal party against Mr. Adams was waged by a few leaders, several of whom resided in Essex County, Massachusetts, the early home of Pickering, and on that account the irritated President called his assailants and opposers the "Essex Junto." He denounced them as slaves to British influence, some lured by monarchical proclivities, and others by English gold. Severe retorts followed; and a pamphlet from the pen of Hamilton, whom Adams had frequently assailed in conversation as a British sympathizer, and an enemy to the National Constitution, damaged the President's political prospects materially.

The result of the canvass was the triumph of the Democratic party. Jefferson was elected President of the United States, and Aaron Burr Vice-President,² to the great joy of their partisans, who chanted, in effect,

"The Federalists are down at last!
The Monarchists completely cast!
The Aristocrats are stripped of power—
Storms o'er the British faction lower.
Soon we Republicans shall see
Columbia's sons from bondage free.
Lord! how the Federalists will stare
At JEFFERSON in ADAMS' chair!"—*The Echo.*

its own boundaries. These resolutions were offered to the Kentucky Legislature; but the one avowing the absolute right of nullification was modified, or rather substituted by another, before the whole were put upon their passage. This action was in November, 1798. Within a month afterward John Taylor, of Caroline, an avowed secessionist, introduced into the Virginia Legislature a series of resolutions drawn by Mr. Madison, similar in spirit, but more cautious in expression. They were adopted, and, with a plea in their favor, were sent to the various State Legislatures. In some of them they were handled roughly, and all that responded condemned them as unwarrantable and mischievous, excepting already-committed Kentucky. These were the famous "Resolutions of '98," on which nullification in 1832 and secession in 1861 planted themselves and looked for justification. The whole movement was of a local and temporary nature. Jefferson and Madison were wielding dangerous weapons in their sturdy warfare for political power (for that was the animus of the whole matter); but they trusted the people, and believed, as Jefferson said in his inaugural, that great errors may be tolerated when reason is left free to combat them. That nullifiers and secessionists have no warrant for their doctrines in the action of the Virginia Legislature at that time Mr. Madison distinctly declared more than thirty years afterward. "The tenor of the debates," he said, "which were ably conducted, and are understood to have been revised for the press by most, if not all of the speakers, discloses no reference whatever to a constitutional right in an individual state to arrest by force the operation of a law of the United States."—See letter to Edward Everett, August, 1830, in *Selections from the Private Correspondence of James Madison*, published by J. C. M'Guire, of Washington City, for private distribution.

¹ John Marshall, who was soon afterward appointed Chief Justice of the United States, took Pickering's place as Secretary of State, and Samuel Dexter was called to M'Henry's seat in the Cabinet as Secretary of War.

² The Electoral College met, and their vote stood as follows: Jefferson, 73; Burr, 73; Adams, 65; Pinckney, 64; John Jay, 1. The votes for Jefferson and Burr being equal, the election, as provided by the Constitution, was carried into the House of Representatives. The occasion presented exciting scenes. On the first ballot eight states voted for Jefferson, six for Burr, and two (Vermont and Maryland) were divided. Two or three members were so sick that they were brought to the House on beds. For seven days the members were occupied in balloting. The Federalists all voted for Burr, as the least offensive of the two candidates, but the friends of Jefferson were stronger than they.

Mortification of the Federalists.	Ins and Outs.	Announcement of the Death of Washington.	Its Effect.
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The mortification of the defeated party was intense, and new elements of strife soon mingled with the old causes of contention between the two parties. At these John Quincy Adams hinted when he said, "The election of Mr. Jefferson to the Presidency was, upon sectional feelings, the triumph of the South over the North, of the slave representation over the free. On party grounds, it was the victory of professed Democracy over Federalism, of French over British influence. The party overthrown was the whole Federal party. The whole Federal party was mortified and humiliated at the triumph of Jefferson.¹

After an existence of eight years as a distinct political organization, the original Federal party fell, never to rise again into power. Its noble monument is the machinery of the national government, which its wise men devised and set in motion, and which still performs its functions with admirable steadiness and increased power—machinery which the opposition declared to be weak and dangerous when they were in the minority, but which they adopted as sound and secure as soon as they came into power. The saying of English politicians, that a Tory in place becomes a Whig out of place, and a Whig when provided with a place becomes a Tory, was exemplified.²

While the nation was thus agitated by contending factions and menaced by the tempests of war, the great light of the republic, by whose steady planetary gleams the vessel of state had been long guided, and saved from the rocks and quicksands of faction and anarchy, suddenly went out. In the darkness that fell without twilight—without premonition—every discordant voice was for a moment hushed, for awe placed the finger of silence upon the lips of political partisans of every kind. The National Congress was then in session at Philadelphia. Early on the morning of the 18th of December^a—a cold, crisp, winter morning—a courier with smoking ^{a 1799.} steed dashed up to the Presidential mansion, and delivered a letter from the private secretary³ of the great leader, who had already been called PATER PATRÆ.⁴ The President was at breakfast. The seal was black wax. It was broken hastily by Mr. Adams, who read, "It is with inexpressible grief that I have to announce to you the death of the great and good General WASHINGTON. He died last evening, between ten and eleven o'clock, after a short illness of about twenty-four hours."⁵

There was grief in the President's household. There was grief in Congress when John Marshall announced^b "Our Washington is no more." ^{b December 19.} There was grief in the streets of the national capital when the sad intelligence went from lip to ear all over the city within an hour after the arrival of the courier. There was grief throughout the nation when the knell of the funeral bells in cities and villages, with chilling monotone, fell upon the ears of the people. There was grief in Europe when, forty days afterward, it was known in England and on the Continent. Lord Bridport lowered to half mast the flags of his great English fleet

¹ See *Life of William Plummer*, p. 310.

² A London paper in 1813 contained the following poetic version of the maxim, under the head of *Definition of Parties*:

"WHIGS NEVER IN.
A Whig is never in! How strange the story!
Turn in a Whig—he turns in a Tory!
TORIES NEVER OUT.
A Tory's never out! Strange whirligig!
Turn out a Tory—he turns out a Whig!
INS AND OUTS.
Why then turn all our brains with senseless rout?
Tory and Whig are merely IN and OUT."

³ Tobias Lear.

⁴ The late G. W. P. Custis, the adopted son of Washington, in a letter to his foster-father written at Annapolis, where he was at school, on the 12th of July, 1798, after congratulating his guardian on his appointment to the command of the American army, said, "Let an admiring world again behold a Cincinnatus springing up from rural retirement to the conquest of nations; and the future historian, in recording so great a name, insert that of the '*Father of his Country*.'"

⁵ Dated "Mount Vernon, December 15, 1799."

Action of Congress on the Death of Washington. Marks of Respect in Europe. Funeral Honors. *M'Pherson Blues*.

of sixty vessels then lying in Torbay; and Bonaparte, just made First Consul of France, paid a beautiful tribute to the virtues of the beloved man in an order of the day to the French army, and in directing a funeral oration to be pronounced before him and the civil and military authorities.¹ The Congress of his own country, by

* December 23, 1799. joint resolutions, decreed* that a marble monument should be erected to his memory at the new Capitol on the Potomac; that there should be a funeral procession from Congress Hall to the German Lutheran Church, where an oration should be pronounced by one of the members of Congress; that the citizens of the United States should wear crape on their left arm as mourning for thirty days; and that the President should send a letter of condolence to Mrs. Washington, and request that her husband's remains might be interred at the Capitol of the nation.² They also recommended the people of the United States to assemble on the next anniversary of Washington's birthday,³ "to testify their grief by suitable eulogies, orations, and discourses, or by public prayers."



THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN PHILADELPHIA.

General Henry Lee, the personal friend of Washington, and son of that "Lowland Beauty" whom the great patriot loved in his early youth, was the chosen orator. With rare eloquence he charmed the vast audience that thronged the Lutheran Church, the largest in Philadelphia.⁴ The *M'Pherson Blues*,⁴ an elegant military corps of three hundred young men, were there as a guard of honor, and fired the accustomed military salute. On the ensuing 22d of February funeral orations were pronounced in many places throughout the country; and memorials of many kinds were speedily prepared, to perpetuate, by visible objects, the recollection of Washington's vir-

¹ This oration was delivered by Louis Fontaine in the Temple of Mars, at Paris, on the 8th of February, 1800. In allusion to the young general and chief ruler of France before him, the orator said, in his peroration, "Yes, thy counsels shall be heard, O Washington! O warrior! O legislator! O citizen without reproach! He who, while yet young, rivals thee in battles, shall, like thee, with his triumphant hands, heal the wounds of his country. Even now we have his disposition, his character for the pledge; and his warlike genius, unfortunately necessary, shall soon lead sweet peace into this temple of war. Then the sentiment of universal joy shall obliterate the remembrance of oppression and injustice. Already the oppressed forget their ills in looking to the future. The acclamations of every age will be offered to the hero who gives happiness to France, and seeks to restore it to a contending world."

* Mrs. Washington consented to the removal of her husband's remains to the National Capitol. But they have never been taken from his beloved Mount Vernon. They never should be. That home of the illustrious patriot is now the property of the patriotic women of America, and should ever be consecrated by the presence of his tomb. The nose and nose of our beloved friend should be inseparable, and these words of Lunt should express the sentiments of every American:

"Ay, leave him alone to sleep forever,
Till the strong archangel calls for the dead,
By the verdant bank of that gushing river
Where first they pillowed his mighty head."

³ That German Lutheran Church is yet standing on Fourth Street, Philadelphia, above Arch Street. Lee's oration was hastily prepared, but was an admirable production. In it he used these memorable words, "FIRST IN WAR, FIRST IN PEACE, FIRST IN THE HEARTS OF HIS COUNTRYMEN." This oration may be found in Costle's *Recollections of Washington*.

⁴ This corps was composed of the elite of Philadelphia society. The costume is represented in an engraving in *Lossing's Home of Washington, or Mount Vernon and its Associations*. Six of those who were present on that occasion were yet living in January, 1862, and all were residents of Philadelphia, namely, Samuel Breck, aged ninety; S. Palmer, aged eighty-one; S. F. Smith, aged eighty-one; Charles N. Benson, aged eighty-five; Quintan Campbell, aged eighty-five, and Robert Carr, aged eighty-four. John F. Watson, the annalist of Philadelphia and New York, and who died in De-

Medal in Honor of Washington.

Sketch of Washington's Person and Character.

tures and illustrious deeds.¹ The faithful history of those deeds is his best eulogy.²

"His glory fills the land—the plain,
The moor, the mountain, and the mart!
More firm than column, urn, or fane,
His monument—the human heart.
The Christian—patriot—hero—sage!
The chief from heaven in mercy sent;
His deeds are written on the age—
His country is his monument."

GEORGE P. MORRIS.

ember, 1860, was a member. Colonel Carr, who was an officer in the War of 1812, informed me that he was one of the squad who fired the volleys on that occasion. The costume of the M^rPherson Blues is seen in the figure below.

¹ Among many other tokens of respect published at that time was a silver medal, a little larger and thicker than the Spanish quarter of a dollar. One of these is in the possession of the writer, and is represented in the engraving. On one side is a profile of Washington, inclosed in a wreath of laurel, and surrounded by the words, "HE IS IN GLORY, THE WORLD IN TEARS." On the reverse is a memorial urn, and



WASHINGTON MEDAL.

around it, forming two circles, are abbreviations, seen in the engraving, signifying: "Born February 11, 1732; General of the American Army, 1775; resigned 1783; President of the United States of America, 1789; retired in 1796; General of the Armies of the United States, 1798; died December 14, 1799." This medal was designed by Dudley A. Tyng, the collector of customs at Newburyport at that time, and engraved

and published, immediately after the death of Washington, by Jacob Perkins, the well-known ingenious mechanic and engraver. He cut dies for this design of two sizes.

² A contemporary wrote as follows concerning Washington's person and character:

"GENERAL WASHINGTON in his person was tall, upright, and well-made; in manner easy and unaffected. His eyes were of a bluish cast, not prominent, indicative of deep thoughtfulness, and, when in action on great occasions, remarkably lively. His features strong, manly, and commanding; his temper reserved and serious; his countenance grave, composed, and sensible. There was in his whole appearance an unusual dignity and gracefulness which at once secured for him profound respect and cordial esteem. He seemed born to command his fellow-men. In his official capacity he received applicants for favors, and answered their requests with so much ease, condescension, and kindness, as that each retired believing himself a favorite of his chief. He had an excellent and well-cultivated understanding; a correct, discerning, and comprehensive mind; a memory remarkably retentive; energetic passions under perfect control; a judgment sober, deliberate, and sound. He was a man of the strictest honor and honesty; fair and honorable in his dealings; punctual to his engagements. His disposition was mild, kind, and generous. Candor, sincerity, moderation, and simplicity were, in common, prominent features in his character; but, when an occasion called, he was capable of displaying the most determined bravery, firmness, and independence. He was an affectionate husband, a faithful friend, a humane master, and a father to the poor. He lived in the unvarying habits of regularity, temperance, and industry. He steadily rose at the dawn of day, and retired to rest usually at nine o'clock in the evening. The intermediate hours all had their proper business assigned them. In his allotments for the revolving hours religion was not forgotten. Feeling, what he so often publicly acknowledged, his entire dependence on God, he daily, at stated seasons, retired to his closet to worship at His footstool, and to ask His divine blessing. He was remarkable for his strict observation of the Sabbath, and exemplary in his attendance on public worship."



CHAPTER VI.

"The Dey of Algiers, not afraid of his wars,
Sent to Jonathan once for some tribute:
'Ho! ho!' says the Dey, 'if theascal don't pay,
A caper or two I'll exhibit.
I'm the Dey of Algiers, with a beard a yard long:
I'm a Mussulman, too, and of course very strong:
For this is my maxim, dispute it who can,
That a man of stout muscle's a stout Mussulman.'¹"



EFFERSON'S administration commenced under favorable auspices.^a There were omens of peace abroad, and these promised calmness and prosperity at home. The league of England and the Continental powers against Bonaparte had failed to impede his progress in the path toward universal dominion; on the contrary, he had brought nearly all Europe trembling at his feet. Within the short space of two years he made himself master of all Italy, and humbled proud

Austria by a series of the most splendid victories on record. Within the circle of another two years he had returned from his Oriental campaigns to receive the homage of France, and accept its sceptre in republican form as First Consul. With the absolute power of an emperor, which title he speedily assumed, he prepared to bring to France still more wealth, territory, and glory, by extending her sway from Africa to the North Cape—from the Atlantic to the Ural Mountains. Old thrones shook; and when Bonaparte whispered peace all Europe listened eagerly, for they were words of hope for dynasties and nationalities.

The preliminary Treaty of Luneville,^{1b} affirming that of Campo-Formio,² made four years earlier,^c rendered a reconstruction of the map of Europe necessary, for kings and princes had allowed the successful soldier to change the geographical lines of their dominions. Great Britain was left alone in armed opposition to the conquering Corsican. Even her late allies against him, always jealous of her maritime superiority, were now his foes. The league of Northern powers, known as the Armed Neutrality,³ was re-established by treaty^d at the instigation of the Emperor Paul, of Russia, and from their council went forth the spirit of Cato's words concerning the offending African city: *Delenda est Carthago*—"Carthage must be destroyed." They resolved to contradict by force her doctrine concerning the freedom of neutrals,⁴ and naval armaments were put afloat. At the same time Bonaparte was threatening Great Britain with invasion, and her rich East India possessions with the tread of the conqueror.

Although burdened with taxation to a degree before unknown, and wearied with her long contest with France and the Irish rebellion under her own roof,⁵ Britain

¹ The peace concluded at Luneville between the French Republic and the Emperor of Germany, after confirming the Treaty of Campo-Formio, stipulated that the Rhine to the Dutch Territories should form the boundaries of France, and recognizing the independence of the Bavarian, Helvetic, Ligurian, and Cisalpine Republics.

² In the Treaty of Campo-Formio, between France and Austria, the latter yielded the Low Countries and the Ionian Islands to the former, and Milan, Mantua, and Modena to the Cisalpine Republic which Bonaparte had established in Italy. By a secret article, the Emperor of Austria took possession of the Venetian dominions, in compensation for the Netherlands.

³ See note 2, on page 58.

⁴ See note 1, page 84.

⁵ The Roman Catholics and the Protestant Dissenters in Ireland were subjected to cruel and insulting disabilities by the English in regard to both civil and religious privileges. In 1793 a society was formed, chiefly under the direction of Wolfe Tone, for the purpose of procuring Parliamentary reform in this matter. They were called "United Irishmen." They were also animated by republican sentiments, and a hatred of England as an oppressor. Inspired by events in

Great Britain triumphant.

Friendly Relations with Bonaparte.

The sudden Change ridiculed.

once more put forth her strength on the ocean. Parker and Nelson destroyed the Danish fleet at Copenhagen,^a and brought that government to submission; ^a April 2, 1801. the other powers of the league, alarmed, and deserted by Paul's successor, withdrew from the unequal contest, and left England still boasting, as in Waller's time, two hundred years ago, that her ships were

"Riding without a rival on the sea;"

or chanting, with the faith of Thomson, a hundred years later,

"When Britain first, at Heaven's command,
Arose from out the azure main,
This was the charter of the land,
And guardian angels sung the strain:
Rule Britannia; Britannia rules the waves!
Britons never shall be slaves."

England was willing to have peace, but not with the loss of an iota of her power. A peace ministry, with Mr. Addington at its head, assumed the reins of government in the spring of 1801. It looked with favor upon the dispersion of the war-clouds which had so long brooded over Europe. During that year one after another of the Continental powers wheeled into the line of amicable relations with Bonaparte,¹ and in March, 1802,^b by treaty at Amiens,² he and George the Third became ^b March 25. technical friends, much to the disgust of a powerful war party in England, who would not trust the word of the ambitious Corsican for an hour. They believed his object to be rest and gaining of time, while he should make preparations for more formidable blows for the subjugation of Europe. But they were compelled to yield to the greater faith, or the greater needs, of the government and the majority. There was sunlight abroad, and a bow of promise in the sky. It seemed as if universal peace was about to be established in Europe, and Bonaparte was hailed as a pacificator. England blazed with bonfires and illuminations; was resonant with speeches and sermons; feasted in public halls in testimony of her faith and joy, and enriched her literature with addresses and poems on the apparent dawning of a political millennium. Forgetful of the past deeds of Bonaparte, which they had denounced as *crimes*, Englishmen flocked to Paris to bow before the rising sun of power, and carried back with them French fashions in abundance, as tokens of their satisfaction. The sly Corsican, chuckling over their obsequiousness, and their blindness to his real designs, treated the most distinguished of his English admirers with marked respect, and received in turn such fulsome adulation that right-minded men in Great Britain blushed with shame.³

The machinery of government was all adjusted for the easy management of the

France, these "United Irishmen," whose society extended all over the kingdom, resolved to strike for liberty and establish a republican form of government for Ireland. In this they received the aid of France. They nominated an executive directory in 1797. Their plans, carried on with the utmost secrecy, were ripe for execution, when they were discovered and denounced by a government spy. Many of the leaders were arrested, but an open, armed rebellion was suddenly developed all over the kingdom in May, 1798. Great Britain put forth its military power, then strong at home, in anticipation of an invasion by the armies in France, and the insurrection was crushed in the course of a few months.

¹ France concluded a treaty of peace with Naples March 18, 1801; with Spain, March 21; with the Pope, July 15; with Bavaria, August 24; with Portugal, September 29; with Russia, October 4; with Turkey, October 9; and with Algiers, December 7.

² This was a treaty between Great Britain, Holland, France, and Spain. The preliminary treaty had been signed on the 1st of October, 1801. The definitive treaty was signed by Lord Cornwallis, for England; Joseph Bonaparte, for France; Azara, for Spain, and Schimmelpenninck, for Holland.

³ Among those who went over at that time were Charles James Fox and his nephew, Lord Holland, Lords Erskine, Grey, and other leading men. These visits excited the ridicule of satirists. Gillray's pencil was active. Several caricatures from his brain were speedily published. He ridiculed the visit of Fox and his friends in a caricature entitled "*Introduction of Citizen Volproune and Suite at Paris*," in which Fox and his wife, Lord and Lady Holland, and Grey and Erskine, are seen stooping low before the new ruler of France. One of the most popular of his caricatures was entitled "*The first Kiss this ten years, or the meeting of Britannia and Citizen François*." Britannia, who has suddenly become corpulent, appears as a fine lady in full dress, her shield and spear leaning neglected against the wall. The citizen expresses his joy at the meeting in warm terms. "Madame," he says, "permettez me to pay my profound esteem to your engaging person, and to seal on your divine lips my everlasting attachment!" The lady, blushing deeply, replies, "Monseigneur, you are a truly well-bred gentleman; and though you make me blush, yet you kiss so delicately I can not refuse you, though I was sure you would deceive me again!" On the wall just behind these two figures are portraits of King George and Bonaparte scowling at each other.—See Wright's *England under the House of Hanover*, ii., 801.

new President of the United States. The treasury had never been so full, nor the revenue so abundant as at that time, and he was enabled to signalize the commencement of his administration and to strengthen it by the repeal of the excise and other obnoxious acts, which were necessary at the beginning. Commerce, and all the industrial interests of the country, were flourishing, and the pathway of the new chief magistrate of the republic seemed plain, flowery, and luminous.



Th. Jefferson

The seat of government had just been removed to the city of Washington, the new capital of the nation, and then an insignificant village on the bank of the Potomac, on the verge of a Maryland forest,¹ in the District of Columbia.² There, in one of the wings of the half-finished Capitol, the last session of Congress had been held; and there, on the 4th of March, 1801, Chief Justice Marshall administered to Mr. Jefferson the oath of office, and he became the third President of the United States.³

Although Jefferson was a radical Republican, he made no special changes in the inaugural ceremonies used by his predecessors. He abolished public levees at the Presidential mansion, and sent messages in writing to Congress, instead of

¹ "There is one good tavern about forty rods from the Capitol, and several other houses are built or erecting," Oliver Wolcott wrote to a friend in the autumn of 1800; "but I don't see how the members of Congress can possibly secure lodgings unless they will consent to live like scholars in a college or monks in a monastery, crowded ten or twenty in one house. The only resource for such as wish to live comfortably will be found in Georgetown, three miles distant, over as bad a road in winter as the clay grounds near Hartford. . . . There are, in fact, but few houses in any one place, and most of them small, miserable huts, which present an awful contrast to the public buildings. The people are poor, and, as far as I can judge, they live like fishes, by eating each other. . . . You may look in almost any direction, over an extent of ground nearly as large as the city of New York, without seeing a fence or any object except brick-kilns and temporary huts for laborers. . . . There is no industry, society, or business."

Mrs. Adams, wife of the President, wrote in November, 1800: "Woods are all you see from Baltimore until you reach the city, which is only so in name. Here and there is a small cot, without a glass window, interspersed among the forests, through which you travel miles without seeing a human being." Concerning the President's house, which she speaks of as "upon a grand and superb scale, requiring about thirty servants to attend and keep the apartments in proper order, and perform the ordinary business of the house and stables," she said, "If they will put me up some bells—there is not one hung through the whole house, and promises are all you can obtain—and let me have wood enough to keep fires, I design to be pleased. I could content myself almost any where for three months; but, surrounded with forests, can you believe that wood is not to be had, because people can not be found to cut and cart it? Brierley entered into a contract with a man to supply him with wood; a small part—a few cords only—has he been able to get. Most of that was expended to dry the walls of the house before we came in, and yesterday the man told him it was impossible to procure it to be cut and carted. He has had recourse to coals, but we can not get grates made and set. We have, indeed, come into a new country."

² The District of Columbia was a tract ten miles square, lying on each side of the Potomac, and ceded to the United States by the States of Maryland and Virginia, for the residence of the national government. The portion lying in Virginia was retroceded to that state a few years ago. The city of Washington was laid out there in 1791, and the erection of the Capitol was commenced in 1792, when, on the 18th of April, President Washington laid the corner-stone, with Masonic ceremonies. The two wings were completed in 1808. The government, which had resided ten years in Philadelphia, moved to Washington in the autumn of 1800.

³ Thomas Jefferson was born at Shadwell, Albemarle County, Virginia, on the 13th of April, 1742. He was educated at William and Mary's College, studied law with the eminent George Wythe, and was admitted to the bar while yet a very young man. He was a member of the Virginia Assembly before the Revolution, and won fame as a vigorous thinker and writer. He was elected to the Continental Congress in 1775, and in 1776, at the request of a committee of which he was a member, he drew up the Declaration of Independence. He was offered an embassy to France, but declined it on account of feeble health. In 1779 he was elected Governor of Virginia, and in 1780 retired from public life, and devoted his time chiefly to literary and scientific pursuits. He was sent to France in 1785, to join Adams and Franklin, as representative of his country, and in 1788 succeeded Franklin as minister at the French Court. He remained there until 1789, when he returned, and entered Washington's Cabinet as Secretary of State. He remained in that position until 1793. He was elected Vice-President of the United States in 1796, and in 1801 was elected to the Presidency. He was

Mr. Jefferson foreshadows his Policy. His Popularity. A National Party desired. Political Proscription begun.

delivering speeches in person, because he considered these customs too monarchical in form.¹

A small military and civic escort conducted Mr. Jefferson to the Capitol, and there he read his inaugural address to a large crowd of delighted listeners. It had been looked for with anxiety, as it would foreshadow the policy of the new administration.² It was patriotic, conservative, and conciliatory, and allayed many apprehensions of his political opponents. "Every difference of opinion," he said, "is not a difference of principle. We have called by different names brethren of the same principle. We are all Federalists—we are all Republicans."³

In this spirit Mr. Jefferson commenced his administration. He set about the reform of public abuses, treated every body with kindness, and left most of the incumbents of public offices untouched for a while.⁴ His political enemies were compelled to confess his forecast, wisdom, and faithfulness; and many Federalists, believing that he would not disturb their friends in office, joined the Republican party, and became the most vehement denounciators of their old partisans and their principles.⁵

Mr. Jefferson soon discovered that he was not wholly his own master. He had been elevated to power by a party whose leaders, like those of all parties, were lustful for office. He was compelled to listen to their clamors, and finally to yield acquiescence in their doctrine that "to the victor belongs the spoils."⁶ He gradually filled many of the most important offices in his gift with his political friends, for whose accommodation faithful men, a large proportion of them appointed by Washington and retained by Adams, were removed. Thus was developed in alarming proportions that system of proscription commenced by the second President, which has worked mischievously in the administration of our general and state governments from that time until the present. It bore immediate fruit in the form of bitter partisanship. The Federalists, now become the opposition, and thereby having the advantage in controversy, began a relentless warfare upon the new administration as soon as its proscriptive policy was manifested. With that warfare, as a mere game of politics, we have nothing to do, except so far as it had a bearing upon

re-elected in 1805, and in 1809 retired to private life, from which he was never again drawn. He died at his residence at Monticello on the 4th of July, 1826, in the 84th year of his age. Like Adams, he departed on the fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. The profile of Mr. Jefferson, given on page 114, is from an impression from a private plate made in aquatinta about the year 1804, and presented by the President to the Hon. D. C. Verplanck, who was a member of Congress from 1803 until 1809.

¹ The personal appearance of President Jefferson at this period may be imagined from the following description by William Plumer, United States senator from New Hampshire in 1802: "The next day after my arrival I visited the President, accompanied by some Democratic members. In a few moments after our arrival a tall, high-boned man came into the room. He was dressed, or rather undressed, in an old brown coat, red waistcoat, gold corduroy small-clothes much soiled, woolen hose, and slippers without heels. I thought him a servant, when General Varnum surprised me by announcing that it was the President."—See *Life of William Plumer*, p. 242.

² In a letter to Nathaniel Macon, of North Carolina, on the 14th of May, Mr. Jefferson indicated his policy as follows: "1. Levees are done away with. 2. The first communication to the next Congress will be, like all subsequent ones, by message, to which no answer will be expected. 3. The diplomatic establishment in Europe will be reduced to three ministers. 4. The compensation of collectors depends on you (Congress), and not on me. 5. The army is undergoing a chaste reformation. 6. The navy will be reduced to the legal establishment by the last of this month. 7. Agencies in every department will be revised. 8. We shall push you to the uttermost in economizing. 9. A very early recommendation has been given to the Postmaster General to employ no printer, foreigner, or Revolutionary Tory in any of his offices."

³ See the *Statesman's Manual*, i., 242, where the President's inaugural message is printed in full.

⁴ Mr. Jefferson appointed James Madison Secretary of State, Henry Dearborn Secretary of War, and Levi Lincoln Attorney General. He retained Mr. Adams's Secretaries of the Treasury and Navy until the following autumn, when Albert Gallatin was appointed to the first, and Robert Smith to the second. These were both Republicans, and his cabinet was now wholly so.

⁵ Mr. Jefferson dreamed, patriotically, of a consolidated national party and a brilliant administration. In a letter to John Dickinson, two days after his inauguration, he wrote, "I hope to see shortly a perfect consolidation, to effect which, nothing shall be wanting on my part short of the abandonment of the principles of the Revolution. A just and solid republican government maintained here, will be a standing monument and example for the aim and imitation of the people of other countries." Yet he early resolved on rewards to friends. To Colonel Monroe he wrote on the 7th of March, "To give time for a perfect consolidation seems prudent. I have firmly refused to follow the counsels of those who have desired the giving of offices to some of the Federalist leaders in order to reconcile. I have given, and will give, only to Republicans, under existing circumstances."

⁶ This doctrine was first announced in these words by the late William L. Marcy when he assumed the administration of the public affairs of the State of New York as governor in 1835.

Reason for giving a History of Parties. The Navy reduced. Unwise Economy. Tribute to the Barbary Powers.

public events during the few years immediately preceding the War of 1812, and held relationship thereto.

It seems proper at this point in our narrative to say, that the sketch of the rise and progress of the two great political parties which existed in the United States at the beginning of the present century, and whose animosities and aspirations had much to do in bringing about a war in 1812, has been given for the purpose, first, to afford our general subject that much-needed elucidation, and, secondly, to connect by dependent links of *historical* outlines the events of the *FIRST* with those of the *SECOND WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE*.

At the close of Mr. Adams's administration,¹ Congress passed a law² authorizing the President to place the navy on a rigid peace footing, by retaining only thirteen frigates,³ and only six of these to be kept in active service. The act authorized him to dismantle and sell all others, and lay up seven of the thirteen in a way in which they might be carefully preserved. It also authorized him to reduce the complement of officers and men, by retaining in the service, in time of peace, only nine captains, thirty-six lieutenants, and one hundred and fifty midshipmen, including those employed on the six frigates kept in active service, and to discharge the remainder. Under this authority, and in accordance with his own judgment concerning rigid frugality and the prospect of universal peace, Mr. Jefferson sold all but the thirteen frigates named, laid up seven of these, and discharged all the officers and men in excess after placing the service on a peace footing. And yet, in the matter of force, nearly four fifths was retained, for the vessels sold were mostly inferior, and only fourteen of them had been built expressly for the government service. The President also suspended work on six ships authorized by Congress in 1798. So little did the American people then seem to apprehend the value of a competent navy for the protection of their commerce every where, as well as the honor of the nation, that a majority of them applauded these measures, while many Federalists assailed them only for political effect. That strong arm of the government which had so protected commerce as to enable the Americans to sell to foreign countries, during the difficulties with France, surplus products to the amount of \$200,000,000, and to import sufficient to yield the government a revenue exceeding \$23,000,000, was thus paralyzed by an unwise economy in public expenditure.

The conduct of the Barbary Powers soon made the want of an efficient navy painfully apparent. The government of the United States had purchased, by the payment in full of a stipulated sum of money, the friendship, or rather the forbearance of the Bey of Tripoli, while to the Dey of Algiers and the Bey of Tunis tribute in money, military and maritime stores, and other presents was annually paid.³ The submission of all the Christian nations of Europe to these exactions made those pirate-kings exceedingly insolent, and finally, in the spring of 1801, the President resolved to humble the pride and the power of those commercial marauders, release American commerce from their thrall in the Mediterranean, and assert the dignity of his country by ceasing to pay tribute to another. This resolution was strengthened by the

¹ Approved March 3, 1801.

² These were the *United States Constitution*, *President*, *Chesapeake*, *Philadelphia*, *Constellation*, *Congress*, *New York*, *Hamden*, *Essex*, *Adams*, *John Adams*, and *General Greene*. These had an aggregate armament of 264 guns. The vessels sold were the *George Washington*, *Ganges*, *Pennsylvania*, *Merrimack*, *Connecticut*, of 36 guns each; the *Baltimore*, *Delaware*, and *Montezuma*, of 20 guns each; the *Maryland*, *Fulcrum*, *Herald*, *Trumbull*, *Warren*, *Norfolk*, *Richmond*, and *Pinckney*, of 18 guns each; the *Engle*, *Argus*, and *Seymour*, 14 guns each; the *Experiment*, 8 guns, and nine galleys.—*Cooper*, i., 333-4.

³ Colonel Ebenezer Stevens, an active and eminent merchant of New York, and who had been a meritorious artillery officer during the Revolution, was employed by the government as its factor in forwarding the stores to Tunis. In May, 1801, Secretary Madison wrote to Mr. Stevens on the subject, saying, "It is desirable that the remaining cargo of maritime and military stores due to the Regency of Tunis should be provided and shipped without loss of time. The powder will be given to you from the public magazines, and the Navy Department will give orders to its agent at New York or elsewhere, as may be most convenient, to supply the cannon and such other articles as you may want and can be spared."—*MS. letter*. How much cheaper and more dignified it would have been to have sent the materials in ships of war, fully prepared, as they might have been, to knock the capitals of those semi-barbaric rulers about their ears, and sink their corsairs in the deep waters of the Mediterranean!

Bainbridge at Algiers and Constantinople. His Treatment at each. Good Effect of his Visit to Constantinople.

insolent treatment of Commodore Bainbridge by the Dey of Algiers the previous year. In May, 1800, Bainbridge, in command of the *George Washington*, 24, went out with the usual tribute to the Algerine ruler. He arrived in the port of his capital in September, performed with courtesy the duties enjoined upon him, and was about to leave, when the Dey commanded him to carry an Algerine ambassador to the Court of the Sultan at Constantinople. Bainbridge politely refused compliance, when the haughty and offended Dey said sternly, "You pay me tribute, by which you become my slaves, and therefore I have a right to order you as I think proper." The guns of the castle were looking out vigilantly upon Bainbridge's frigate, and without their permission he could not pass out of the harbor. He was compelled to

yield to the force of circumstances, being assured by Mr. O'Brien, once a captive and then American consul there, that if he attempted to leave the harbor, the guns of the castle, heavy and well-manned, would open upon his vessel with destructive effect, his ship would be seized and used for the purpose, and war would ensue. To avoid these calamities Bainbridge bowed submissively to the humiliation; and he even complied



ALGIERS IN 1800.

with the haughty ruler's farther requisition, that he should carry the Algerine flag at the main, and that of the United States at the fore. He sailed out of the port of Algiers an obedient slave, and then, placing his own flag in the position of honor as a freeman, he bore the Algerine ambassador to the Golden Horn. "I hope," he wrote to the Secretary of the Navy, "I shall never again be sent to Algiers with tribute, unless I am authorized to deliver it from the mouth of our cannon."

Under other circumstances this trip to the ancient city of Constantinople would have been a desirable one, for Bainbridge had the honor of displaying the stars and stripes for the first time before that famous seat of Ottoman empire. The Sultan and his great officers of state were astonished. They had never heard of the United States; but when, at length, they were made to comprehend that it was a country beyond the great sea, discovered by Columbus, of which they had heard vague and romantic rumors, Bainbridge was received with the greatest courtesy. He and the Turkish admiral became warm friends; and when Bainbridge was about to return to Algiers in January, the latter gave him a *firman* to protect him from farther insolence there. The Sultan, whose flag bore the crescent moon, drew a favorable omen from this visit of a banner bearing its neighbors, the stars of heaven. He believed the two nations must ever be friends, and so they have been.

On his return to Algiers* the Dey requested Bainbridge to go on another errand to Constantinople. Bainbridge peremptorily refused. The Dey flew into a rage, threatened war, and finally menaced the captain with personal violence. Bainbridge quietly produced his *firman*, when the fierce governor became lamb-like, and obsequiously offered to the man he had just looked upon as his slave,

* January 21, 1801.

The Day of Algiers tumbled.

Insolence of the Bey of Tunis.

Commodore Dale in the Mediterranean.

friendship and service. Taking advantage of this change, Bainbridge assumed the air of a dictator, and demanded the instant release of the French consul and fifty or sixty of his countrymen, who had lately been imprisoned by the Dey. When Bainbridge left he carried away with him all the French in Algiers. His compulsory visit to Constantinople resulted in great good to his fellow-men.

The Bey or Bashaw of Tripoli,¹ not content with the gross sum that had been paid him by the United States, when he learned that his neighbors had received larger bribes than he, demanded tribute in the autumn of 1800, and threatened war if his demand was not satisfied within six months. Accordingly, in May, 1801, he ordered the flag-staff of the American consulate to be cut down, and proclaimed war. In anticipation of these events, Commodore Dale had been sent with a small squadron, consisting of the *President*, 44, Captain James Barron; *Philadelphia*, 38, Captain Samuel Barron; *Essex*, 32, Captain Bainbridge, and *Enterprise*, 12, Lieutenant Commandant Sterrett. The *President* was Dale's flag-ship. The squadron sailed from Hampton Roads, and reached Gibraltar on the 1st of July. Dale soon proceeded eastward in company

with the *Enterprise*, and appeared off Tripoli and Tunis, to the great astonishment of the rulers of those states. On the way the *Enterprise* fell in with, attacked, and captured a Tripolitan corsair called the *Tripoli*, reducing her, in the course of an engagement of three hours, almost to a wreck, and killing and wounding twenty of her men, without the loss of a single man on her side.² Meanwhile the *Philadelphia* was cruising in the Straits



R. Dale

Morris. It was a relief squadron, and consisted of the *Chesapeake*, 38, Lieutenant Chauncey, acting captain; *Constellation*, 38, Captain Murray; *New York*, 36, Captain James Barron; *John Adams*, 28, Captain Rodgers; *Adams*, 28, Captain Campbell, and *Enterprise*, 12, Lieutenant Commandant Sterrett. Morris hoisted his broad pennant on board the *Chesapeake*. The squadron did not go in a body, but proceeded one after another from February until September. Meanwhile the *Boston*,

of Gibraltar, to prevent two Tripolitan corsairs which were found there going out upon the Atlantic; and the *Essex* sailed along the northern shores of the Mediterranean, to convoy American merchant ships. Dale continued to cruise in the Mediterranean until autumn, and his presence exercised a most wholesome restraint over the corsairs.³

Another expedition was sent to the Mediterranean in 1802, under Commodore Richard V.

¹ This was Juseuf Caramalli. He was a third son, and had obtained the seat of power by violence. He murdered his father and elder brother, and deposed his next brother, Hamet, the rightful heir, who at this time was an exile in Egypt, whither he fled to save his life, followed by quite a large number of adherents.

² The rais or commander of the *Tripoli* was Mahomet Soud. Three times during the engagement the *Tripoli* struck her colors, and as often treacherously renewed the combat, when Lieutenant Sterrett determined to sink her. She was too much of a wreck to be taken into port—indeed, according to instructions, she could not be made a prize—and she was dismantled under the direction of Lieutenant David Porter. When her commander reached Tripoli, wounded and heart-broken, he was subjected to great indignity. He was placed upon a jackass, paraded through the streets, and afterward received the bastinado.

³ Richard Dale was born near Norfolk, Virginia, on the 6th of November, 1756. He went to sea at the age of twelve years, and continued in the merchant service until 1776, when he became lieutenant of a Virginia cruiser. He was an active officer during the whole war of the Revolution, and was with Paul Jones in his gallant action with the *Serapis* in September, 1779. He was then only about twenty-three years of age. He was a great favorite with Jones, and the latter presented to Dale the elegant gold-mounted sword which Jones received from the King of France. It is now in the possession of his grandson, Richard Dale, of Philadelphia, where I saw it in November, 1861. The handle, guard, and hilt,

Tripoli and its Cruisers blockaded.

Abandonment of the Barbary Coast.

Commodores Morris and Dale.

commanded by the eccentric Captain McNeill (son of Hector McNeill, of the Revolutionary navy),¹ was cruising in the Mediterranean in an independent way, after conveying Robert R. Livingston, the United States minister, to France. The port of Tripoli was blockaded by her early in May, where she was joined by the *Constellation*. The latter vessel was soon left alone, as McNeill avoided the company of others, and not long afterward she had a severe contest with a flotilla of seventeen Tripolitan gun-boats. She handled them severely, as well as some cavalry on the shore, with her great guns.

The *Chesapeake* reached Gibraltar on the 25th of May, and found the *Essex*, Captain Bainbridge, still blockading the two Tripolitan cruisers there. The arrival of the *Adams* late in July enabled the *Chesapeake*, in company with the *Enterprise*, to cruise along the north shore of the Mediterranean for the protection of American commerce. Finally orders were given for the different vessels of the squadron to rendezvous at Malta. They collected there in the course of the month of January, 1803, and during the spring appeared off the ports of the Barbary Powers, and effectually restraining their corsairs. Tripoli was blockaded by the *John Adams* in May. She had a severe engagement toward the close of the month with gun-boats and land batteries. These suffered severely, and the Americans lost twelve or fifteen in killed and wounded. An unsuccessful attempt to negotiate a peace was made the next day, and in June the movements of the Algerine and Tunisian corsairs induced the Americans to raise the blockade. But, before leaving, Commodore Rodgers, of the *John Adams* (then in chief command), with the *Enterprise*, attacked a large Tripolitan corsair lying in a sheltered bay, and drove her people to the shore. The corsair soon afterward blew up, with a large number of persons who had returned to her. The ships then all left the Barbary coast, and Commodore Morris returned home. He arrived toward the close of November, 1803. The conduct of affairs in the Mediterranean under his direction was not satisfactory. A court of inquiry decided that he had not "discovered due diligence and activity in annoying the enemy," and the President, with a precipitation difficult to be defended, dismissed him from the service without trial.²

The United States government had determined to act with more vigor against the Barbary Powers, and in May, 1803, Commodore Preble was appointed to the com-

and the mountings of the scabbard are solid gold, with beautifully-wrought devices on them. Upon the blade is the following inscription: *VINDICATI MARIS LUDIVICVS XVI. REMEMORATOR STVENDO VIRTVTI* — "Louis XVI, rewarder of the vallant asserter of the freedom of the sea."

Dale left the service in 1780. In 1794 he was appointed one of the six naval captains by Washington. He was made commodore in 1801 by being placed in command of a squadron, and the following year he resigned. He retired with a competency, and spent the remainder of his days in Philadelphia, where he died in 1820, in the sixty-ninth year of his age.

The grave of Commodore Dale is in Christ Church-yard, on Fifth Street, Philadelphia. His monument is a marble slab, with the following inscription: "In memory of Commodore RICHARD DALE, born November 6, 1756, died February 24, 1820. An honest man, an incorruptible patriot, in all his relations conciliating universal love. A Christian without guile, he departed this life in the well-founded and triumphant hope of that blessedness which awaits all who, like him, die in the Lord." On the same slab is an inscription commemorative of the virtues of his wife, who died in September, 1832, at the age of sixty-five years. Very near this tomb is a handsome marble cross, erected to the memory of Montgomery, a son of Commodore Dale, also of the United States navy, who died in December, 1802, at the age of fifty-five years.

¹ See *Lossing's Field-Book of the Revolution*, II., 640.

² Richard Valentine Morris was the youngest son of Lewis Morris, of Morrisania, New York, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. He entered the service in early life, and in June, 1798, he was commissioned a captain in the navy. He was retained as fifth in rank at the reduction of the navy in 1801. His dismissal from the service has ever been considered a high-handed political measure. He died while attending the Legislature at Albany in 1814.



DALE'S MONUMENT.

Squadron under Preble in the Mediterranean. Settlement of Difficulties with Morocco. Capture of the *Philadelphia*.



Edward Preble

mand of a squadron, consisting of the *Constitution*, 44, *Philadelphia*, 38, *Argus* and *Siren*, 18 each, and *Nautilus*, *Vixen*, and *Enterprise*, 12 each. Preble sailed in the *Constitution* at the middle of August, and the other vessels followed as fast as they were made ready. The *Philadelphia*, Captain Bainbridge, had sailed in July, and on the 26th of August captured the Moorish frigate *Meshboha*, found holding in possession an American merchant vessel which she had taken as a prize. It was discovered that her commander was acting under the orders of the Moorish Governor of Tangiers to cruise for American vessels. The *Philadelphia* returned to Gibraltar with her prize.

On the arrival of Preble he determined to sail for Tangiers and make inquiries respecting the hostile proceedings of the Moors. He was accompanied by Commodore Rodgers, and on the 6th of October the *Constitution*, *New York*, *John Adams*, and *Nautilus* entered the Bay of Tangiers. Preble

had an interview with the Emperor of Morocco, who disavowed the act of the Governor of Tangiers, and expressed a desire to remain at peace with the United States.

The difficulty with Morocco being settled, Rodgers sailed for home, and Preble made energetic preparations to bring Tripoli to terms. A serious disaster soon occurred. On the morning of the 31st of October the *Philadelphia* chased a Tripolitan ship into the harbor of Tripoli. In endeavoring to beat off she struck on a rock not laid down in any of the charts. Every effort to get her off failed, and she was attacked and finally captured by the Tripolitans. Bainbridge and his officers and men were made prisoners, and two days afterward the ship was extricated and taken into the harbor. The officers were treated as prisoners of war, but the crew were made slaves.

Bainbridge found means to report his misfortune to Preble at Malta, and to suggest the destruction of the *Philadelphia*, which was being fitted for sea. Preble had recently appeared off Tripoli for the first time. On the 23d of December the *Enterprise*, Lieutenant Decatur, sailing in company with the flag-ship, captured a ketch called the *Mastico*, then belonging to the Tripolitans, and bound to Constantinople with a present of female slaves for the Sultan. Heavy storms arose, and Preble and Decatur sailed into Syracuse, where the ketch was appraised and taken into the service, with the name of the *Intrepid*.

Decatur had formed a plan for cutting out or destroying the *Philadelphia*. It was approved by Preble; and on the 3d of February, 1804, he left Syracuse with orders and preparations to destroy her. The *Intrepid* was chosen for the service, and seventy-four determined young men sailed in her for the port of Tripoli, accompanied by the brig *Siren*, Lieutenant Stewart. Heavy storms delayed their operations until the 16th, when, in the evening, the young moon shining brightly, the *Intrepid* sailed into the harbor, and was warped alongside the *Philadelphia* without exciting suspicion, she having assumed the character of a vessel in distress. Most of the officers and men were concealed until the ketch was placed alongside the *Philadelphia*. Then,

Destruction of the *Philadelphia*. Tripoli bombarded. A hand to hand Fight. Gallantry of Decatur.

for the first, the Tripolitans suspected them. At the same moment Decatur and other officers sprang on board the frigate, followed by their men. In a few minutes the turbaned defenders of the vessel were all killed or driven into the sea. She was immediately set on fire, in the midst of the roar of cannon from the Tripolitan batteries and castle, and from two corsairs near. The scene was magnificent; and as the guns of the *Philadelphia* became heated they were discharged. The *Intrepid* was in imminent danger from the flames, but she escaped. Not one of the gallant Decatur's men was killed, and only four were wounded. In the light of the conflagration the *Intrepid*, by the aid of oars, swept out of the harbor, where the boats of the *Siren*, with their strong sweeps, were in readiness to aid in towing her off. Before a pleasant breeze both vessels sailed for Syracuse, where the American squadron and the people of the town welcomed them with strong demonstrations of joy. For this heroic act Decatur was promoted to captain, and several of the other officers who accompanied him were advanced.

This bold act greatly alarmed the Bey or Bashaw of Tripoli, and the ensuing blockade of his port by Commodore Preble made him exceedingly circumspect. Finally, at the close of July,^a Preble entered the harbor of Tripoli with his squadron, and

^a 1804. anchored the *Constitution* two and a half miles from the walled city, whose protection lay in heavy batteries mounting one hundred and fifteen cannon, nineteen gun-boats, a brig, two schooners, and some galleys, twenty-five thousand land-soldiers, and a sheltering reef of dangerous rocks and shoals. These did not dismay Preble. On the 3d of August, at three in the afternoon, he opened a heavy cannonade and bombardment from his gun-boats, which alone could get near enough for effective service. Conflict in closer range soon took place, and finally Lieutenant Decatur, commanding gun-boat *Number Four*, lay his vessel alongside one of the largest of those of the enemy, and boarded and captured her after a desperate struggle.¹ He immediately boarded another, when he had a most desperate personal encounter with the powerful Tripolitan captain. The struggle was brief but deadly. The captain was finally killed by Decatur at a moment of fearful peril, and the vessel was captured.² After a general conflict of two hours, during which time three of the enemy's gun-boats were sunk in the harbor, three of them captured, and a heavy loss of life had been suffered by the Tripolitans, the Americans thought it prudent to withdraw, but to renew the conflict four days afterward.

The second attack on Tripoli commenced at half past two o'clock in the afternoon of the 7th.^b An hour afterward a hot shot from the town ^b August. passed into the hull of gun-boat *Number Nine*, one of the prizes captured on the 3d, and fired her magazine. The vessel was destroyed, and with it her commander, Lieutenant Caldwell, of the *Siren*, Midshipman Dorsey, and eight of her crew. Six others were wounded. When the smoke cleared away her bow only was above water. On it were Midshipman Robert T. Spence and eleven men, busily engaged in loading the long 24-pounder with which she was armed. They gave three loud cheers, discharged the gun at the enemy, and a moment afterward were picked from the water by men in boats, for the wreck on which they stood, with its great gun, had gone to the bottom.

Again, after inflicting some damage upon the enemy, the Americans withdrew, but renewed the attack on the 24th of the same month. This was



TRIPOLITAN WEAPON.

¹ While Captain Decatur was thus gallantly assailing the enemy, his younger brother James, first lieutenant of the *Nautilus*, was as bravely emulating his example, in command of gun-boat *Number Two*. He had caused the surrender of one of the enemy's largest vessels, and was boarding her to take possession, when the captain of the surrendered vessel treacherously shot him and escaped. The miscreant's pistol was loaded with two balls connected by a wire. The wire struck Decatur on the forehead, and bending, the two balls entered his temples, one on each side, and killed him instantly. He was the only American officer killed in this engagement.

² Decatur attacked the Tripolitan captain with a pike. The assailed seized it and turned it upon his assailant. Deca-

Tripoli bombarded the Fifth Time.

A floating Mine.

Its Explosion in the Harbor of Tripoli.

brief, and without any important results. But on the 29th a fourth and more formidable attack was made by the American gun-boats, commencing at three o'clock in the morning. The conflict continued until daylight, with great fury on both sides, when the *Constitution* ran toward the harbor, under heavy fire from the Bashaw's castle and Fort English. She signaled the gun-boats to withdraw, correctly supposing their ammunition to be nearly exhausted. This was done under the fire of the *Constitution*, which, with grape and round shot, greatly damaged the gun-boats of the enemy and caused them to retreat. She then ran in, and opened a heavy fire upon the town, batteries, and castle. She soon silenced the guns of the castle and two batteries, sunk a Tunisian vessel, damaged a Spanish one, severely bruised the enemy's galleys and gun-boats, and then withdrew, without having a man hurt.

The American squadron lay at anchor off Tripoli until the 2d of September repairing damages. It then sailed for the harbor, where it arrived on the afternoon of the 3d. The enemy, profiting by experience, had adopted new tactics. The change compelled Preble to modify his own plan. At half past three in the afternoon the bomb-ketches opened the conflict by bombarding the town. The *Constitution* ran down to the rocky reef and opened a heavy fire, at grape-shot distance, upon the castle and the city. She poured in eleven effective broadsides, while the smaller vessels were carrying on the conflict at other points. The general engagement lasted an hour and a quarter, when, the wind rising freshly, the commander, in the exercise of prudence, gave a signal for the squadron to withdraw.

The ketch *Intrepid*, used in the destruction of the *Philadelphia*, had been converted into a floating mine, for the purpose of destroying the enemy's cruisers in the harbor of Tripoli. One hundred barrels of gunpowder were placed in a room below deck, and immediately above them a large quantity of shot, shell, and irregular pieces of iron were deposited. In other parts of the vessel combustibles were placed, and she was made in every way a most disagreeable neighbor. On the night succeeding the fifth bombardment of Tripoli she was sent into the harbor on her destructive mission, under the command of Captain Somers, who had behaved gallantly during the recent attacks on the town. He was assisted by Lieutenant Wadsworth, of the *Constitution*, and Mr. Israel, an ardent young officer, who got on board the ketch by stealth. These, with a few men to work the *Intrepid*, and the crews of two boats employed in towing her, composed the expedition.

At nine o'clock in the evening the *Intrepid* entered the harbor on her perilous mission. The night was very dark, and she soon disappeared in the gloom. Many eager eyes were turned in the direction where her shadowy form was last seen. All hearts in the squadron beat quickly with anxiety. Suddenly a fierce and lurid light streamed up from the dark bosom of the waters like volcanic fires, and illuminated with its horrid gleams the rocks, forts, flotilla, castle, town, and the broad expanse of the harbor, followed instantly by an explosion that made all surrounding objects tremble. Flaming masts and sails and fiery bombs rained upon the waters for a few moments,

for drew his cutlass and attempted to cut off the head of the pike, when his weapon snapped at the hilt, and he was left apparently at the mercy of the Turk. He parried the thrust of the Tripolitan, and sprang upon and clutched him by the throat. A trial of strength ensued, and they both fell to the deck. The Tripolitan attempted, as they lay, to draw a small poniard from his esab. Decatur perceived the movement, grasped the hand that held the deadly steel, and drew from his own pocket a small pistol, which he passed round the body of his antagonist, pointed it inward, and shot him dead. During the affray, Renben James, a quarter-gunner, performed a most self-sacrificing act. One of the Tripolitan crew, seeing the perilous condition of his commander, aimed a sabre-blow at Decatur's head. James, with both arms disabled from wounds and bleeding profusely, rushed between the Tripolitan and his commander, and received the sabre-stroke upon his own head. The blow was not fatal. Decatur took the dirk from his foe, and afterward presented it to Captain (now [1867] the venerable scabbard—which was taken from the enemy by Decatur at that time, is delineated in the engraving on page 121. It is in the possession of F. J. Dreer, Esq., of Philadelphia.—See Waldo's *Life of Decatur*, page 132.



TRIPOLITAN PONIARD.

Vice-Admiral Charles Stewart—from which the annexed drawing was made. One of the weapons—a powerful though not large sort of a sword or long knife, in a shark-skin

when all was again silence and darkness three-fold greater than before. Anxious eyes and ears bent in the direction of the dreadful explosion. The boats were waited for until the dawn with almost insupportable impatience. They never came, and no man of that perilous expedition was heard of afterward. Whether the explosion was an accident or a sacrifice—whether a shot from the enemy, or a brand dropped from a patriotic hand to prevent the ketch and its freight of men and powder from falling into the hands of the Tripolitans—can never be known. For more than sixty years the matter has been shrouded in impenetrable mystery.¹

Lack of powder and the approach of the stormy season of the year induced Commodore Preble to cease operations on the dangerous Barbary coast, other than the maintenance of the blockade of Tripoli. Not another shot was fired; and on the 10th of September^a Preble was relieved by the arrival of Commodore Samuel Barron. He returned home late in February, 1805, bearing expressions of the highest regards from his officers, and received the homage of the nation's gratitude.² Congress voted thanks to the commodore, and all who had served under his orders. On Preble they bestowed a gold medal bearing appropriate devices and inscrip-



MEDAL GIVEN TO COMMODORE PREBLE.

¹ Waldo, in his *Life of Decatur*, page 146, says that an eye-witness informed him that the evening was unusually calm; that as the *Intrepid* moved silently into the inner harbor, two of the enemy's heaviest galleys, with more than a hundred men in each, captured the "infernal," wholly unconscious of her character. The impression was that Somers, knowing their fate to be miserable captivity if taken prisoners into the city, where Bainbridge and his men had then suffered for eleven months, considered death preferable, and with his own hand fired the magazine of the *Intrepid*. Under this impression a newspaper writer, after alluding to the capture, wrote with more feeling than poetry—

"In haste they board: see Somers stand,
Determined, cool, formed to command,
The match of death in his right hand,
Scorning a life of slavery.
And now behold! the match applied,
The mangled foe the welkin ride:
Whirling aloft, brave Somers cried,
'A glorious death or liberty!'"

² Edward Preble was born in Portland, Maine, on the 15th of August, 1761. He early evinced a passion for the sea, and engaged in the merchant service. He became a midshipman in the naval service in 1779 in the state ship *Protector*. He afterward became lieutenant of the sloop-of-war *Winthrop*, and remained in her during the remainder of the war for independence. He was the first lieutenant appointed in the new naval establishment in 1798, and soon afterward made two cruises in the brig *Pickering* as commander. In 1800 he was made captain and placed in command of the *Essex*, in which he sailed to the East Indies to convoy American vessels. On account of ill health he withdrew from active service until 1803, when he went to the Mediterranean Sea. After his successful operations there he again withdrew from the service. In 1806 he suffered severely from debility of the digestive organs, from which he never recovered. He died on the 23th of August, 1807, at the age of forty-six years. To his memory a friend wrote in 1807—

"Lamented chief! though death he calmly past,
Our navy trembled when he breathed his last!
Our navy mourns him, but it mourns in vain:
A Preble ne'er will live—ne'er die again!
Yet hope, desponding, at the thought revives—
A second FARRLE—a DECATER lives!"

The likeness of Preble given on page 120 is from a portrait of him in Faneuil Hall, Boston.

Commodore Barron's Squadron in the Mediterranean. The Naval Monument at Annapolis. Devices and Inscriptions.

tions.¹ Officers of the navy afterward caused a white marble monument to be erected at the government dock-yard near the National Capitol in memory of their brother officers who fell at Tripoli.²

Commodore Barron found himself in command of a much greater naval force than the Americans had ever put afloat in the Mediterranean Sea. It consisted of the *President*, 44, Captain Cox; *Constitution*, 44, Captain Decatur; *Congress*, 38, Captain Rodgers; *Constellation*, 38, Captain Campbell; *Essex*, 32, Captain J. Barron; *Siren*, 16, Captain Stewart; *Argus*, 16, Captain Hull; *Vixen*, 12, Captain Smith; *Enterprise*, 12, Lieutenant Commandant Robinson, and *Nautilus*, 12, Lieutenant Commandant Dent. The *John Adams*, 28, Captain Chauncey, and the *Hornet*, 12, Lieutenant Commandant Evans, with two bombs and twelve gun-boats, were expected to join the Mediterranean squadron. It will be perceived that in this squadron, in actual command, were many of those who attained to great distinction during the War of 1812.

¹ The engraving on the preceding page shows the exact size of the medal, with the legend, "EDUARDO PACHE, REGI STRENTO COMITIA AMERICANA." On the reverse, the American fleet bombarding the town and forts of Tripoli; legend, "VINDICII COMMERCII AMERICANI."

On one side is a bust of the commodore, with the legend, "EDUARDO PACHE, REGI STRENTO COMITIA AMERICANA." On the reverse, the American fleet bombarding the town and forts of Tripoli; legend, "VINDICII COMMERCII AMERICANI."

² The picture represents the monument as it appeared when first erected. It is of white marble, and with its present pedestal (not seen in the engraving) is about forty feet in height. It was mutilated when the navy yard at Washington was burned in 1814. It was afterward repaired, and removed to the west front of the Capitol in Washington, where it was placed upon a spacious brown-stone base in an oval reservoir of water. The monument, with this base, was removed to Annapolis, in Maryland, in 1860, and set up there in the grounds of the Naval Academy. In consequence of the Great Rebellion, in 1861, that academy was removed to Newport, Rhode Island. The monument was left. "It is situated," wrote Mr. William Yorke AtLee to the author in January, 1862, "on a hill in the northwestern portion of the naval school grounds. It is in a state of good preservation, and adds not a little to the beauty of the grounds."

The shaft is surmounted by the American eagle, bearing the shield. On its sides the representations of the bows of vessels are seen projecting, and by its pedestal is an allegorical figure of *Fame* in the attitude of alighting, with a coronal of leaves in one hand and a pen in the other. The form of the pedestal has been altered. On one side of the base, in relief, is a view of Tripoli and the American squadron; on the other the names of the heroes in whose memory the monument was erected. On three sides of the base are statues representing *Mercury* (Commerce), *History*, and *America*, the latter in the form of an Indian girl with a feather head-dress, half nude, and two children near. On the brown sandstone sub-base on which this monument now stands are the following inscriptions, upon three sides:



NAVAL MONUMENT.

1. "Erected to the memory of Captain Richard Somers, Lieutenants James Caldwell, James Decatur, Henry Wadsworth, Joseph Israel, and John Dorsey, who fell in the different attacks made on the city of Tripoli in the year of our Lord 1804, and in the twenty-eighth year of the Independence of the United States."

2. "The love of country inspired them. *Fame* has crowned their deeds. *History* records the event. *The Children of Columbia* admire, and *Commerce* laments their fall."

3. "As a small tribute of respect to their memory, and admiration of their valor, so worthy of imitation, their brother officers have erected this monument."

Alliance with Hamet Caramalli. March across Northern Africa. Peace with Tripoli. The Barbary Powers humbled.

Barron's flag-ship was the *President*. Leaving some of his force to overawe the menacing Moors, he kept up the blockade of Tripoli during the autumn and winter of 1804-5. Meanwhile a land movement against Tripoli was conceived and executed under the management of Captain William Eaton, of the United States army, then consul at Tunis.

We have already observed that Hamet Caramalli, the right possessor of the beyship of Tripoli, had fled to Egypt. He had taken refuge with the Mamelukes. It was determined to make common cause with him against his usurping brother. Accordingly Captain Eaton, with three American officers, set out for Egypt^a to confer with him. Hamet joyfully accepted their alliance, ^{a November 26, 1804.} and the Viceroy of Egypt gave him permission to leave the country. He left the Mamelukes with about forty followers, and joined Eaton westward of Alexandria, who was at the head of a small number of troops, composed of men of all nations. Early in March^b the allies, with transportation consisting of one ^{b March 6, 1805.} hundred and ninety camels, started for Tripoli. They traversed portions of the great Desert of Barca, and the wild regions along the African coast of the Mediterranean for a thousand miles. Late in April,^c in conjunction with two ^{c April 27.} American vessels, they captured the Tripolitan sea-port town of Derne. ^{d May 18 and June 18.} After two successful engagements^d with Tripolitan troops they approached the capital, confident of success, for their followers had become very numerous, when, to the mortification of Captain Eaton and the extinguishment of all the hopes of Hamet, they were apprised that Tobias Lear, consul-general on that coast, had appeared before Tripoli in the *Essex*, and made a treaty^e with the terrified ^{e June 4.} Bashaw.¹

Thus ended the four years' war with Tripoli. The ruler of Tunis was yet insolent, and Commodore Rodgers, who had become commander of the squadron in consequence of the failing health of Barron, anchored thirteen vessels before his capital on the 1st of August. The haughty Bey was speedily humbled, and sent an ambassador to the United States.

The power of the American government was now acknowledged and feared by all the barbarians of the northern shores of Africa, and the commerce of the Mediterranean Sea was relieved of great peril. Pope Pius the Seventh declared that the Americans had done more for Christendom against the North African pirates than all the powers of Europe united. The cruising and belligerent operations of the American navy in the Mediterranean had not only accomplished this great good for the world, but had been an admirable school for the military marine of the United States. The value of the lessons taught in that school was manifested a thousand times during the war with Great Britain that ensued a few years later.

While these events in the Mediterranean, connected in the practical service on the part of the Americans with the War of 1812, were transpiring, political changes had commenced in Europe which speedily aroused the United States to a sense of the necessity of strengthening the naval arm of the government.

We have observed that the beginning of 1802 saw a general pacification of Europe, and that England paid obsequious court to Bonaparte, whose fascinations allured thousands of Englishmen to France. This "*First Kiss in Ten Years*," celebrated by

¹ This treaty was not creditable. Although it was stipulated that the United States should pay no more tribute to Tripoli, it was agreed that \$60,000 should be paid for captives then in possession of the Bashaw. Altogether better and less humiliating terms for the United States might have been obtained. All that Hamet gained was the release of his wife and children. He lost every thing else. He afterward came to the United States, and applied to Congress for remuneration for his services in favor of the Americans. His petition was denied, but \$2400 were voted for his temporary relief.

Bonaparte declared Consul for Life.

His Insolence toward the English.

War declared against France.

the caricaturists, was the *last* for more than that space of time. First jealousy, then suspicion, and, finally, intense hatred of France and her ruler took possession of the English mind. These feelings were intensified by the act of the French Senate, who
^a August 3, 1802. declared Bonaparte consul for life,^a a declaration speedily sanctioned by the votes of three millions of Frenchmen. This was jealously regarded as a cautious step toward more absolute power, which England feared; and when, immediately afterward, first the Island of Elba,^b then Piedmont,^c then the
^d September 11. Duchy of Parma,^d were incorporated into the dominions of France, no
^e October. one doubted that the First Consul would speedily set armies in motion for the greater aggrandizement of himself and the country of his adoption.

England professed to see in this accession of territory infringements of the Treaty of Amiens. Bonaparte retorted by accusing Great Britain of violating the spirit of treaties and endeavoring to disturb the peace of Europe, for which he was laboring, and assumed toward England a haughty and dictatorial tone that wounded her sensitive pride. He evinced a disposition to possess Malta; required England to drive royal French emigrants from her shores, where they had taken refuge; demanded a suppression of the liberties of the English press in its criticisms on French affairs, because it was regarded as his most dangerous enemy; and actually asked for a modification of the English Constitution.¹ He was charged with inciting another rebellion in Ireland, and distributing his secret emissaries, under the guise of consuls, all along the British coasts.²

The cup of Bonaparte's iniquity was finally made full to English comprehension when, at the beginning of March, 1803, he declared, in an official note to Lord Whitworth, the British ambassador in Paris, that England, alone, can not now encounter France." That announcement, assuming the shape of a menace, raised a storm of patriotic indignation all over England, which found a loud echo in the House of Lords on the 9th of March. That indignation, not unmixed with alarm, became more intense when intelligence reached London that a *Senatus Consultum* on the 21st of March had placed one hundred and twenty thousand conscripts at the command of the French ruler. Still professing a desire for peace, the Addington ministry continued negotiations with Bonaparte. Finally, in May, the British minister at Paris, who had been personally insulted by the First Consul, and who had repeatedly warned his government that the negotiations on the part of the French ruler were deceptive, and contrived only to give time for hostile preparation, was ordered to leave the French capital. The British government immediately ordered the French minister to leave London, and on the 18th of May formally declared war against France, and put in immediate operation an embargo upon all French vessels in English ports. In retaliation, crowds of English visitors in the French dominion were seized and held as prisoners of war.³ Immense bodies of troops were sent to the French coast, and menaced England with immediate invasion. Bonaparte superintended the preparations in person, established his head-quarters at Boulogne, on the roads to which finger-posts marked "*To London*" were erected, and every possible means were used to in-

¹ The English Constitution is not a permanent instrument embodying the foundations of all laws, like that of the United States, but comprehends the whole body of English laws enacted by Parliament, and by which the British people are governed. The Constitution of the United States is superior to the Congress or National Legislature; the Parliament or National Legislature of England is superior to the Constitution. What Parliament declares to be the Constitution of England is the Constitution of England: what the Parliament enacts the monarch must be governed by, and the courts can not adjudge to be unconstitutional and void. Sheridan comprehensively said, "The King of England is not seated on a solitary eminence of power; on the contrary, he sees his *equals* in the coexisting branches of the Legislature, and he recognizes his *superior* in the Law."

² The latter charge was proven by the seizure of the papers of the French consul at Dublin, in whose secret instructions were the following passages: "You are required to furnish a plan of the ports of your district, with a specification of the soundings for mooring vessels. If no plan of the ports can be procured, you are to point out with what wind vessels can come in and go out, and what is the greatest draught of water with which vessels can enter the river deeply laden."

³ About twelve thousand English subjects of all ages were committed to custody.

The English People excited against France. Invasion of Great Britain by the French expected. Witticisms.

flame the resentments of Frenchmen against their English neighbors across the Channel.

In England every art was also employed to excite the people against France and its ruler. Immense numbers of "loyal papers" and "loyal tracts" were scattered over the land, some being atrocious libels on Bonaparte and his family, fictitious accounts of his barbarities, and exaggerated pictures of his treatment of those countries which had bowed to his power; others were calm and dignified appeals to the patriotism and courage of the nation. It was evident to all that an invasion was probable, and yet wits, and satirists, and vulgar libelers hurled perpetual volleys of abuse and ridicule against Bonaparte and France, affecting, with ill-disguised trepidation, to look upon both with contempt.¹ This apparent gayety and unconcern was like the whistling of boys in the dark to keep their courage up. The government at the same moment was making immense preparations to repel the expected invasion, and the year 1803 was one of alarm and terror for all England.² She was the asylum of the Bourbon Royalists, who were the traditional enemies of all popular liberty and progress, the most implacable foes of the French ruler, and the sleepless and relentless conspirators against the lives of all who should stand in the way of their recovery of the throne from which the best of their lineage, Louis the Sixteenth, had been driven a few years before. These Royalists were petted by the English government and pit-

¹ Bonaparte was sometimes compared to a wild beast, at other times to a pigmy, and at all times as a blusterer to be laughed at. One morning London would be amused by a large placard announcing an exhibition thus: "Just arrived at Mr. Bull's Menagerie, in British Lane, the most renowned and sagacious *Man-tiger* or *Orang-outang*, called Napoleon Bonaparte. He has been exhibited in Holland, Switzerland, and Italy, and lately in Egypt," etc. Another morning chapmen would offer in the great thoroughfares songs with words like these:

"Come, I'll sing you a song, just for want of some other,
About a *small* thing that has made a *great* pother:
A mere *insect*—a *pigmy*. I'll tell you, my hearty,
'Tis the Corsican *hop-o'-my-thumb*, Buonaparté."

Or boastful ballads in words like these:

"Arm, neighbors, at length,
And put forth your strength
Perfidious, bold France to resist!
Ten Frenchmen will fly,
To shun a black eye,
If one Englishman doubles his fist!"

The theatres were resonant with patriotic songs. One of the most popular of those sung in the play-houses, called "The Island," began with this stanza:

"If the French have a notion
Of crossing the ocean,
Their luck to be trying on land,
They may come if they like;
But we'll soon make 'em strike
To the lads of the tight little Island!
Huzza for the boys of the Island!
The brave volunteers of the Island!
The fraternal embrace,
If foes want in this place,
We'll present all the *arms* in the Island!"

Gillray and other caricaturists were exceedingly active at this time in ridiculing all parties, but especially Bonaparte. Some of these caricatures, which were grossly personal, annoyed the Corsican exceedingly, for he was extremely sensitive to any thing like ridicule against himself and family. The one which gave him most offense was a broad parody on *Belshazzar's Feast*, by Gillray, which appeared in August, 1803, entitled "*The Handwriting on the Wall*." The First Consul and Josephine, his wife (the latter represented of enormous bulk), and other members of his family and court, are seated at table devouring the good things of England as a dessert. When Bonaparte first discovers the mysterious hand, his fork is stuck into St. James's, seen on his plate. Another is swallowing the Tower of London, while Josephine is drinking large bumpers of wine. On a plate bearing the inscription "Oh de roast beef of Old England!" is seen a head of King George. Above the feasters a hand holds the scales of Justice, in which the legitimate crown of France weighs down the red cap and its attendant chain—Despotism under the name of Liberty. Behind Josephine stand the three afterward princesses of the imperial family—Borghese, Louise, and Joseph Bonaparte. A copy of this caricature is given in full in Wright's *History of the House of Hanover, illustrated by Caricatures and Satires*. It is said to have greatly exasperated the First Consul and his friends.

² On the 23d of July the germ of another rebellion in Ireland appeared at Dublin. The chief leader was Robert Emmet, an eminent barrister, who was implicated, with his brother, in the rebellion there in 1798. His followers proved themselves so unworthy of himself and the cause (which was the independence of Ireland) that he fled in despair to the Wicklow Mountains. He might have evaded pursuit, but his love for his betrothed, the daughter of the famous Curran, caused him to linger. He was arrested, tried for and found guilty of treason, and hanged on the 20th of September following.

Effects of the British Declaration of War. Fight for the Championship. Bonaparte proclaimed Emperor. His Plans.

ied by the English people; and this offense, above all others, exasperated Bonaparte, for he regarded England as the accomplice of the conspirators against himself and human freedom.

The British declaration of war, said Meneval (who was always at the elbow of the First Consul), changed his whole nature.¹ He had been planning vast beneficent schemes for France under the serene skies of universal peace, when England, of all the nations loudest in her professions of concord and sentiments of Christian benevolence, was the first to disappoint him—the first to again disturb the peace of Europe by brandishing high in air the flaming sword of war, instead of the green olive-branch of amity and good will. Compelled to accept the challenge, he resolved to give her war to her heart's content.

Each party charged the other with acts of flagrant wrong against the peace and well-being of the world, and the record of impartial history implies that both spoke the truth. It is not our business to act as umpire on the question, or to delineate the events of the great war that ensued. We will simply consider the resulting effects of these international strifes on the peace and prosperity of the United States. The war was waged by both parties with an utter disregard of the rights of all other nations or the settled maxims of international comity. France and England entered the lists for the champion's belt—for the supremacy in the political affairs of the world—and they fought with the science, the desperation, and the brutality of accomplished pugilists.

On the 18th of May, 1804, Bonaparte was proclaimed Emperor of the French, in accordance with a decree of the Senate^a and the votes of the people. To give more eminent sanction to the deed, the Pope was invited to perform the coronation ceremony. He consented, and on the 2d of December following Bonaparte was anointed by his holiness, at the great altar of Notre Dame, "The High and Mighty Napoleon the First." The republics which he had established by his sword were speedily changed into kingdoms, on the thrones of which members of his own family were placed. In May, the following year,^b he was solemnly anointed King of Italy at Milan. Then he cast his eyes significantly over Europe, and contemplated a thorough reconstruction of its map. England, Russia, Austria, and Sweden, alarmed and provoked, coalesced against the "usurper," as Napoleon was called. Prussia was kept from the league only by a bribe, Napoleon having offered Hanover, which he had stolen from England, as the price of the king's friendship. Very soon a French army one hundred and eighty thousand strong was upon the Rhine. On the 2d of December the strength of the Corsican was tested. Against him, near Austerlitz, appeared two great armies, each led, like his own, by an emperor. They met in deadly conflict. Napoleon was the victor. The Continental Powers withdrew from the contest. Prussia received Hanover as her reward, and England was left to fight the Emperor of the French single-handed. Napoleon proceeded to distribute crowns and ducal coronets among his friends and favorite generals with a lavish hand, and induced no less than fourteen German princes, who ruled over sixteen millions of people, to form a league, under the supremacy of France, known as the Confederacy of the Rhine.

Early in 1806 the English government, under the premiership of Charles Fox, opened with Napoleon negotiations for peace, the restoration of Hanover being one of the proposed conditions. Napoleon considered it, and on that account the King of Prussia, alarmed and offended, joined the coalition of the Northern Powers against him. The exasperated emperor marched upon Prussia, and, after slaying more than twenty thousand of the king's subjects in arms, he entered Berlin,^c his capital, in triumph. Meanwhile the Russians had been beaten back

^a May 3.
^b May 26, 1805.
^c October 25, 1806.

¹ *History of the Second War between the United States of America and Great Britain*, by Charles J. Ingersoll. Second Series, 1., 206.

The Berlin Decree.

through Poland, and he was in possession of Warsaw. Strong, bold, and defiant, and burning with a desire to humble "perfidious Albion," he issued from his camp at the Prussian capital^a the famous manifesto known in history as the Berlin Decree,¹ which declared the ports of the whole of the British do-
* November 21,
1806.
minions in a state of blockade, while a French vessel of war scarcely dare appear on the ocean to enforce it. This brings us to the immediate consideration of events in the United States, and the effects of the strife abroad upon American affairs.

¹ The following is a copy of the decree:

"Imperial Camp, Berlin, November 21, 1806.

"Napoleon, Emperor of the French and King of Italy, considering:

"1. That England does not admit the right of nations as universally acknowledged by all civilized people;
"2. That she declares as an enemy every individual belonging to an enemy state, and, in consequence, makes prisoners of war not only of the crews of *armed* vessels, but those also of *merchant* vessels, and even the supercargoes of the same;

"3. That she extends or applies to merchant vessels, to articles of commerce, and to the property of individuals the right of conquest, which can only be applied or extended to what belongs to an enemy state;

"4. That she extends to ports not fortified, to harbors and mouths of rivers, the *right of blockade*, which, according to reason and the usages of civilized nations, is applicable only to strong or fortified ports;

"5. That she declares places blockaded before which she has not a single vessel of war, although a place ought not to be considered blockaded but when it is so invested that no approach to it can be made without imminent hazard; that she declares even places blockaded which her united forces would be incapable of doing, such as entire coasts and a whole empire.

"6. That this unequalled abuse of the right of blockade has no other object than to interrupt the communication of different nations, and to extend the commerce and industry of England upon the ruin of those of the Continent;

"7. That this being the evident design of England, whoever deals on the Continent in English merchandise favors that design, and becomes an accomplice;

"8. That this conduct in England (worthy only of the first stages of barbarism) has benefited her to the detriment of other nations;

"9. That it being right to oppose to an enemy the same arms she makes use of, to combat as she does when all ideas of justice and every liberal sentiment (the result of civilization among men) are disregarded,

"We have resolved to enforce against England the usages which she has consecrated in her maritime code.

"The present decree shall be considered as the fundamental law of the Empire until England shall acknowledge that the *rights of war* are the same on land as at sea; that they can not be extended to any private property whatever, nor to persons who are not military, and until the right of blockading be restrained to fortified places actually invested by competent forces.

"Art. 1. The British Islands are in a state of blockade.

"Art. 2. All commerce and correspondence with them is prohibited; consequently, all letters or packets written in England, or to an Englishman written in the English language, shall not be dispatched from the post-offices, and shall be seized.

"Art. 3. Every individual a subject of Great Britain, of whatever rank or condition, who is found in countries occupied by our troops or those of our allies, shall be made prisoner of war.

"Art. 4. Every warehouse, all merchandise or property whatever belonging to an Englishman, are declared good prize.

"Art. 5. One half of the proceeds of merchandise declared to be good prize and forfeited, as in the preceding articles, shall go to indemnify merchants who have suffered losses by the English cruisers.

"Art. 6. No vessel coming directly from England or her colonies, or having been there since the publication of this decree, shall be admitted into any port.

"Art. 7. Every vessel that by a false declaration contravenes the foregoing disposition shall be seized, and the ship and cargo confiscated as English property.

"Art. 8. [This article states that the Councils of Prizes at Paris and at Milan shall have recognizance of what may arise in the Empire and in Italy under the present decree.]

"Art. 9. Communications of this decree shall be made to the Kings of Spain, Naples, Holland, Etruria, and to our other allies, whose subjects as well as ours are victims of the injuries and barbarity of the English maritime code.

"Art. 10. Our ministers of foreign relations, etc., are charged with the execution of the present decree.

"NAPOLEON."

With a partiality toward the Americans that was practical friendship, the French cruisers did not, for a whole year, interfere with American vessels trading with Great Britain. On this point Alexander Baring, M.P., in his *Inquiry into the Causes and Consequences of the Orders in Council, and an Examination of the Conduct of Great Britain toward the Neutral Commerce of America*, said: "No condemnation of an American vessel had ever taken place under it; and so little did the French privateers interfere with the trade of America with this country, that the *insurance* on it was very little higher than in time of profound peace; while that of the American trade with the Continent of Europe has at the same time been doubled, and even trebled, by the conduct of our cruisers."

CHAPTER VII.

" Shall that arm which baughty Britain
In its gristle found too strong—
That by which her foes were smitten—
Shall that arm be palsied long?
See our sons of ocean kneeling
To a tyrant's stripes and chains!
Partians! hast thou no feeling
When the hardy tar complains?
See the British press-gang seize him,
Victim of relentless power!
Stout his heart is, but must fall him
In this evil, trying hour."

THE IMPRISONED SEAMAN'S APPEAL.



ENCOURAGED by promises of continued peace in Europe, and the relaxation of the "rule of 1756" by Great Britain,¹ the commerce and general business of the United States enjoyed a season of unexampled prosperity. The social and political power of the republic rapidly augmented. The Indians on the frontiers were peaceful; and the causes for irritation on the part of the inhabitants west of the mountains toward the Spaniards, who controlled the Lower Mississippi, were in a fair way of being speedily removed.

The germs of new states were appearing in the late wilderness. That vast domain northwest of the Ohio, west of a line drawn from the mouth of the Kentucky River to Fort Recovery on St. Clair's battle-field, and thence due north to Canada, was erected into a Territory,^a and named INDIANA. William Henry Harrison, ^{• May 7, 1797.} Wayne's efficient aid in 1794 (who had been out of the army since 1798), was appointed governor of the germinal state, and established his capital at Vincennes, on the Lower Wabash.

At about the same time the Mississippi Territory, organized in 1798 by Winthrop ^{• May 10.} Sargent, St. Clair's efficient secretary in the government of the Ohio country, was allowed a representative assembly,^b and its political machinery was put in motion.

In the spring of 1802 the United States came into possession, by act of Georgia, of one hundred thousand square miles of territory, now constituting the State of Alabama. It was inhabited by the Creek and Cherokee Indians toward the east, and the Choctaw and Chickasaw tribes toward the west. With those philanthropic impulses which marked the character of Jefferson, he recommended measures for the well-being of those tribes, and for securing to them equal and exact justice.

Late in the same year the inhabitants within the present domain of Ohio, in representative convention held at Chillicothe, adopted a State Constitution,^c ^{• November 29.} and the Territory, called OHIO, became a peer among the states of the republic.

But these political organizations on soil within the domains of the United States, and over which a civilized population was rapidly spreading, were of small account when compared with the importance of a great acquisition of territory and political power which speedily followed. Louisiana, which once comprehended the vast and undefinable region of the Valley of the Mississippi and the domain watered by its

¹ See note 1, page 84.

Louisiana retroceded to France. The Americans disturbed by the Act. President Jefferson's View of the Subject.

tributaries, from the Gulf of Mexico to the forty-ninth parallel of latitude, and westward to the Pacific Ocean, or "South Sea," as it was then called, was a possession of France by right of discovery by secular and religious explorers, and was named in honor of the Gallic king Louis.

In 1763 France ceded to England the whole of that region east of the Mississippi except Florida, and to Spain all west of that river. By these cessions and the surrender of others, effected by compulsion at the end of a seven years' war, France abdicated territorial dominion in North America.

While the negotiations of the Treaty of Amiens were in progress, a rumor went abroad that Spain, by secret treaty, had retroceded, or would retrocede, to France all of Louisiana in her possession, and possibly the domain along the Gulf of Mexico known as East and West Florida, thus giving to that now rising, ambitious, and aggressive power the entire control of the navigation of the Mississippi, and a position to exercise an influence over the political affairs of the United States more potent and permanent than had ever been attempted. This gave the government and people much uneasiness, and the American ministers in London, Paris, and Madrid were immediately instructed to endeavor to defeat the measure. It was too late. The act of cession was accomplished, and the fact was made known to the President early in 1802.

President Jefferson, who loved his country and republican institutions intensely, and who desired its prosperity and grandeur with a patriot's warm devotion, wrote an earnest letter to Mr. Livingston,^a the American ambassador at Paris, on ^{a April 18,} the subject. ^{1802.} With wonderful sagacity he clearly comprehended the matter in all its bearings, immediate and prospective, and perceived the great evils to the republic which French occupation of the outlet of the Mississippi would inflict. "It would completely reverse," he said, "all the political relations of the United States, and would form a new epoch in our political career. Of all nations of any consideration, France is the one which hitherto has offered the fewest points on which we could have any conflict of right, and the most points of common interest. From these causes we have ever looked to her as our *natural friend*, as one with whom we never could have occasion of difference. Her growth, therefore, we viewed as our own, her misfortunes ours. There is on the globe one single spot the possessor of which is our natural and habitual enemy. It is New Orleans, through which the produce of three eighths of our territory must pass to market; and, from its fertility, it will ere long yield more than half of our whole produce, and contain more than half of our inhabitants. France, placing herself in that door, assumes to us the attitude of defiance. Spain might have retained it quietly for years. Her pacific dispositions, her feeble state would induce her to increase our facilities there, so that her possession of the place would be hardly felt by us, and it would not perhaps be very long before some circumstance might arise which might make the cession of it to us the price of something of more worth to her.

"Not so can it ever be in the hands of France; the impetuosity of her temper, the energy and restlessness of her character, placed in a point of eternal friction with us and our character, which, though quiet, and loving peace and the pursuit of wealth, is high-minded, despising wealth in competition with insult or injury. Enterprising and energetic as any nation on earth, these circumstances render it impossible that France and the United States can long continue friends when they meet in so irritable a position. . . . The day that France takes possession of New Orleans fixes the sentence which is to restrain her forever within her low-water mark. It seals the union of two nations who, in conjunction, can maintain exclusive possession of the ocean. From that moment we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation. We must turn all our attentions to a maritime force, for which our resources place us on very high ground; and, having formed and connected together a power which

Proposition for the Cession of Louisiana. The secret Designs of France. Talleyrand. Atrocious Suggestions.

may render re-enforcement of her settlements here impossible to France, make the first cannon which shall be fired in Europe the signal for tearing up every settlement she may have made."¹

Mr. Jefferson suggested that if France considered the possession of Louisiana "indispensable for her views," she might be willing to cede to the United States, for a consideration, the Island of New Orleans, and the Floridas, and guarantee the free navigation of the Mississippi by both nations, thus removing, in a degree, "the causes of jarring and irritation" between the parties.²

Although the President's letter to Mr. Livingston was private, Mr. Jefferson chose to consider it as supplemental to the official instructions which were sent to the ambassador, and he desired him to urge, on proper occasions, with the proper persons, and in a proper manner, the considerations and suggestions which the letter contained. As we have already observed, it was too late to prevent the cession. That act had been accomplished by secret treaty eighteen months before.³

Nothing now remained for the Americans to do to prevent the threatened evils of French occupation at the mouth of the Mississippi but to negotiate for the purchase of territory there. Such negotiations were speedily entered into. Mr. Livingston

took important preliminary steps in that direction, and in January, 1803,^a
^a January 10. James Monroe was appointed to assist him in the negotiation. Their in-

¹ Letter to Robert R. Livingston, April 18, 1802.

² France had no really peaceful and friendly feelings toward the United States at that time. Among the dreams of glory which filled the mind of Bonaparte was the re-establishment of the ancient colonial Empire of France. His first essay was in St. Domingo; his next was to be in Louisiana. What would have been his instrumentalities there in extending his sway over the country west of the Alleghanies, may be inferred from the following extract of a memorial whose inspiration was supposed to be the First Consul, and Talleyrand the writer. This document was published in pamphlet form in Philadelphia in 1803, but was suppressed because of negotiations then pending for the purchase of Louisiana from France. It vindicates the wisdom and sagacity of Jefferson exhibited in the above letter to Mr. Livingston. On the forty-fifth page of the pamphlet it is observed:

"There is still another mean, however, by which the fury of THE STATES may be held at pleasure—by an enemy placed on their Western frontiers. The only aliens and enemies within their borders are not the blacks. They, indeed, are the most inveterate in their enmity; but the INDIANS are, in many respects, more dangerous inmates. Their savage ignorance, their undisciplined passions, their restless and warlike habits, their notions of ancient rights, make them the fittest tools imaginable for disturbing THE STATES. In the territory adjacent to the Ohio, Mississippi, and Missouri there are more than thirty thousand men whose trade is hunting, and whose delight is war. These men lie at the mercy of any civilized nation who live near them. Such a neighbor can gain their friendship or provoke their enmity with equal ease. He can make them inactive, or he can rouse them to fury; he can direct their movement in any way he pleases, and make it mischievous or harmless, by supplying their fury with arms and with leaders, or by withholding that supply.

"The pliant and addressful spirit of the French has always given them an absolute control over these savages. The office which the laziness or the insolence of the British found impracticable was easily performed by us, and will be still easier hereafter, since we shall enter on the scene with more advantages than formerly.

"We shall detach within, a sufficient force to maintain possession against all the efforts of THE STATES, should they, contrary to all their interests, proceed to war with or without provocation. We shall find in the Indian tribes an army permanently cantoned in the most convenient stations, endowed with skill and temper best adapted to the nature and the scene of the war, and armed and impelled with far less trouble and expense than an equal number of our own troops. We shall find a terrible militia, infinitely more destructive while scattered through the hostile settlements than an equal force of our own. We shall find in the bowels of THE STATES a mischief that only wants the touch of a well-directed spark to involve in its explosion the utter ruin of half their nation. Such will be the power we shall derive from a military station and a growing colony on the Mississippi. These will be certain and immediate effects, whatever distance and doubt there may be in the remoter benefits to France on which I have so warmly expatiated. As a curb on a nation whose future conduct in peace and war will be of great importance to us, this province will be cheaply purchased at ten times the cost to which it will subject us."

The writer made Bonaparte say: "My designs on the Mississippi will never be officially announced till they are executed. Meanwhile the world, if it pleases, may fear and suspect, but nobody will be wise enough to go to war to prevent them. I shall trust to the folly of England and America to let me go my way in my own time."

When the war between the United States and Great Britain broke out in 1812, British writers urged the government to employ the savages, with all their known blood-thirstiness and cruelty, as allies. One writer soundly berated the government for its apparent apathy toward their "Indian friends," and cited the above atrocious suggestions of the French minister as the true programme of action for the British to pursue in the war with the Americans!—See the *New Quarterly Review and British Colonial Register*, No. 4; J. M. Richardson, Cornhill, London.

³ There had been for some time indications of speedy hostilities between the United States and Spain, growing out of the territorial relations of the two countries on the Gulf of Mexico. By a treaty with Spain in 1795 that government had granted to the United States the right of deposit at New Orleans for three years, after which the privilege was either to be continued, or an equivalent place assigned on another part of the banks of the Mississippi. The Spaniards considered themselves masters of the province while it was unoccupied by the French, even after the cession was consummated. The privilege of deposit at New Orleans had been continued; but suddenly, in October, 1802, the Spanish intendant or governor declared by proclamation that the right of deposit at New Orleans no longer existed. This produced great excitement in the Western country, and the Americans, when certified of the treaty of cession, did not doubt that the Spanish intendant acted under orders from the French government.

Effect of Jefferson's Letter and Bonaparte's Necessity.

Purchase of Louisiana.

Blow at England.

structions only asked for the cession of New Orleans and the Floridas, and that the Mississippi should be divided by a line that should put the city of New Orleans within the territory of the United States, thus securing the free navigation of that river.

To the surprise of the American negotiators, M. Marbois, the representative of Bonaparte,¹ offered to treat for the sale of the *whole* of Louisiana. "Irresolution and deliberation," said the First Consul in his instructions to Marbois, "are no longer in season. I renounce Louisiana. It is not only New Orleans that I will cede, it is the whole colony, without any reservation. I know the price of what I abandon, and I have sufficiently proved the importance that I attach to this province, since my first diplomatic act with Spain had for its object the recovery of it. I renounce it with the greatest regret. To attempt to retain it would be folly. I direct you to negotiate this affair with the envoys of the United States."

The sagacious Bonaparte—the Man of Expediency—saw clearly which was the path of safety for him. Jefferson's covert menace of an American alliance with England against him, his ill success against St. Domingo,² and the storm-clouds of war that were again lowering darkly over Europe, caused the gorgeous dream of colonial dominion to fade from the mind of the First Consul. He needed troops at home, and he was more in want of money than far-off possessions held by doubtful tenure.³

Monroe arrived at Paris on the 12th of April, 1803. The negotiations immediately commenced. The intercourse between the three commissioners was very pleasant. Livingston and Marbois had known each other intimately more than twenty years before. Every thing went on smoothly; and in less than a fortnight a treaty was signed by which the United States came into the possession of a vast and, to some extent, undefined domain, containing a mixed free population of eighty-five thousand souls and forty thousand negro slaves, for the sum of \$15,000,000. "We have lived long," said Mr. Livingston to Marbois, as he arose from his seat after signing the treaty, "but this is the noblest work of our whole lives. The treaty which we have just signed has not been obtained by art or force; equally advantageous to the two contracting parties, it will change vast solitudes into flourishing districts. From this day the United States take their place among the powers of the first rank; the English lose all exclusive influence in the affairs of America."

Bonaparte, who had watched the progress of the negotiations with intense interest, held similar opinions. "It is true," he said to Marbois a few hours later, "the negotiation does not leave me any thing to desire; sixty millions [francs] for an occupation that will not perhaps last for a day! I would that France should enjoy this unexpected capital, that it may be employed in works beneficial to her marine.⁴ This accession of territory," he continued exultingly, "strengthens forever the power of the United States; and I have just given to England a maritime rival that will, sooner or later, humble her pride."

¹ Marbois was secretary to the French embassy to the United States during a portion of the American Revolution, and was now at the head of the French Treasury Department.

² Toussaint L'Ouverture, an able and courageous negro, seized the Spanish part of St. Domingo, and made it a colony of France, in January, 1801. He was declared President for life. This example was speedily followed by the black and colored population of Guadaloupe. They seized the governor sent out by Bonaparte, and established a provisional government in October, 1801. Meanwhile an insurrection had broken out in St. Domingo, and Bonaparte sent his brother-in-law, Le Clerc, to quell it. Toussaint regarded the army as an instrument for the enslavement of himself and his people. A new civil war ensued, while the French army was completely decimated by fever and sword. Twenty thousand soldiers perished, and sixty thousand white people of the island were massacred by the infuriated negroes. A momentary peace ensued. Toussaint, who deprecated these acts, was treacherously seized on the false charge of intention to excite another insurrection, taken to France, and died in prison there. By direct act of Bonaparte slavery was established in Guadaloupe (where his army was more successful), and the slave-trade was opened.

³ "I require a great deal of money," the First Consul said to Marbois, "to carry on this war, and I would not like to commence with new contributions. If I should regulate my terms according to the value of those vast regions to the United States, the indemnity would have no limits. I will be moderate, in consideration of the necessity in which I am placed of making a sale. But keep this to yourself."

⁴ The invasion of England and the prostration of her maritime superiority was then Bonaparte's favorite project.

Secession proposed by New England. Condemned by Hamilton. Affairs in the Southwest. Transfer of Louisiana.

Notwithstanding the acknowledged national advantages to be gained by the acquisition of Louisiana, the Federal politicians, especially those of New England, perceiving that it would strengthen the South, into whose hands the government had fallen, raised a loud outcry against it as the work of the Southern Democracy. They professed to regard the measure as inimical to the interests of the North and East; and having, while in power, become familiar with the prescription of disunion of the states, always put forth by the Southern political doctors as the great remedy for apparently incurable political evils, they resolved to try its efficiency in the case in question. All through the years 1803 and 1804 desires for and fears of a dissolution of the Union were freely expressed in what are now the free-labor states east of the Alleghanias;¹ and a select Convention of Federalists, to be held at Boston in the autumn of 1804, to consider the question of disunion, was contemplated early in that year. Alexander Hamilton was invited to attend it, but his emphatic condemnation of the whole plan, only a few months before his death, seems to have disconcerted the leaders and dissipated the scheme. "To his honor be it spoken," said Dewitt Clinton in the Senate of the State of New York in 1809, "it was rejected by him with abhorrence and disdain."

The acquisition of Louisiana by the United States was distasteful to the Spaniards. It brought the restless and enterprising Americans too near the Spanish provinces in Mexico to promise quietude to the latter. Yrujo, the Spanish minister at Washington, therefore entered a solemn protest against the entire treaty. Questions concerning the true boundary of Louisiana were speedily raised, and serious complications were threatened. The Spaniards were disposed to cling to all the territory east of the Mississippi included in West Florida, and thus hold possession of New Orleans. This disposition opened afresh the animosity of the inhabitants of the West against the occupants of the Lower Mississippi, and the United States contemplated the necessity of taking possession of New Orleans by the force of arms. Troops under General James Wilkinson, consisting of a few regulars, several companies of Mississippi volunteers, and a considerable number of Tennessee militia, marched from Nashville to Natchez.

But a peaceful transfer of the territory took place. Lausat, the commissioner of France to receive Louisiana from the Spaniards under the cession treaty, performed that duty, and a few days afterward he formally delivered the island and city of New Orleans to General Wilkinson and William C. C. Claiborne, the commissioners appointed for the purpose by the United States. The Spaniards were left in possession of the country along the Gulf of Mexico to the Atlantic Ocean, known as The Floridas, lying south of the thirty-first degree of north latitude, and east of a line nearly corresponding with the present boundary between Mississippi and Louisiana on the Pearl River.

Upon the soil thus acquired, and which was an important step in the direction of absolute independence of Great Britain on the part of the United States, some of the most stirring events of the War of 1812 occurred, and thereon was fought the last and most decisive battle of the Second War for Independence.

The acquisition of Louisiana created in the minds of adventurers visions of personal and national aggrandizement the influence of which it was difficult to resist. Among those who formed schemes of operation in that direction was Aaron Burr, the Vice-President of the United States, who in 1804, by the failure of his political aspirations, the general distrust of his political and personal integrity, the exposure of his immoral character, his hopeless financial embarrassments, and, above all, his cruel murder of

¹ Jefferson, who was a strict constructionist of the Constitution, was a little embarrassed by this treaty. The acquisition of territory he thought unconstitutional, and he proposed an amendment of that instrument so as to sanction this important act. But nothing of the kind was done. All parties coincided in the measure, and on the 20th of October, 1803, the Senate ratified the treaty by a vote of twenty-four to seven. The purchase of Louisiana became a precedent, and its accession was one of the glories of Mr. Jefferson's administration.

Aaron Burr. His Murder of Hamilton. Virginians honor him for it. Specially honored by Jefferson and his Friends.

the great and honored Hamilton in a duel, had become a desperate man, and a fugitive from society and from justice, moral and legal. When the correspondence between Burr and Hamilton immediately preceding the duel was published, it was evident that the former had committed a murder by forcing the combat upon his victim.¹ The public indignation was intense—so intense that Burr fled before its fury to Georgia by sea, “merely,” as he wrote to his daughter Theodosia, a planter’s wife in South Carolina, “to give a little time for passion to subside, not from any apprehensions of the final effects of proceedings in courts of law.”

Burr found himself in a congenial atmosphere in the South. He was fêted and caressed; and when, finally, he made his way toward Washington City, to take his seat as President of the Senate by virtue of his office, he was treated to ovations. A public dinner was given him at Petersburg, in Virginia, to honor him as “the destroyer of the reer in the spring of 1805, Burr was a ruined man, socially, politically, and pecuniari-



A. Burr

arch-foe of democracy.”² Attended by a retinue of Democrats he visited the theatre in the evening, where the audience rose and received him with cheers.³ At Washington City he was received with great deference. The “President (Jefferson) seems to have been *more* complaisant than usual;”⁴ and at Burr’s request General Wilkinson was appointed Governor of Lou-

isiana, and Dr. Brown secretary. These were the Vice-President’s warm friends.

At the close of his official ca-

¹ The political intrigues and social immoralities of Burr had become so generally known in 1804 that his future success in any political schemes was extremely doubtful. He offered himself as an independent candidate for Governor of the State of New York in the spring of 1804, and was defeated, as he believed, through the powerful influence of Alexander Hamilton, who was convinced that he was unfit for any important place of honor or profit. That failure imbibed him. This feeling was intensified by the consciousness that he was suspected and distrusted every where. Hamilton, whom he regarded as his arch-enemy, was at the same time honored and trusted. His integrity was not doubted by his most uncompromising political enemies. This contrast was like glowing embers upon the head of Burr, and he was resolved to destroy his antagonist. A pretext for action to that end was not long wanting. A zealous partisan of Burr’s competitor in the late election, in his zeal during the canvass, declared in print that Hamilton had said that the Vice-President was a “dangerous man, who ought not to be trusted with the reins of government.” Again he wrote, “I could detail you a more despicable opinion which General Hamilton has expressed of Burr.”

These alleged expressions were made the basis of a challenge, on the part of Burr, to mortal combat. Hamilton perceived at the beginning that Burr was determined to force him to fight, against his own convictions of the wrongfulness of dueling and the necessities of the case. He took honorable means to avoid a meeting. His malignant enemy could not be appeased. At length, compelled by the wretched custom of society then prevailing, called “the code of honor,” he accepted the challenge, met Burr on the western shore of the Hudson near Weehawken early on the morning of the 11th of July, 1804, and received a mortal wound. He declared his intention not to fire at Burr, and adhered to his resolution, while the murderer took deliberate aim, and accomplished his errand to the field of blood. Hamilton was conveyed across the river to the house of a friend, where he died after suffering for twenty-four hours. The coroner returned a verdict of willful murder. A bill of indictment for that crime was found against him in New Jersey, within the jurisdiction of which the duel was fought, and the Grand Jury of New York found bills against him and his seconds for being concerned in a duel, the punishment for which, by a recent act of that state, was disfranchisement and incapacity to hold office for twenty years. Burr fled to Philadelphia, and from thence to Georgia.

² Parton’s *Life of Aaron Burr*, page 372.

³ The same.

⁴ The same, page 373. Senator Plumer wrote in November, 1804, “Mr. Jefferson has shown him more attention, and invited him oftener to his house within the last three months, than he ever did for the same time before. Mr. Gallatin [Secretary of the Treasury] has waited upon him oftener at his lodgings, and one day was closeted with him more than two hours. Mr. Madison, formerly the intimate friend of Hamilton, has taken his murderer into his carriage, and accompanied him on a visit to the French minister. . . . The Democrats of both houses are remarkably attentive to Burr. What office they can give him is uncertain. Mr. Wright, of Maryland, said in debate, ‘The first duel I ever read of was that of David killing Goliath. Our little David of the Republicans has killed the Goliath of Federalism, and for this I am willing to reward him.’”—See *Life of William Plumer*, by his son, page 325.

Burr's Schemes for his own Profit. Blennerhassett and his Home. Burr deceives Andrew Jackson and John Adair.

ly. Every legitimate avenue to a retrieval of his character and fortune seemed to be closed, and he became desperate. His ambition was as intense as ever, and he sought new fields for the exercise of his powers. He spent the ensuing summer in the West. It was for him a season of wide observation of men and things, having a bearing upon some grand enterprise which he had conceived. As he went leisurely down the Ohio he visited Harman Blennerhassett, a wealthy and cultivated Irishman, who, with a beautiful and equally cultivated wife, had formed for themselves a sort of terrestrial paradise upon an island in the Ohio River a short distance below the mouth of the Muskingum. Husband and wife were equally charmed by Burr. He fired their imaginations with glimpses of his schemes of personal grandeur for all who should co-operate with him. He filled their minds with dreams of immense wealth and power; and when he left their home the sunshine of their sweet domestic felicity had departed forever. Blennerhassett was a changed man. He had placed his wealth and reputation in the keeping of an unprincipled profligate, and lost both.¹

At that time the brave and incorruptible Andrew Jackson was in command of the Tennessee militia. In May¹⁸⁰⁶ Burr appeared at the door of his mansion, a few miles from Nashville, and was received as an honored guest. To that stern patriot he talked of the establishment of a splendid empire in the Southwest, where the Spaniards then ruled; and, before he departed, he had won Jackson's confidence, and his promises of co-operation. He met Wilkinson at St. Louis, and divulged some of his schemes to that weak man. He won the friendship of other influential persons, among them General Adair, of Kentucky; and in the autumn he returned to Washington, and sought to

win to his service dissatisfied military and naval officers. He talked enigmatically, and, to the

John Adair



BLENERHASSETT'S RESIDENCE.

¹ Blennerhassett's was indeed a beautiful and happy home. It was the creation of wealth, taste, and love. The mansion was elegant. The gardens were laid out and planted with care. Conservatories were rich in exotics. Science, music, painting, farm culture, and social pleasures made up a great portion of the sum of daily life in that elegant retreat. It became the resort of the best minds west of the mountains. The lately rude island smiled with perpetual beauty. To the simple settlers upon the neighboring shore the house seemed

ed like a palace, and the way of living there like that of a prince. Into that paradise the wily serpent crept, and polluted it with its slime.

Harman Blennerhassett was a descendant of an ancient Irish family, whose seat was Castle Conway, in Kerry. His education was thoroughly given at Trinity College, in Dublin, and he graduated at the same time with his friend and kinsman, Thomas Addis Emmett. He loved and studied science. On the death of his father in 1798 he inherited a large fortune. Having become involved in political troubles, he sold his estate, went to England, and married the beautiful and accomplished Miss Agnew, granddaughter of one of the British generals killed at the battle at Germantown, near Philadelphia. They came to America, journeyed to the West, purchased the island in the Ohio which still bears his name, made their home there, and for five years before Burr's appearance they had enjoyed perfect happiness and repose. A fine library, pictures, scientific apparatus gave them implements for mental culture, and they improved the opportunity. When Burr's mad schemes failed Blennerhassett's paradise was laid waste. He became a cotton-planter in Mississippi, but finally lost his fortune. He and his wife finally returned to England, where he died at the age of sixty-one years. His widow came to America to seek from Congress some remuneration for his losses. While the matter was pending she sickened and died in poverty in New York, in August, 1842, and was buried by the Sisters of Charity.

Harman Blennerhassett

Military Preparations on the Ohio River. Burr suspected of Treason and denounced. His Arrest and Trial. Exile.

ears of some, disloyally. Now he spoke of an expedition against Mexico, then of a union of the Western States and Territories into a glorious independent government. To General Eaton he talked of usurpation—of taking possession, by the instrumentality of a revolution, of the national capital and archives, and, Cromwell-like, assuming for himself the character of a protector of an energetic government.¹ The President was apprised of these things, but he regarded Burr's language and schemes as those of a desperate politician too weak to be dangerous.²

In the summer of 1806 Burr was again in the West, engaged in his grand scheme, into the inner secrets of which he had not allowed any man to penetrate. Blennerhassett's home was his head-quarters, and a military organization was his work. A flotilla was formed at Marietta, on the Ohio, laden with provisions and military stores; and large numbers of leading men in the West, ignorant of the real designs of Burr, but believing the great central plan to be the construction of a magnificent Anglo-Saxon empire in Mexico, in whose glories they all might share, joined in the enterprise. Wilkinson was made the arch-conspirator's willing tool. Having been engaged in intrigues with the Spaniards in a scheme that would have dismembered the Union, he was now a fitting instrument for Burr's disloyal designs.

But in Kentucky there was a man not to be deceived by Aaron Burr. It was that remarkable character, Colonel Joe Daviess, who gave his life to his country on the field of Tippecanoe. He was then the United States District Attorney for Kentucky. He believed Burr to be engaged in treasonable plans, and procured his arrest. Young Henry Clay defended the prisoner, and he was acquitted; but Daviess never doubted his guilt. Jackson too had become convinced that Burr was preparing to separate the West from the rest of the Union, and he denounced him. "I hate the Dons," he wrote to Governor Claiborne,^a "and would delight to see Mexico re-duced; but I would die in the last ditch before I would see the Union disunited!" Wilkinson, alarmed at the aspect of affairs, turned traitor to Burr, and also denounced him.

Meanwhile the government had become alarmed. The whole West, and indeed the whole country, was agitated by Burr's operations; and the magnitude of his preparations, the persons involved in his toils, and the known disposition of unscrupulous politicians west of the mountains to set up for independency, caused the President to take measures to arrest what seemed to be treason, in the bud. Jefferson did not choose to give it that complexion, and, in a proclamation for the arrest of Burr's designs, whatever they might be, he warned all persons against participating in a scheme for "invading the Spanish dominions."

Boats at Marietta, on the Ohio, loaded for New Orleans with materials for the expedition, were seized, and Blennerhassett's Island was occupied by United States troops. In February, 1807,^b Burr was arrested near Fort Stoddart, on the Tombigbee River, in the present State of Alabama, by Lieutenant (afterward Major General) E. P. Gaines. He was taken to Richmond, in Virginia, and there tried on a charge of treason. Chief Justice Marshall presided over the court. Burr was acquitted; but, from that day to this, no intelligent student of the history of events in the West during the years 1805 and 1806, doubts that he was engaged in a wicked conspiracy to dissever the Union, and establish a government over which, in some form, he should be the ruler. His escape from conviction was so narrow, and his fears of farther prosecution were so great, that, after remaining concealed for several weeks among his friends, he sailed for Europe under the name of G. H. Edwards. He remained in exile and poverty for several years.

¹ "He said if he could gain over the marine corps, and secure the naval commanders Truxtun, Preble, Decatur, and others, he would turn Congress neck and heels out of doors, assassinate the President, seize on the treasury and navy, and declare himself the protector of an energetic government."—Deposition of General William Eaton. See *Life of Eaton*, page 396-400, inclusive.

² The same, page 401.

^a November 12, 1806.

^b February 19.

The "Rule of 1756" modified. Commercial Thrift in the United States. The Jealousy of British Merchants aroused.

While the people of the United States were violently agitated by these events in the West the war in Europe was progressing, and France and England had commenced their desperate game for supremacy at the expense of the commercial prosperity of the world.

For a long time the commercial thrift of the United States, fostered by a modification of the British "rule of 1756,"¹ had been the envy of English merchants. That modification had been made solely for the supposed benefit of British commercial interests. Relying upon the faith of that government, tacitly pledged in the formal exposition of the terms of that modification by the law officer of the crown, the American ship-owners commenced and carried on a most extensive and profitable trade.² American vessels became the chief carriers of the products of the colonies of France and Holland; also of Spain after her accession to the French alliance. Sweden, Denmark, and the Hanse Towns³ were then the only neutral maritime powers, and these, in common with the United States, were fast growing rich.⁴

First the envious British merchants complained; then the privateersmen and navy officers, who declared that, as there were no more prizes to take, their occupation was

¹ See note 1, page 84.

² On the accession of Alexander to the throne of Russia, after the assassination of the Emperor Paul in March, 1801, the most friendly relations were established between that country and Great Britain. On the 17th of June, 1801, a treaty was concluded between the two governments "to settle," as the preamble expressed it, "an invariable determination of the principles of the two governments upon the rights of neutrality." In that treaty not only the "rule of 1756" was not recognized, but the right of the neutral to trade with the colonies of belligerents, and from his own country in the produce of those colonies to the mother country, was expressly stipulated. As this was avowedly the "settled principle" of the government of Great Britain, American commerce had no more fears. But its sense of security was soon disturbed, but immediately quieted by the prompt action of Mr. King, the American minister at the British court. Early in 1801 he was informed that a decree of the Vice-Admiralty Court at Nassau, New Providence, had condemned the cargo of an American vessel going from the United States to a port in the Spanish colonies, the cargo consisting of articles the growth of old Spain. Mr. King immediately presented a respectful remonstrance to the British government against this infringement of the rights of neutrals. The matter was referred to the king's advocate general (Lord Hawkesbury), who reported, on the 16th of March, 1801, in the following words, the doctrine of England *at that time* concerning the rights of neutrals:

"It is now distinctly understood, and has been repeatedly so decided by the High Court of Appeals, that the produce of the colonies of the enemy may be imported by a neutral into his own country, and may be exported from thence, even to the mother country of such colony; and, in like manner, the produce and manufactures of the mother country may, in this circuitous mode, legally find their way to the colonies. The direct trade, however, between the mother country and its colonies has not, I apprehend, been recognized as legal, either by his majesty's government or by his tribunals." He then explained what rule should govern the carrying of goods to cause them to avoid a fair definition of "direct trade" and be in conformity to the modification of the "rule of 1756," above mentioned, by saying, "that landing the goods and paying the duties in the neutral country breaks the continuity of the voyage, and is such an importation as legalizes the trade, although the goods be reshipped in the same vessel, and on account of the same neutral proprietors, and be forwarded for sale to the mother country or the colonies."

On the 30th of March the Duke of Portland (the principal Secretary of State) sent the above extracts from the report of the advocate to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, with a letter in which he said, "I have the honor to signify to your lordships the king's pleasure that a communication of the doctrine laid down in the said report should be immediately made by your lordships to the several judges presiding in them, setting forth what is held to be the law upon the subject by the superior tribunals for their future guidance and direction."—Letters from Messrs. Monroe and Pinckney to Lord Howick, August 20, 1806.

³ Lubeck, Hamburg, and Bremen. These are all that remain of the ancient Hanseatic League, a commercial union of a number of German port-towns in support of each other against the pirates of the Swedes and Danes, formed in 1164, and formally signed in 1241. At one time the league comprised sixty-six cities, and possessed great political power. They were reduced by various causes to their present number more than two hundred years ago. The Congress at Vienna in 1815 guaranteed the freedom of these cities.

⁴ The following table exhibits the export trade of the United States for four years:

YEARS.	FOREIGN.	DOMESTIC.	TOTAL.
1803.....	13,504,000	42,206,000	55,800,000
1804.....	86,281,000	41,468,000	77,699,000
1805.....	53,179,000	42,387,000	95,566,000
1806.....	60,283,000	41,253,000	101,536,000
	168,287,000	167,314,000	330,601,000

This exhibit was made peculiarly annoying to the English, because the foreign articles were principally productions of the colonies of the enemies of Great Britain.

* Montesquieu, writing ten years before the English "rule of 1756" in regard to the rights of neutrals was promulgated, said, concerning the spirit of that people, "Supremely jealous with respect to trade, they bind themselves but little by treaties, and depend only on their own laws. Other nations have made the interests of commerce yield to those of politics; the English, on the contrary, have ever made their political interests give way to those of commerce."—See *The Spirit of Laws*, II., 8.

Reassertion of the "Rule of 1756."

British Perfidy defended by British Writers.

Baring's Exposure.

greatly interfered with. The enemies of Great Britain, having full use of neutral merchant vessels, had none of their own on the ocean. Armed ships, protected by the neutral flag, performed all the duties of practical commerce, and the trade of the maritime foes of England was but little interrupted by existing war. The "rule of 1756," it was alleged, was wholly evaded.

These complaints were heeded. The Courts of Admiralty began to listen willingly to suggestions that this allegation of neutral property was in many, if not in most cases, a mere fraud, intended to give to belligerent goods a neutral character; and early in the summer of 1805 the "rule of 1756" was revived in full force.¹ Like kindred measures on previous occasions,² it was put into operation secretly; and the first intimation that the maritime law laid down by the king's advocate in 1801, was abrogated, was the seizure by British cruisers and condemnation by British Admiralty Courts of American vessels and their cargoes. At the same time English public writers put forth specious defenses of the action of their government in its revival of the old practice. One of these was James Stephens, a lawyer of ability, supposed to have been employed for the purpose by the government. He wrote³ an able and elaborate essay, under the title of "War in Disguise, or the Frauds of the Neutral Flags," in which, taking the "rule of 1756" as the law of nations, "to which," he said, "the neutral powers have all assented, in point of principle, by submitting to its partial application,"³ he argued that the immense trade carried on with the enemies of England under the American flag was essentially war against Great Britain.

"War in Disguise" was "written in the spirit of a lawyer stimulated by that of a merchant,"⁴ and was full of dogmatic assertions and bold sophistries. It was ably answered in England by Alexander Baring,⁵ and in America by James Madison, then

¹ In May, 1805, the decision of the Lords of Appeal on the case of the cargo of the American ship *Essex* unchained the chafing English cruisers. It was necessary, for the sake of decency, to give to the world a fair excuse for that decision. It had already been decided that when goods had been made a common stock of America by a fair importation and the payment of duties, they might be re-exported from thence to any part of the world. To evade this decision, the Court of Appeals, in the case above alluded to, established the illegality of the neutral trade, "founded on a discovery," says Alexander Baring (see note 5, below), "now made for the first time, that the duties on the cargo imported had not actually been paid in money, but by bond of the importer." This decision contracted the whole foreign trade of America excepting that in her own produce. "It circulated rapidly among our cruisers and privateers," continues Mr. Baring, "and in the course of a fortnight the seas were cleared of every American ship they could find, which now crowded our ports for trial."—See Baring's *Inquiry into the Causes and Consequences of the Orders in Council*, pages 81, 82.

² See page 84.

³ This assumption was characteristic. England, on her own motion, promulgated the "rule of 1756" as a "law of nations," and having the power to enforce it for half a century in the face of the most vehement protests of every respectable maritime nation—even armed protests—her statesmen and publicists agreed that those nations had "assented to it;" as if a *verging unassented* on account of the weakness of the sufferers became a *right*! It was never assented to. The "Armed Neutrality" of 1780 and 1800 were marked protests against it, and the American principle and policy always opposed the assumption. From the first protest against it in 1793 until the close of 1861, when Secretary Seward, in a letter to Lord Lyons, the British minister at Washington, in the case of the *San Jacinto* and *Trent*, reiterated the American doctrine concerning the protecting powers of a neutral flag, the Americans have opposed the "rule of 1756." For a full account of the case of the *San Jacinto* and *Trent*, see Lossing's *Pictorial History of the Civil War*.

⁴ Madison.

⁵ The eminent English merchant, Alexander Baring (afterward Lord Ashburton, and at that time a member of Parliament), put forth a pamphlet in February, 1808, entitled *An Inquiry into the Causes and Consequences of the Orders in Council*, etc. It was published in February, 1808, and contains a most searching exposure of the mischievous exaggerations and sophisms of this essay. It is not extravagant to say that that essay, in its injurious influence, was one of the most potent causes of the war between the United States and Great Britain in 1812, because it justified in a semi-official manner the outrages of the British government, through its navy, on the commerce of the United States, under the sanction of orders in council, and deluded the English mind with a semblance of justice. Speaking of some of the statements of the author of *War in Disguise*, Mr. Baring said, "He appears ignorant of every thing relative to American trade to a degree incredible."

War in Disguise was followed by other pamphlets of lesser note on the same side. Among the most noted of these was one entitled *The Present Claims and Complaints of America Briefly and Fairly Considered*. It was an echo of *War in Disguise*, and was published in London at the close of May, 1806. On the back of the title-page of the copy in my possession is the following memorandum in manuscript by Brooke Watson, who was an eminent Canadian merchant when the Revolution broke out in 1775, and was a violent partisan of the crown:

"June 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th, 1806. Read this pamphlet with all the attention in my power to give it, and under all the consideration of my capacity, accompanied with as much disinterestedness as the nature of the subject will permit to exercise. I am of opinion that, should this country give way to the solicitations of the American States, and much less to their hostile threats, they will, by so doing, that is, by allowing the Americans to be the carriers of the produce of the French colonies to the mother country, sacrifice the deepest interest of this nation to the views of France and the growing insolence of the Americans.—East Sheen, 8th June, 1806.

BROOKE WATSON.

⁶ Read 'War in Disguise,' Lord Sheffield, etc."

Answer to "War in Disguise."	Foreign Relations unpromising.	Expected Difficulties with Great Britain.
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the Secretary of State. In that answer, referring to menaces in Mr. Stephens's essay, Madison uttered the following noble words, prophetic of soon-coming deeds that vindicated the power behind them: "The blessing of God on our first contest in arms made this nation sovereign, free, and independent. Our citizens feel their honorable condition, and, whatever may be their opinion on questions of national policy, *will firmly support the national rights.* Our government must therefore be permitted to judge for itself. No minister, however splendid his talents, no prince, however great his power, must dictate to the President of the United States."¹

The foreign relations of the United States at the opening of the year 1806 were unpromising. The conduct of the Spanish government in reference to Louisiana seemed to render war with that nation inevitable. Forbearance on the part of the Americans was exhausted, and a select committee of Congress reported^a that the aggressions of Spain afforded ample cause for war. But as the policy of the country was always a peaceful one, it was proposed, while preparing for hostilities, to endeavor to avert them, and settle all matters in dispute by the purchase of a part or the whole of the Floridas from Spain. Action to that end was taken, but the war-cloud soon passed away.

Not so with the harbingers of a storm that was evidently brewing between the United States and Great Britain. The depredations of British cruisers and privateers on American commerce, commenced under the most absurd and frivolous pretexts,² and fully sanctioned by the British government, produced the most intense indignation throughout the country; and when the Ninth Congress had assembled at Washington in December, 1805, the subject was speedily presented to their notice. Mr. Jefferson had been re-elected President of the United States, and the Democratic party, of which he was the founder and head, had an overwhelming majority in the National Legislature. Its power became somewhat weakened by the defection of John Randolph, of Roanoke, one of its leaders, a quarrelsome and ambitious man of varied but not solid attainments, who carried with him several of his Virginia colleagues, and filled the halls of legislation during the entire session with unprofitable bickerings.

On account of British depredations, memorials from the merchants of nearly all of the maritime towns of the United States north of the Potomac, argumentative and denunciatory in substance, and numerous signed, were presented to the President; and on the 17th of January these, with a special message on the subject, were laid before Congress by Mr. Jefferson, together with parts of the diplomatic corre-

¹ This reply to Mr. Stephens was published anonymously in February, 1806, with the title of *An Answer to "War in Disguise;" or, Remarks on the New Doctrine of England concerning Neutral Trade.*

^a After the capture of the Macedonian by Decatur in the autumn of 1812, the following epigram appeared in Cobbett's *Political Register*, an English publication:

"WAR IN DISGUISE; OR,
AN APOLOGY FOR HIS MAJESTY'S NAVY.
"One Stephens, a lawyer, and once a reporter,
Of war and of taxes a gallant supporter,
In some way or other to Wilberforce kin,
And a member, like him, of a borough bought in,
Who a Master in Chancery since has been made,
Wrote a pamphlet to show that Jonathan's TRADE
Was a 'WAR IN DISGUISE;' which, though strange at first sight,
Events have since proved may have been but too right;
For when Carden the ship of the Yankee Decatur
Attacked, without doubting to take her or beat her,
A FRIGATE she seemed to his glass and his eyes;
But when taken himself, how great his surprise
To find her a SEVENTY-FOUR IN DISGUISE!

"If Jonathan thus has the art of disguising,
That he captures our ships is by no means surprising;
And it can't be disgraceful to strike to an elf
Who is more than a match for the devil himself.—PRES."

² Baring's *Inquiry*, etc., page 96.

spondence on the same topic by Mr. Monroe, the United States minister at the British court. The President assured Congress that Mr. Monroe had been instructed "to insist on rights too evident and too important to be surrendered."¹

The memorials from the merchants were generally drawn with great ability; and it is a notable fact that these men, who, as a class, naturally deprecate war because it is destructive to commerce, and are willing to make great concessions to avoid it, called earnestly upon the government to put forth the strong powers of the army and navy, if necessary, in defense of the rights of neutrals and the protection of American interests.

There were memorials from Boston, Salem, Newburyport, New Haven, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, and all called loudly for redress, under the evident expectation that to insist upon it would cause war.

The Boston merchants said that they fully relied that "such measures would be promptly adopted as would tend to disembarass commerce, *assert our rights, and support the dignity of the United States.*"

The merchants of Salem said, "If, however, conciliation can not effect the purpose, and an appeal to arms be the last and necessary protection of honor, they feel no disposition to decline the common danger or shrink from the common contribution. Relying on the wisdom and firmness of the general government on this behalf, they feel no hesitation to *pledge their lives and properties in the support of the measures which may be adopted to vindicate the public rights and redress the public wrongs.*"

The merchants of Newburyport relied "with confidence on the firmness and justice of the government to obtain for them compensation and protection;" and those of New Haven called upon that government "firmly to resist every encroachment upon the rights of neutral nations." They tendered "assurances of their disposition to give aid and support to every measure calculated to accomplish this important object."

The New York merchants declared their firm "reliance upon the government of their country that their rights would not be abandoned, and (referring to the assumption of the author of "War in Disguise," see page 139) that no argument in favor of a usurpation would ever be derived from their acquiescence." They concluded by saying, "We pledge our united support in favor of all the measures adopted to vindicate and secure the just rights of our country."

The merchants of Philadelphia suggested that when every peaceable means consistent with honor had been tried to recover redress, and failed, that a resort to arms might be necessary. "If such measures should prove ineffectual," they said, "whatever may be the sacrifice on their part, it would be met with submission."

These memorials were signed by merchants of every shade of politics, and by foreigners doing business in these ports. For more than ten years they had suffered greatly from the varying but always aggressive policy of Great Britain, a policy now greatly aggravated by the latitude tacitly given to the British cruisers in respect to American commerce. These were in little danger of being made answerable for any errors, and were consequently not disposed to make nice distinctions. They detained and sent in every vessel they met under the most frivolous pretenses, in which they were encouraged by the expectation of actual war. They captured American vessels with cargoes wholly of American produce; and the owners of privateers were in the daily practice of taking in valuable cargoes and offering immediately to release them for one or two hundred guineas, and sometimes a larger sum. "In these instances," says Mr. Baring, "the judge decreed the restitution of the ship and cargo, and costs against the captors, with expressions of indignation which so lawless an outrage necessarily excited. The latter had, in the face of this censure, the audacity to enter ap-

Impressment of American Seamen into the British Service. The Right of Search asserted. Protest of the Americans.

peals, and the American was obliged either to compromise or leave to the captor the option of bringing forward his appeal within a twelve-month, with the possible advantage of an intervening war securing to him his prize.¹ The London merchant," he said, "is either obliged to acquiesce in this iniquitous robbery, or let his correspondent suffer the more expensive vexations which it is, unfortunately, in the power of these people to inflict. If these are the maritime rights," exclaims the honest and indignant Englishman, "for which, we are told, with a pompous ambiguity that always avoids coming to the point, 'our ancestors fought and bled,' and for which 'we crushed the Northern Confederacy,'² I am strangely mistaken."³

Another and most serious subject of complaint against Great Britain was now considered in connection with the depredations upon American commerce. It was the impressment into the British naval service of seamen taken without leave from American vessels, and who were sailing under the protection of the American flag. To this subject we have already referred.⁴ It had been a topic of complaint and negotiation from the beginning of the national government in 1789, and impressment in general was a system against which humane British publicists and statesmen had declaimed. But the British government, not always the exponent of the English mind and heart, governed by expediency rather than justice, and having the precedents of more than four hundred years to support its policy in this respect,⁵ had then for half a century chosen to exercise that power in procuring seamen for its navy, and to utterly disregard other hoary precedents which would have justified it in abolishing the nefarious system.⁶ It was too useful in time of war, in the replenishment of the navy, to be relinquished. Upon it had been ingrafted another more universally offensive. It was that of *searching neutral vessels* for British seamen, and, seizing them without other criteria of their nationality than the presumptive evidence which similarity of language afforded, impressing them into the British naval service. In the course of fifteen years thousands of native Americans had thus been made to serve a master whom they detested. There being no maritime power strong enough to resist these aggressions, it was assumed by Great Britain, as in the case of the "rule of 1756," that it was for her an established "maritime right."

From the beginning of its career the government of the United States protested against the right of search and the impressment of seamen taken from under the American flag. In his instructions to the United States minister in London, in the summer of 1792, Mr. Jefferson directed him to call the attention of the British ministry to the subject. That government not denying that American seamen had been impressed, had made the degrading proposition that, for their protection against such "accidents," such seamen should carry with them a certificate of citizenship! "This is a condition," said Mr. Jefferson, "never yet submitted to by any nation."⁷ The right to enter an American vessel without leave, *for any pretense*, was then, and always has been, strongly denied by the government of the United States. The War of 1812 with England was a solemn protest against the assumption of that right by the British government; and such a requirement of American sailors would operate practically as a warrant to British cruisers for stripping almost every American vessel of its seamen, for the habits, calling, and vicissitudes of the sailor are such that most of them would soon lose their "certificates." The proposition had been unhesitatingly rejected as inadmissible by an independent nation.

In October of the same year Mr. Jefferson again called the attention of the ambassador to the subject, "so many instances" of impressment having been complained

¹ *Inquiry*, etc., page 94.

⁴ See page 85.

⁵ The statute of 2 Richard II. speaks of impressment being well known as early as 1378.

⁶ Impressment was declared to be illegal by the British government in 1641.

⁷ Mr. Jefferson to Mr. Pinckney, June 11, 1792.

² *Armed Neutrality*. See note 2, page 83.

³ *Baring's Inquiry*, pages 95, 96, 97.

Correspondence on the Subject of Impressments. Rufus King. His Arrangement of the British Government.

of;¹ and in November he expressed to Mr. Pinckney the hope that he might "be able to make the British ministry sensible of the necessity of punishing the past and preventing the future."²

In 1796 Timothy Pickering, then Secretary of State, in his instructions to Mr. King, American minister at the Court of London,³ spoke of "the long and fruitless attempts that have been made to protect American seamen from British impress," and directed him to do all in his power to enable the American flag to "protect those of whatever nation who sail under it."⁴ In another



Rufus King

dispatch the same year he alludes to the fact that the British government had gone so far as not to "permit inquiries those rights, is an insulting tantalism. If the British government have any regard to our rights, any respect for our nation, and place any value on our friendship, they will even facilitate to us the means of releasing our oppressed citizens."⁵

A little later he wrote, "The British naval officers often impress Swedes, Danes, and other foreigners from the vessels of the United States. They have even sometimes impressed Frenchmen! . . . They can not pretend an inability to distinguish these foreigners from their own subjects. They may with as much reason rob the American vessels of the property or merchandise of the Swedes, Danes, or Portuguese, as seize and detain in their service the subjects of those nations found on board American vessels."⁶

During the following year very many complaints concerning impressed American seamen were made to the government of the United States, and cases of absolute

¹ Mr. Jefferson to Mr. Pinckney, October 12, 1792.

² The same to the same, November 6, 1792.

³ Rufus King was born in Scarborough, Maine, in the year 1755. He was a student in Harvard College in 1775, when the breaking out of the war for independence suspended that institution. He chose the law for his profession, and became an able practitioner. He was in Sullivan's army in Rhode Island in 1778, and was admitted to the bar in 1780. His first appearance was in opposition to his great instructor, Theophilus Parsons, of Newburyport. His oratorical talents soon became known and appreciated, and in 1784 he was elected to a seat in the Legislature of Massachusetts. In the National Convention of 1787 he was an efficient member, and nobly advocated the ratification of the Constitution there adopted. Having married the daughter of an opulent merchant of New York, Mr. King made that city his residence in 1788, and the next year was elected to a seat in the Legislature of New York. He was one of the first United States senators from New York, and in 1796 was appointed minister to Great Britain. He returned home in 1803. From 1812 to 1820 he was a member of the United States Senate. At the close of his term he was sent to England as minister plenipotentiary, but ill health compelled him to relinquish his post and return home after a residence of about a year there. He died at his home near Jamaica, Long Island, on the 29th of April, 1827, at the age of seventy-two years.

⁴ Mr. Pickering to Mr. King, June 8, 1796.

⁵ The same to the same, September 16, 1796.

⁶ The same to the same, October 26, 1796.

ry on board their ships for American seamen," and therefore "their doom is fixed for the war. Thus," he said, "the rights of an independent nation are to be sacrificed to British dignity. Justice requires that such inquiries and examinations be made, because, otherwise, the liberation of our seamen will be impossible. For the British government then to make professions of respect to the rights of our citizens, and willingness to release them, and yet deny the only means of ascertaining

only means of ascertaining

only means of ascertaining

cruelty exercised toward and hardships endured by American seamen thus impressed were reported.¹

The United States government, always inclined to peace, frequently urged upon that of Great Britain the necessity of a convention which should settle the questions of impress and neutrality, but without success, for the British government practically assumed the right to be a law unto itself. Early in 1799 Mr. King made an earnest representation on the subject to Lord Grenville, denying, as he had on former conferences, any right of the kind on the part of Great Britain, and suggesting that American ships of war, by permission of their government, might with equal right pursue the same practice toward British merchantmen. He protested against the indiscriminate seizure on board of American vessels of seamen of several nations, and pressed him for some definite assurance of a change. But Grenville, as usual, was evasive, and the conference ended without a prospect of satisfaction. Grenville assured Mr. King that all Americans so impressed should be discharged on application for that purpose; but the American minister very properly considered that offer far short of satisfaction. "Indeed," he said, "to acquiesce in it is to give up the right."²

Late in the year 1800, John Marshall, then Secretary of State, wrote an able and eloquent letter to Mr. King in London on the subject of the impress. "The impressment of our seamen," he said, "is an injury of very serious magnitude, which deeply affects the feelings and the honor of the nation. . . . They are dragged on board British ships of war with evidences of citizenship in their hands, and forced by violence there to serve until conclusive testimonials of their birth can be obtained. . . . Although the Lords of the Admiralty uniformly direct their discharge on the produc-

¹ Investigation revealed the following facts: on the 4th of July, 1794, Captain Silas Talbot, of the United States Navy, wrote from Kingston, Jamaica, to Secretary Pickering, that Admiral Sir Hyde Parker had "issued a general order to all captains and commanders of ships and vessels of war, directing them not to obey any writ of *habeas corpus*, nor suffer any men to leave their ships in consequence of such writ." This order was issued because Talbot had made successful applications to the civil authorities on that island for the release of enslaved Americans on board British vessels. Talbot, however, persevered in his humane efforts, and he wrote that, while all the writs which he had obtained were served, none of them were obeyed. The naval officers on that station set the civil authority at defiance, and Talbot wrote, "The laws in this island, it seems, can not be administered for the relief of American citizens who are held in British slavery, many of whom, as they write me from on board Captain Otway's ship, have been brought to the gangway and whipped for writing to their agent to get them discharged!"

William Cobbett, an Englishman, wrote afterward in his *Political Register*, saying, "Our ships of war, when they meet an American vessel at sea, board her and take out of her by force any seamen whom our officers assert to be British subjects. *There is no rule by which they are bound. They act at discretion;* and the consequence is that great numbers of native Americans have been impressed, and great numbers of them are now in our navy. . . . That many of these men have died on board our ships, that many have been wounded, that many have been killed in action, and that many have been worn out in the service there can be no doubt. Some obtain their release through the application of the American consul here; and of these the sufferings have in many instances been very great. There have been instances where men have thus got free *after having been flogged through the fleet for desertion.*" But it has been asked whether we are not to take our sailors where we find them? To which America answers, "Yes." . . . She wishes not to have in her ships any British sailors, and she is willing to give them up whenever the fact of their being British sailors can be proved; but let not men be seized in her ships upon the high seas (and sometimes at the mouths of her own rivers), where there is nobody to judge between the parties, and where the British officer going on board is at once *ACCUSER, WITNESS, JUDGE, and CAPTOR!*"

² Mr. King to Mr. Pickering, March 16, 1799.

* There is ample testimony to prove the cruel treatment experienced by impressed American seamen on board British vessels. Richard Thompson, a native of New Paltz, Ulster County, New York, testified at Poughkeepsie on the 17th of April, 1798, that, while on the sea in a merchant vessel, he was impressed on board the British vessel of war *Peacock* in 1810. He was not allowed to write to his friends. When he and two other impressed American seamen heard of the declaration of war in 1812, they claimed to be considered prisoners of war, and refused to do duty any longer. They were ordered to the quarter-deck, put in irons for twenty-four hours, then taken to the gangway, stripped naked, "tied and whipped, each one dozen and a half lashes, and put to duty." When the *Peacock* went into action with the *Hornet* they asked the captain to be sent below, that they might not fight against their countrymen. The captain called a midshipman and told him to "do his duty." That duty was to hold a pistol at the head of Thompson and threaten to blow his brains out if he and his companions did not do service. They were liberated on the capture of the *Peacock* by the *Hornet*. Another seaman from Ulster County, named James Tompkins, testified to greater cruelties inflicted on himself and three others, who were impressed on board the British ship *Aetona* in April, 1812. When they refused to do duty they were whipped "five dozen lashes each." Two days afterward they received four dozen lashes each. They still refused to do duty, and, after the lapse of another two days, they received two dozen lashes each. They still refused, and, after being whipped again, they were put in irons, where they were kept three months. On their arrival in London they heard of the capture of the *Guerriers*. With a shirt and handkerchiefs they made stripes and stars for American colors, hung it over a gun, and gave three cheers for the victory. For this outburst of patriotism they received two dozen lashes each.

Argument against Impressments. The British Government refuses to listen. Its Proposition on the Subject rejected.

tion of this testimony, yet many must perish unrelieved, and all are detained a considerable time in lawless and injurious confinement. It is the duty as well as a right of a friendly nation to require that measures be taken by the British government to prevent the continued repetition of such violence by its agents. . . . The mere release of the injured, after a long course of serving and suffering, is no compensation for the past, and no security for the future. . . . The United States, therefore, require positively that their seamen who are not British subjects, whether born in America or elsewhere, shall be exempt from impressment. The case of British subjects, whether naturalized or not, is more questionable; but the right even to impress *them* is denied. . . . Alien seamen, not British subjects, engaged in our merchant service, ought to be equally exempt with citizens from impressments. We have a right to engage them, and have a right to and an interest in their persons to the extent of the service contracted to be performed. Britain has not a pretext of right to their persons or their service. To tear them, then, from our possession is at the same time an insult and an injury. It is an act of violence for which there exists no palliative." After alluding to the fact that the principles of the United States government would not allow retaliation by impressments from the British merchant ships, and suggesting that something in that way might be done by *recruiting* from that service, Mr. Marshall concludes by saying, "Is it not more advisable to desist from, and to take effectual measures to prevent an acknowledged wrong, than, by perseverance in that wrong, to excite against themselves the well-founded resentment of America, and force our government into measures which may possibly terminate in open rupture?"¹

These suggestions were all submitted to the British ministry, but without the slightest visible effect. While the war continued, the nefarious practice was carried on vigorously; but when the general pacification of Europe took place in 1801, and the Peace of Amiens gave a respite to British ships of war—when their seamen were in excess of the demand—impressments ceased, and the American minister in London, untaught by past experience and observation, wrote, "I am in hopes that Lord St. Vincent will be inclined to attend to our reiterated remonstrances against the impressment of our seamen and the vexations of our trade."² Vain expectation!

Early in the year 1800³ Mr. Liston, the British minister in the United States, submitted to President Adams a proposition for the reciprocal delivery of deserters, so worded as to sanction impressment on board of *private* vessels, but to except "public ships of war." It was rejected. Pickering, the Secretary of State, said, "It appears utterly inadmissible, unless it would put an end to impressments."⁴ The Secretary of the Navy said, "It is better to have no article, and meet all consequences, than not to enumerate merchant vessels on the high seas among the things not to be entered in search of deserters."⁵ The Secretary of the Treasury objected to it because it did not "provide against the impressment of American seamen."⁶ The Secretary of War objected to it on the same ground, saying, "If this article [the seventh in Mr. Liston's proposition] means what it is apprehended it does, it is utterly inadmissible."⁷ The President and his Cabinet, thus planting themselves upon the broad principles of neutral rights and the sanctity of the national flag laid down at the beginning, would listen to nothing short of a recognition of those rights and of that sanctity.⁷

When hostilities between Great Britain and France were revived in 1803, the im-

¹ Marshall to King, September 20, 1800.

² Pickering to the President, February 20, 1800.

³ Oliver Wolcott to the President, April 26, 1800.

⁴ From June, 1797, until the beginning of 1801, no less than 2059 applications for seamen impressed, including many made previously by Mr. King and Mr. Pinckney, were made. Of these, only 102 were British subjects—less than one twentieth of the whole impressed. Eleven hundred and forty-two were discharged as not being British subjects, and 805, more than one half, were held for farther proof, while there existed strong presumption that the whole, or a greater part, at least, were aliens.—LYMAN'S *Diplomacy of the United States*, ii., 15, note.

⁵ Mr. King to the Secretary of State, February 23, 1801.

⁶ Benjamin Stoddert to the President, February 20, 1800.

⁷ James M'Henry to the President, April 16, 1800.

Doctrine concerning Neutral Rights held by the United States and Great Britain. The latter arraigned by Madison.

press was again put into active operation. The American minister in London, Mr. Monroe, following up previous efforts made by Mr. King when that gentleman perceived that war was inevitable,¹ used every lawful endeavor to make a mutually satisfactory arrangement concerning it. In a letter of instructions to that minister early in 1804,² Mr. Madison, then Secretary of State, ably and lucidly reviewed the whole subject of the impress and the rights of neutrals. His letter opened with the following clear enunciation of the doctrines of the two nations:

"We consider a neutral flag on the high seas as a safeguard to those sailing under it. Great Britain, on the contrary, asserts a right to search for and seize her own subjects; and under that cover, as can not but happen, are often seized and taken off citizens of the United States, and citizens or subjects of other neutral countries navigating the high seas under the protection of the American flag."

After brief and cogent argument, Mr. Madison said, "Were it allowable that British subjects should be taken out of American vessels on the high seas, it might at least be required that the proof of their allegiance should lie on the British side. This obvious and just rule is, however, reversed. And any seaman on board, though going from an American port, sailing under an American flag, and sometimes even speaking an idiom proving him not to be a British subject, is presumed to be such unless proved to be an American citizen. It may be safely affirmed that this is an outrage which has no precedent, and which Great Britain would be among the last nations in the world to suffer, if offered to her own subjects and her own flag."²

* * * * *

"Great Britain has the less to say on the subject, as it is in direct contradiction to the principles on which she proceeds in other cases. While she claims and seizes on the high seas her own subjects voluntarily serving in American vessels, she has constantly given, when she could give, as a reason for not discharging from her service American citizens, that they had voluntarily engaged in it. Nay, more; while she impresses her own subjects from the American service, although they have been settled, and married, and naturalized in the United States, she constantly refuses to release from hers American seamen pressed into it whenever she can give for a reason that they are either settled or married within her dominions. Thus, when the voluntary consent of the individual favors her pretensions, she pleads the validity of that consent. When the voluntary consent of the individual stands in the way of her pretensions, it goes for nothing. When marriage or residence can be pleaded in her favor, she avails herself of the plea. When marriage, residence, and naturalization are against her, no respect whatever is paid to either. She takes by force her own subjects voluntarily serving in our vessels. She keeps by force American citizens involuntarily serving in hers. More flagrant inconsistencies can not be imagined."

No arguments, no remonstrances, no appeals to justice or the demands of international comity, could induce the British government at that time, when waging war with all its powers, to relinquish so great an advantage.

¹ In the spring of 1803 Mr. King made a determined effort to prevent a revival of the practice of impressment. On the 7th of May he submitted the following article to the British ministry: "No person shall be impressed or taken on the high seas out of any ship or vessel belonging to the subjects or citizens of one of the parties by the public or private armed ships or men-of-war belonging to or in the service of the other party." Lord St. Vincent, the First Lord of the Admiralty, and Lord Hawkesbury, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, at first assented to this article; but, after consultation with Sir William Scott, an exception was required in favor of the *narrow seas*. This proposal was rejected by Mr. King. It was regarded as a subterfuge. The government, at the opening of another war, was determined not to relinquish the practice of impressments from American vessels, and this revival of an obsolete claim of England to exclusive jurisdiction over the seas surrounding the British Isles as far south as Cape Finisterre and north to a point on the coast of Norway, which it was known the Americans would reject, was done as an excuse for terminating the negotiation on the practice of the Impress.

² Cooper, in his *Naval History of the United States*, ii., 84, says: "On the 12th of June [1805] No. 7 [gun-boat] fell in with the fleet of Admiral Collingwood off Cadiz, and, while Mr. Lawrence was on board one of the British ships, a boat was sent and took three men out of No. 7, under the pretense that they were Englishmen. On his return to his own vessel Mr. Lawrence hauled down his ensign, but no notice was taken of the proceeding by the British. It is a fitting commentary on this transaction that in the published letters of Lord Collingwood, when he speaks of the impressment of Americans, he says that England would not submit to such an aggression for an hour."

National Independence and Honor imperiled. Memorials to Congress for decided Action. Hesitation of Congress.

Day after day proofs were received of the sufferings of American citizens on account of the impress; and so flagrant and frequent were these outrages toward the close of 1805, that, in the memorials presented to Congress on the subject of British depredations upon American commerce, already alluded to, the impressment of American seamen was a prominent topic.¹

Action in Congress on these subjects, so vital to the interests of the people and the dignity of the nation, was prompt. It was felt that a crisis was reached when the independence of the United States must be vindicated, or the national honor be imperiled. There was ample cause for most vigorous retaliatory measures toward Great Britain, ay, even for war. But the administration itself, and the host of its opponents, were willing to bear a little longer than take the responsibility of an open rupture with Great Britain. A resolution offered in the United States Senate, declaring that the depredations upon American commerce under the sanction of the British government were "unprovoked aggressions upon the property of the citizens of the United States, violations of their neutral rights, and encroachments upon their national independence," was adopted by unanimous vote;^a but when, four days afterward,^b another resolution was offered requesting the President to "demand the restoration of the property of those citizens captured and condemned on the pretext of its being employed in a trade with the enemies of Great Britain, indemnification for past losses, and some arrangement concerning the impressment of seamen," there was hesitation. To obtain the redress sought, there were only four modes—namely, negotiation, non-intercourse, embargo, and war. The first had been tried in vain; the second and third would be menacing and offensive; and the fourth, all parties at that time deprecated. There was a division in the vote. There was unanimity in denunciation, but differences when the test of positive action was applied. There were twenty votes in the affirmative, and six in the negative.

It was resolved to try negotiations once more. William Pinkney,² of Maryland, who had considerable diplomatic experience, was finally appointed a minister extraordinary to England,^c to become associated with Monroe, the resident

^a February 10, 1806.

^b February 14.

^c May.

¹ "The impressment of our seamen, notwithstanding clear proofs of citizenship, the violation of our jurisdiction by captures at the mouths of our harbors,* and insulting treatment of our ships on the ocean, are subjects worthy the serious consideration of our national councils."—*Salem Memorial*.

"The constancy and valor of the seamen of the United States are justly themes of patriotic exultation. From their connection with us, we consider their cause as our cause, their rights as our rights, their interests as our interests. Our feelings are indignant at the recital of their wrongs."—*New York Memorial*, signed by John Jacob Astor and others.

"That our seamen should be exposed to meanest insults and most wanton cruelties, and the fruits of their industry and enterprise fall a prey to the profligate, can not but excite both feeling and indignation, and call loudly for the aid and protection of government."—*Philadelphia Memorial*. The New Haven and Baltimore memorials expressed similar sentiments.

² William Pinkney was born at Annapolis, Maryland, on the 17th of March, 1764. His father was a Loyalist, but William, as he approached manhood, toward the close of the Revolution, espoused the cause of his country. At the age of twenty-two years he was admitted to the bar, and commenced the practice of his profession in Harford County, Maryland, where he married the sister of (afterward) Commodore Rodgers. He was a member of the Executive Council of Maryland in 1792, and in 1795 was chosen to the Legislature. The next year he was appointed one of the commissioners under the provisions of Jay's treaty, and proceeded to England. He remained there until 1805, when he returned, and made Baltimore his residence. He was distinguished for his legal learning and eloquence, and was immediately appointed Attorney General of Maryland. He was sent to England for the object mentioned in the text, in 1806, where he remained until 1811, when he returned home. He fought bravely in the battle near Bladensburg in 1814, and was soon afterward elected to Congress. In 1816 he was appointed minister to Russia. He remained there until 1820, when he returned, and was chosen to a seat in the Senate of the United States. In that body, and in the United States Courts, he labored intensely until 1821, when his health suddenly gave way. He died on the 25th of February, 1822, in the fifty-ninth year of his age.

* This had been done repeatedly. The American waters were almost continually plowed by British cruisers at this time. A few weeks later an event occurred which aroused the greatest indignation throughout the country. A small coasting vessel, navigated by Captain John Pearce, of New York, running for Sandy Hook, was fired into by the British cruiser *Leander*, Captain Whithy. Captain Pearce was killed. It was, morally, a gross act of piracy. The act itself called forth bitter denunciations at a meeting held at the Tontine Coffee-house, in New York, on the following day (April 26, 1806). A resolution proposed by a committee, of which Rufus King, late minister to England, was chairman, declared that an administration that would suffer foreign armed ships to "impress, wound, and murder citizens" was "not entitled to the confidence of a brave and free people." The public indignation was increased when it became known that Captain Whithy, who was brought to trial in England for the murder of Captain Pearce, and his guilt fairly proven by evidence dispatched thither by the United States government, was *honorably acquitted!*

Minister Extraordinary sent to England.

The old Party Lines again established.

War and Anti-war Parties.



James Pickens

minister, in negotiating a treaty that should settle all disputes between the two governments. It was thought expedient, at the same time, to use the second method prospectively, as an auxiliary to the American ministers, for it would appeal potentially to the commercial interest of Great Britain, then, as ever, the ruling power in the state. Accordingly, after long and earnest debates, the House of Representatives passed an act^a prohibiting the importation * March 28,
1806. into the United States of a great variety of the most important manufactures of Great Britain. It passed the Senate on the 16th of April, and on the 18th became a law.¹ To give time for the negotiations, the commencement of the prohibition was postponed until the middle of the following November.

In the debate upon the Non-importation Act in Congress, and in its discussion among the people, the old party lines, which, to some extent, had appeared faint when great national questions were fairly discussed, became perfectly distinct. The measure

was regarded by the jealous opponents of Jefferson and his Cabinet as a display of that hostility to Great Britain because of love for France, which the President and his Secretary had so frequently manifested during the administrations of Washington and Adams. It was regarded as a measure calculated to lead the country into a war with Great Britain. The administration party, on the contrary, charged the Federalists, because they were unwilling to support the measure, with being friendly to their country's oppressor. The old political war-cries were sounded, and "French party" and "British party" became familiar words again on the lips of partisans. The Federalists affected to regard Great Britain in her wars with France, and especially in the current one with Napoleon, as the champion of the liberties of the world against an audacious aspirant for universal empire; while the Democrats affected to consider the Emperor of the French as a great regenerator, who was destined to benefit the world by prostrating tottering thrones, effacing corrupt dynasties, purifying the political atmosphere of Europe, and giving new life and vigor to the people. Such were the antagonistic ideas then distinctly developed. The Non-importation Act was passed by a strictly party vote—ninety-three Democrats, against thirty-two Federalists and "Quids," as John Randolph and his six secessionists were called. The heat of that debate in the first session of the Ninth Congress developed the germ of the *War* and *Anti-war* parties, so strong and implacable just previous to and during the WAR OF 1812.

¹ The following is a list of articles prohibited: All articles of which leather, silk, hemp or flax, and tin and brass (the sheets excepted) were the materials of chief value; woolen cloths whose invoice prices should exceed five shillings sterling a yard; woolen hosiery of all kinds; window-glass, and all the manufactures of glass; silver and plated ware; pepper of every description; nails and spikes; mats, and clothing ready made; millinery of all kinds; playing-cards; beer, ale, and porter; and pictures and prints.

Hopes created by a new British Ministry. Disappointment. Negotiations reopened. Charles James Fox.

CHAPTER VIII.

" You all remember well, I guess,
The Chesapeake disaster,
When Britons dared to kill and press,
To please their royal master."

SONG—RODGERS AND VICTORY.

" From the deep we withdraw till the tempest be past,
Till our flag can protect each American cargo :
While British ambition's dominion shall last,
Let us join, heart and hand, to support the EMBARGO :
For EMBARGO AND PEACE
Will promote our increase :
Then embargoed we'll live till injustice shall cease :
For ne'er, till old Ocean retires from his bed,
Will Columbia by Europe's proud tyrants be led."

SONG—EMBARGO AND PEACE.



WHILE the debate on the Non-importation Act was at its height in Congress, intelligence came of a change in the British ministry that promised a speedy adjustment of all matters in dispute between the two countries. William Pitt died in January,^a and at the beginning of February a new Cabinet was formed, known in English history as "All-the-talents Ministry," of which the peaceful, humane, and liberal Charles James Fox was the most influential member,^b as

January 23, 1806.

Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

Under the impression that the new ministry would be more ready to act justly toward the Americans than the old one, Mr. Pinkney sailed for England. He was soon undeceived. England's policy in the conduct of the tremendous war in which she was engaged was too firmly established to be disturbed by the private opinions and wishes of individuals, and Mr. Fox appears to have imbibed the views of his predecessors in office concerning the complaints of the Americans on the subject of the impress and neutral rights.

Before Pinkney's arrival Fox had expressed to Monroe some sensibility at the passage of the Non-importation Act. He declared that it embarrassed him, because it would place him in the position of treating under seeming compulsion. Monroe gave a satisfactory explanation, and, on the arrival of Pinkney, Lords Holland and Auckland were appointed to negotiate with the American envoys.

The negotiations commenced in August.^b As the American commissioners were instructed to make no treaty which did not secure the vessels of their countrymen on the high seas against visitations from press-gangs, this topic naturally occupied the early and earnest attention of the negotiators. The American commissioners, under instructions, contended that the right of impressment existing by municipal law could not be exercised out of the jurisdiction of Great Britain, and, consequently, upon the high seas. In reply, the British commissioners recited the old

August 2.

^a Fox and Burke stood side by side in the opposition to Lord North in the long struggle before and during the American Revolution. He was always on the liberal side in politics, of the Whig school, and was intensely hated by the king. At one time, at the close of the Revolution, the nation appeared to be divided into parties, one known as the king's, and the other as Fox's. On one occasion Dr. Johnson said, "Fox is an extraordinary man; here is a man who has divided a kingdom with Caesar, so that it was a doubt which the nation should be ruled by—the sceptre of George III. or the tongue of Fox." He was always an advocate for a peace policy, and his accession to power in 1806 gave the thinking men of England hopes of a cessation of the wasting war with the all-conquering Napoleon. To that end he labored, and had well-nigh accomplished measures for pacification when, on the 13th of September, 1806, he died.

doctrine that no subject of the king could expatriate himself—"once an Englishman, always an Englishman"—and argued that to give up that right would make every American vessel an asylum for British seamen wishing to evade their country's service, and even for deserters from British ships of war. They were sustained in this view by the law officers of the crown and the Board of Admiralty, and would not yield the point. Here the American commissioners might have terminated the negotiation, because the vital object of their appointment could not be obtained.

At length this impressment question was placed in an attitude to allow negotiations upon other topics to go on. While the British commissioners declared that their government would not relinquish by formal treaty the right of impressment on the high seas, they agreed that special instructions should be given and enforced for the observance of great caution against subjecting any American-born citizens to molestation or injury. They gave the American commissioners to understand, although it was not expressed in terms, that the intention of the British government was not to allow impressments from American vessels on the high seas except under extraordinary circumstances, such as having on board known deserters from the British navy, ^{November 8,} and thus gradually to abandon the practice. This proposition was put in ^{1806.} writing,² and the negotiations on other topics proceeded.

The terms of a treaty considered in many respects more favorable to the Americans than that of Jay in 1794, to continue for ten years, were soon agreed to. The trade between the United States and the European possessions of Great Britain were placed on a footing of perfect reciprocity, but no concessions could be obtained as to the trade of the West Indies; while in the matter of the East India trade terms as favorable to the Americans as those of Jay's would not be granted. The provisions in that treaty concerning blockades and contraband were adopted, with an additional provision that no American vessels were to be visited or seized within five miles of the coast of the United States.

In regard to the carrying-trade, in which American vessels were so largely concerned, the modification of the "rule of 1756" (stipulated in the treaty with Russia in 1801, already alluded to)¹ was agreed to, but to operate only during the current war, by which such vessels could transport to any belligerent colony not blockaded by a British force, any European goods not contraband of war, providing such goods were American property, and the continuity of the voyage had been broken by their having been previously landed in the United States, and a duty paid of at least one per cent. above the amount drawn back on re-exportation. In like manner the produce of the colony might be carried back, and taken into any port in Europe not blockaded.

At this point in the negotiation, intelligence of the issue of the Berlin Decree,² which we shall consider presently, reached the commissioners. It produced hesitation on the part of the British negotiators. They required assurances that the United States would not allow their trade with Great Britain, and in British merchandise, to be interrupted and interfered with by France without taking measures to resent it. This assurance the American commissioners refused to give, as they were not inclined to pledge their government to quarrel with France for the benefit of English trade. Holland and Auckland waived the point and signed the treaty, at the same time presenting a written protest against the Berlin Decree, reserving to the British government the right, should that decree be actually carried into force as against neutrals, and be submitted to by them, to take such measures of retaliation as might be deemed expedient.

Had this treaty not been based in a degree upon contingencies and promises, leaving American commerce still, in the absence of positive treaty stipulations, at the

¹ See note 2, page 138.

² See page 129.

Treaty withheld from the Senate.

War on the Administration.

Blockade of the European Coast declared.

mercy of British policy, it might have been considered so advantageous to the merchants of the United States, being an advance in the right direction, as to have received the favor of the administration. But it was too loose in its actual guarantees, and the experience of the past was too admonitory to allow such a treaty to be accepted as a satisfactory settlement of difficulties between the two governments. It also failed to secure the most vital advantages contemplated in the appointment of the commission, namely, the abolition of the impress from American vessels and relinquishment on the part of Great Britain of its claims to a right of search. Such being its character, the President, at the risk of being charged with usurpation, did not even lay the treaty before the Senate, but, on his own responsibility, seconded by the co-operation of Mr. Madison, his Secretary of State, he refused to ratify it. That refusal destroyed all hope of negotiating another treaty so favorable to the Americans, for, long before it reached the British government in official form, the Fox and Grenville ministry had disappeared. It had been superseded^a by one in which^b the leading spirits. The remains of Fox had lain in Westminster Abbey six months when this change in the administration took place.¹

As might have been expected, Jefferson was vehemently assailed by the opposition; and the merchants, as a class, misled by the deceptive clamor of politicians, swelled the voice of denunciation. The Federalists, ever suspicious of the President, their arch-enemy in former crises of the government, charged him with insincerity when he protested his earnest desire for an honorable adjustment with England; and they were inclined to regard the rejection of the treaty as a deliberate manœuvre to cherish popular passion, and thus to strengthen the party hold of the President and his destined successor, Mr. Madison.²

The war against the administration was waged unrelentingly. Another great struggle between the Democrats and Federalists for the prize of the Presidency and national rule now commenced, and some leading men of the opposition who, when in power, had bitterly denounced the course of the British government because of its course on the impress and neutral rights, now became either silent spectators or virtual apologists for England. Yet the Democratic party steadily gained in numbers and influence even in New England, and the war feeling became more and more intense and positive among the people.

We have already alluded to the seizure of Hanover by the Prussians at the instigation of Napoleon.³ This offense against the Crown of England was immediately resented; or, rather, it was made the pretext for employing against France a measure which, as in 1756 and 1792, was calculated to starve the empire. By orders in Council, issued on the 16th of May, 1806, the whole coast of Europe from the Elbe, in Germany, to Brest, in France, a distance of about eight hundred miles, was declared in a state of blockade, when, at the same time, the British navy could not spare from its other fields of service vessels enough to enforce the blockade over a third of the prescribed coast. It was essentially a "paper blockade," then valid according to English "laws of nations"—laws of her own enactment, and enforced by her own material power. The almost entire destruction of the French and Spanish fleets off Trafalgar, a few months before,^b had annihilated her rivals for the sovereignty of the seas, and she now resolved to control the trade of the world, by which she might procure pecuniary means to carry on the war.

The British orders in Council somewhat startled American commerce, and by some was considered, so far as that commerce was concerned, as not only a counter-vailing measure in view of the Non-importation Act of the American Congress, but a positively belligerent one. But its effects were slight in comparison with the pros-

¹ See page 128.

² Hildreth's *History of the United States*, Second Series, ii., 663.

³ See page 123.

The Berlin Decree.	The "Continental System."	Americans the only Neutrals.	Their Expectations.
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trating blow inflicted upon the American shipping interest when, from the "Imperial Camp at Berlin" on the 21st of November, 1806, Napoleon issued the famous decree which declared the British Islands in a state of blockade, forbade all correspondence or trade with England, defined all articles of English manufacture or produce as contraband, and the property of all British subjects as lawful prize of war.¹

Resting for moral support upon England's cherished "law of nations," Napoleon made this declaration of a practically universal blockade when he had scarcely a ship at his command to enforce it; for Lord Nelson, as we have just observed, had almost demolished the whole French and part of the Spanish fleet off Trafalgar ^{October 21, 1805.} just thirteen months before.²

On land the power of Napoleon was scarcely bounded by any river in Europe. Within his grasp was seemingly the sceptre of universal empire, of which he dreamed with the ambition of an Alexander. State after state had been added to his dominions, and brother after brother had been placed upon thrones of his own construction, amid the ruins of old dynasties. He now endeavored, by the practice of England's logic, to dispute with her in a peculiar way the sceptre of the seas.²

This was the beginning of what was afterward called the *Continental System*, commenced avowedly as a retaliatory measure, and designed primarily to injure and, if possible, to destroy the commercial prosperity of England. Napoleon adhered to it for several years as a favorite scheme, to the delight and profit of smugglers created by the system, and the immense injury of the commerce of the world. He compelled most of the states of Europe to become partners in the league against Great Britain. A refusal to join it was considered a just cause for war. Yet England, with such powers against her, and such an injurious system impinging heavily upon her maritime and trading interests, defied Napoleon and his allies, and exhibited a moral and material energy which commands our wonder and highest respect.

America was at this time really the only neutral in the civilized world. Her isolation enabled her to maintain that position, and enjoy prosperity while Europe was resonant with the din of battle, clouded with the smoke of camps and ruined towns, and wasted by the terrible demands of moving armies. But her security and prosperity were likely to be disturbed by this unrighteous decree from the "Imperial Camp." It was so broad in its application, that it would be equally injurious to neutrals and belligerents. The commercial world perceived this with its keen eye, and American commerce was convulsed by a thrill of apprehension. Rates of insurance ran up to ruinous heights at the beginning of 1807, and commercial enterprises of every kind were suspended.

This panic was somewhat allayed by a letter from John Armstrong, American minister at Paris, who believed the operations of the decree would be only municipal, and was assured by the French Minister of Marine that the existing commercial relations of the United States and the French Empire, as settled by the Convention of 1800,³ would not be disturbed.⁴ This assurance was subsequently strengthened by the fact that the decree was not enforced against American vessels until about a year afterward,⁵ Napoleon doubtless hoping the United States, growing every day more and more hostile toward England because of her injustice, would be induced to join the league against that power. The Americans were also taught to rely upon the traditional policy of France concerning the rights of neutrals, so plainly avowed in the Armed Neutrality Treaty in 1780, earnestly proclaimed ever since by the French

¹ See note 1, page 129.

² Napoleon at this time had been compelled to abandon his schemes for the invasion of England. He had lost St. Domingo, and all prestige in the West Indies, and had no means of annoying his most potent enemy, on the sea.

³ See twelfth and fourteenth articles of that Convention in *Statesman's Manual*, iv., 342, 343.

⁴ On the 10th of December, Minister Armstrong asked for an explanation of the Berlin Decree. Monsieur Decres, the Minister of Marine, replied on the 24th that he considered the decree as in no way modifying "the regulations at present observed in France with regard to neutral navigators; nor, consequently, of the Convention of the 30th of September, 1800, with the United States of America."

⁵ Baring's *Inquiry*, etc., page 116, cited in note 1, page 129.

Change in the Policy of the French.

Seizure of American Ships.

British Orders in Council.

rulers, and reiterated in the charges against England in the preamble to the famous decree under consideration.

The promises of security to American commerce from the operations of the Berlin Decree were soon broken. The powers of that decree were put forth in the autumn of 1807. The Peace of Tilsit¹ had released a large number of French soldiers from duties in the camp and field, and these were employed at various ports along the coasts of Europe in strictly enforcing the blockade and putting the Continental System into active operation. Even American commerce did not remain undisturbed; on the contrary, it was directly threatened by a decision of Regnier, the French Minister of Justice, who declared that all merchandise derived from England and her colonies, by whomsoever owned, was liable to seizure even on board neutral vessels.² As Americans were then the only neutrals, this decision was aimed directly at them, with the intention, no doubt, of forcing the United States into at least a passive co-operation with Bonaparte in his deadly designs against British commerce and the liberties of that people. When Minister Armstrong made inquiries concerning this interpretation of the Berlin Decree, Champagny, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, coolly replied that the principal powers of Europe for eleven months had not only not issued any protest against the decree, but had agreed to enforce it, and that to make it effectual its execution must be complete. He disposed of the treaty obligations in the matter by saying that, since England had disregarded the rights of all maritime powers, the interests of those powers were common, and they were bound to make common cause against her;³ that is to say, any nation that would not join Napoleon in enforcing his iniquitous Continental System, ostensibly against England, but really against the commerce of the world, forfeited its claim to have its treaty stipulations regarded! This doctrine was speedily followed up by practice, when the American ship *Horizon*, stranded upon the French coast, was, with her cargo, in violation of every principle of humanity, confiscated in the French prize court, acting under Regnier's decision,⁴ on the ground that that cargo consisted of

November 10,
1807.

merchandise of British origin. This decision and confiscation became a precedent for the speedy seizure and sequestration of a large amount of American property.

Almost simultaneously with this practical illustration of Regnier's interpretation of the Berlin Decree in the case of the *Horizon*,⁵ Great Britain made a more destructive assault on the rights of neutrals than any yet attempted by either party. By orders in council, adopted on the 11th and promulgated on the 17th of November, all neutral trade was prohibited with France or her allies unless through Great Britain.⁶ This avowed measure of retaliation for the issue of

November 10.

¹ This was a treaty of peace concluded between France and Russia on the 7th of June, 1807, when Napoleon restored to the Prussian monarch one half of his territories, and Russia recognized the Confederation of the Rhine, and the elevation of Napoleon's three brothers, Joseph, Louis, and Jerome, to the thrones respectively of Naples, Holland, and Westphalia.

² Letter to the Imperial Attorney General for the Council of Prizes, September 18, 1807.

³ "All the difficulties which have given rise to your reclamations," said Champagny to Armstrong, "would be removed with ease if the government of the United States, after complaining in vain of the injustice and violations of England, took, with the whole Continent, the part of guaranteeing itself therefrom. England has introduced into the maritime war an entire disregard for the rights of nations: it is only in forcing her to a peace that it is possible to recover them. On this point the interest of all nations is the same. All have their honor and independence to defend."—LYMAN'S *Diplomacy of the United States*, i., 411.

This was all very true, but the terms on which the United States were invited to join that Continental league were entirely inconsistent with their principles concerning blockades—principles identical with those of the Armed Neutrality of 1780. The Berlin Decree asserted principles the very reverse of these, and in an extreme degree—principles against which the Americans had ever protested—principles which the French minister, only a year before, had pronounced "monstrous and indefensible."

⁴ Mr. Baring, in his able *Inquiry into the Causes and Consequences of the Orders in Council*, gives the following analysis of the extremely lengthy document:

"All trade directly from America to every port and country of Europe at war with Great Britain, or from which the British flag is excluded, is totally prohibited. In this general prohibition every part of Europe, with the exception at present of Sardinia, is included, and no distinction whatever is made between the domestic produce of America and that of the colonies re-exported from thence.

the Berlin Decree was only a pretext for pampering the greed of the British colonial merchants and ship-owners. As the Americans were the only neutrals, it was a direct blow against their commerce, of which, for ten years, the British had been exceedingly jealous. The effect was to deprive American vessels of all the advantages of neutrality.

In retaliation for the issuing of these orders, Bonaparte promulgated another decree, dated "At our Palace at Milan, December 17, 1807," which extended and made more vigorous that issued from Berlin. It declared every vessel which should submit to be searched by British cruisers, or should pay any tax, duty, or license-money to the British government, or should be found on the high seas or elsewhere bound to or from any British port, denationalized and forfeit.¹ With their usual servility to the dictates of the conqueror, Spain and Holland immediately issued similar decrees. Thus, within a few months, the commerce of the United States, carried on in strict accordance with the acknowledged laws of civilized nations, was swept from the ocean. Utterly unable, by any power it then possessed, to resist the robbers upon the great highway of nations, the independence of the republic had no actual record. It had been theoretically declared on parchment a quarter of a century before, but the nation and its interests were now as much subservient to British orders in council and French imperial decrees as when George the Third sent governors to the colonies of which it was composed, and Beaumarchais, in behalf of Louis the Sixteenth, supplied their feeble, rebellious hands with weapons wherewith to fight for liberty and independence.

While the commerce of the world was thus becoming the sport of France and England—traditional enemies and implacable duelists for a thousand years—unscrupulous gamesters for power—an event occurred which excited in the United States the most intense animosity toward Great Britain, and created a powerful war party among legislators and people.

To give efficiency to the Orders in Council, the British government kept a naval force continually hovering along the American coast. They frequently intruded into American waters, and were a great vexation and annoyance to navigators and merchants. They were regarded as legalized plunderers employed by a strong nation to despoil a weaker one.² Every American vessel was liable, on leaving port, to be arrested and seized by this marine police, sometimes under the most untenable pretexts, and sent to England as a prize. The experience of the *Leander*, already mentioned (see page 147), was the experience of hundreds of vessels, excepting the murder of their commanders; and, as we have seen, remonstrances and negotiations were of no avail. A crisis was at length reached in the summer of 1807.

¹ "The trade from America to the colonies of all nations remains unaltered by the present orders. America may export the produce of her own country, but that of no other, directly to Sweden.

² "With the above exception, all articles, whether of domestic or colonial produce, exported by America to Europe, must be landed in this country [England], from whence it is intended to permit their re-exportation under such regulations as may hereafter be determined.

"By these regulations it is understood that duties are to be imposed on all articles so re-exported; but it is intimated that an exception will be made in favor of such as are the produce of the United States, that of cotton excepted.

"Any vessel the cargo whereof shall be accompanied with certificates of French consuls abroad of its origin, shall, together with the cargo, be liable to seizure and confiscation.

"Proper care shall be taken that the operation of the orders shall not commence until time is afforded for their being known to the parties interested."—See *Inquiry*, etc., page 15.

When introducing this analysis of the orders of the 11th of November, Mr. Baring remarks that "they are so much enveloped in official jargon as to be hardly intelligible out of Doctors' Commons, and not perfectly so there." In a note he says, "I beg to disclaim any intention to expound the tital text; it seems purposely intended that no person should profane it with his comprehension without paying two guineas for an opinion, with an additional benefit of being able to obtain one directly opposed to it for two more."

¹ "These measures," said the fourth article of the Milan Decree, "which are resorted to only in just retaliation of the barbarous system adopted by England, which assimilates in its legislation to that of Algiers, shall cease to have any effect with respect to all nations who shall have the firmness to compel the English government to respect their flag." It declared that the provisions of the present decree should be null as soon as England should "abide again by the principles of the law of nations which regulate the relations of civilized states in a state of war."

² Privateers with French commissions were guilty of depredations upon American commerce, but the occasions were rare.

Notwithstanding the many depredations upon American commerce and the increasing menaces of the belligerents in Europe, very little had been done to increase the efficiency of the navy of the United States since its reduction at the close of the war with the Barbary States. The squadron in the Mediterranean had been gradually reduced, but several small vessels had been built. Two of these, the ship *Wasp*, 18, and brig *Hornet*, 18, constructed after French models, and ranking as sloops-of-war, were beautiful, stanch, and fast-sailing craft.

In the spring of 1806 the naval service was reorganized,¹ yet nothing of great importance was contemplated to increase its material strength excepting the construction of gun-boats.² The President had imbibed very strong prejudices in favor of these vessels. A flotilla of them, obtained from Naples, had been used effectively in the war with Tripoli in 1804, and they were favorites in the service because they afforded commands for enterprising young officers. A few were built in the United States in 1805, their chief contemplated use being the defense and protection of harbors and rivers. Then was inaugurated the "gun-boat policy" of the government, so much discussed for three or four years afterward.

Toward the close of 1806 the President officially announced that the gun-boats (fifty in number) "authorized by an act of the last session" were so far advanced that they might be put in commission the following season.³ Yet only in the Mediterranean Sea was there a foreign station of the navy of the United States where an American cruiser might be seen at the beginning of 1807, notwithstanding American merchant vessels to the amount of 1,200,000 tons were afloat. Nor was there a home squadron worthy of the name; while British and French cruisers were swarming on our coasts, and British orders and French decrees were wielding the besom of destruction against our commerce.

In the spring of 1807 a squadron of British ships of war, whose rendezvous was Lynnhaven Bay,⁴ just within Cape Henry, in Virginia, were watching some French frigates which had been for some time blockaded at Annapolis, in Maryland. One of the British vessels was the *Melampus*, 38. Three of her men deserted, and enlisted among the crew of the United States frigate *Chesapeake*, then being fitted for sea at the navy yard at Washington to join the Mediterranean squadron. Mr. Erskine, the British minister, who had been sent to Washington by Fox to supersede Merry, the successor of Liston, made a formal request of the President for their surrender, but without any warrant found in the laws of nations, or in any agreement between the two governments. A proposition to deliver up British deserters had been made by Monroe and Pinkney during the late negotiations, as an inducement for the British to abandon the practice of impressment, but nothing on that point had been accomplished.

The United States government, willing to be just, and anxious for honorable peace, instituted inquiries concerning the deserters. They were actually enlisted for service

¹ By an act of Congress in April, 1806, the President was authorized to employ as many of the public vessels as he might deem necessary, but limiting the number of officers and seamen. The list of captains was increased by the act to thirteen, that of the masters and commanders to nine, and that of the lieutenants to seventy-two. In consequence of deaths and resignations there were many promotions, and sixty-nine midshipmen were raised to the rank of lieutenant.

The names of the captains under the new law were as follows: Samuel Nicholson, Alexander Murray, Samuel Barron, John Rodgers, Edward Preble, James Barron, William Bainbridge, Hugh G. Campbell, Stephen Decatur, Thomas Tingey, Charles Stewart, Isaac Hull, John Shaw, and Isaac Chauncey. Of these Commodore Stewart is now (1867) the only survivor.

The names of the masters and commanders were as follows: John Smith, George Cox, John H. Dent, Thomas Robinson, David Porter, John Carson, Samuel Evans, and Charles Gordon. Not one survives.

² The act of Congress for "fortifying the Ports and Harbors of the United States and for building Gun-boats" was approved on the 21st of April, 1806. It provided for the construction of fifty gun-boats.

³ Annual message, December 2, 1806.—See *Statesman's Manual*, i., 282.

⁴ Here the French fleet under the Count de Grasse lay early in September, 1781, when the English fleet under Admiral Graves appeared off Cape Charles, entering the Chesapeake Bay. The French prepared for conflict, and put to sea. The British bore down upon them, and on the afternoon of the 5th of September a partial action took place. The two fleets were within sight of each other for five consecutive days, but had no other engagement. For an account of these events and a diagram, see Lossing's *Field-book of the Revolution*, ii., 306, latest edition.

The Deserters American Citizens.

Their Surrender refused.

The *Chesapeake* watched by a British Squadron.



LYNNHAVEN BAY.

on board the *Chesapeake*; but it was established by competent testimony that one was a native of the Eastern Shore of Maryland, that another was a colored man and a native of Massachusetts, and in the case of the third there was strong circumstantial evidence of his being a native-born citizen of Maryland.¹ Under these circumstances, as the claims of British citizenship could not be established, and as the government was not

disposed to surrender any seamen who claimed its protection, a refusal in respectful terms was communicated to Mr. Erskine. No more was said upon the subject; but it appears to have stimulated Vice-Admiral Berkeley, on the Halifax station, under whose command was the squadron in Lynnhaven Bay, to the assumption of authority which led to much trouble.

At about the beginning of June the *Chesapeake* sailed from Washington to Norfolk, and on the 10th she was reported to Commodore James Barron, the appointed flag-officer of the Mediterranean squadron, as ready for sea. She dropped down to Hampton Roads, and on the morning of the 22d of June—a bright, beautiful, hot morning—at about eight o'clock, she weighed anchor, under the command of Captain Gordon, and bearing the broad pennant of Commodore Barron. She was armed with twenty-eight 18-pounders on her gun-deck, and twelve carronades² above, making a total of forty guns. She was a vessel of ordinary character, and bore a crew numbering three hundred and seventy-five.

On the evening of the 21st,³ the British squadron in Lynnhaven Bay, charged with the double duty, it seems, of watching the French frigates and the *Chesapeake*, consisted of the *Bellona*, 74; the *Melampus*, 38; the *Leopard*, 50; and another whose name was not mentioned. The *Leopard*, Captain Humphreys, was charged with the duty of intercepting the *Chesapeake*. She was a small two-decker, and is said to have mounted fifty-six guns. She preceded the *Chesapeake* to sea several miles, her sails bent by a gentle northwest breeze.

The *Leopard* kept in sight of the *Chesapeake* until three o'clock in the afternoon, when the former bore down upon the latter and hailed, informing Commodore Barron that she had a dispatch for him. The *Chesapeake* responded by lying-to, when some of her officers discovered that the *Leopard's* ports were triced up—an evidence of belligerent intent—but they did not mention the fact to Captain Gordon or the com-

¹ The names of the deserters were William Ware, who had been pressed from an American vessel on board the *Melampus* in the Bay of Biscay; Daniel Martin, colored, pressed at the same time and place; and John Strachan, pressed on board the same vessel from an English Guineaman off Cape Finisterre. Ware and Strachan had protections, but Martin had lost his.—See Commodore Barron's Letter to the Secretary of the Navy, dated April 2, 1807. It is proper to state that Mr. Hamilton, the British consul at Norfolk, made repeated official demands for these three seamen and another, and was as often refused by the officers of the *Chesapeake*, acting under government orders.

² A carronade is a short piece of ordnance, having a large calibre, and a chamber for the powder like a mortar. It derives its name from Carron, in Scotland, where it was first made.—Webster.

The *Chesapeake* boarded.

The Demand for the Deserters refused.

The *Leopard* fires into the *Chesapeake*.

modore. A British boat came alongside, and the lieutenant in command was politely received by Barron in the cabin of the *Chesapeake*. He informed the commodore that he was in search of deserters, and, giving their names, he demanded their release, on the authority of instructions issued at Halifax on the 1st of June by Vice-Admiral Berkeley. Those instructions directed all captains under his command, should they fall in with the *Chesapeake* out of the waters of the United States, to show their orders, and "to proceed and search" for such deserters; at the same time, should the commander of the *Chesapeake* make a similar demand, they were to allow him to search for deserters from the American service, "according to the usages of civilized nations on terms of peace and amity with each other."¹ He also presented a note from Captain Humphreys of the *Leopard*, expressing a hope that every circumstance respecting the deserters might "be adjusted in a manner that the harmony subsisting between the two countries might remain undisturbed."

Barron was justly astonished at the impertinence of Humphreys and the assumptions of Berkeley. The "customs and usages" referred to by the latter were confined to the British navy, and were subjects for *complaint* by "civilized nations." The practice had been advocated only in the British Parliament and by the British press; and twice already the "usage" had been applied to American vessels by British cruisers and denounced as outrageous.² Barron knew well that the first outrage of the kind had caused the issuing of a standing order from his government to the commanders of national vessels never to allow their crews to be mustered except by their own officers. He therefore made a short reply to Humphreys, telling him he knew of no deserters on board the *Chesapeake*, that he had instructed his recruiting officers not to enlist British deserters, and explicitly assuring him that his crew should not be mustered except by their own officers.

While the lieutenant was waiting for Barron's answer, the officers of the *Chesapeake*, suspicious of some mischief brewing, were busy in clearing the ship for action. She had left port all unprepared for conflict. Without the least expectation of encountering an enemy, she had gone to sea without preparation for hostile service, either in the drilling of her men or in perfecting her equipments. She was littered and lumbered by various objects, and her crew had been mustered only three times.

When the lieutenant left, Barron seems to have imagined that some hostile demonstration might follow his refusal to allow a search for deserters. His men were silently called to quarters, and the ship was regularly prepared for action. He soon received a trumpet message from Humphreys, saying, "Commodore Barron must be aware that the orders of the vice-admiral must be obeyed." Barron replied that he did not understand. The hail was several times repeated, and then a shot was sent from the *Leopard* athwart the bows of the *Chesapeake*. This was speedily followed by another, and as quickly the remainder of the broadside was poured into the almost helpless frigate. Owing to obstructions it was difficult to get her batteries ready; and when one broadside was ready for action there was no priming-powder. When a small quantity was brought, there were no matches, locks, nor loggerheads, and not a shot could be returned. Meanwhile the *Leopard*, at not more than pistol-shot distance, and in smooth water, poured several broadsides upon the unresisting ship, killing three men and wounding eighteen. Barron and his aid (Mr. Broome), who were standing in the gangway watching the assailant, were slightly hurt. The commodore frequently expressed a desire that one gun, at least, might be fired before he should

¹ Vice-Admiral Berkeley's circular order recited that many seamen, subjects of his Britannic majesty, and serving in the British Navy, had deserted from several British ships, which he named, and had enlisted on board the frigate *Chesapeake*, and had openly paraded the streets of Norfolk, in sight of their officers, under the American colors, protected by the magistrates of the town and the recruiting officer, who refused to give them up, either on demand of the commanders of the ships to which they belonged or on that of the British consul.

² See the account of outrage in case of the *Baltimore*, Captain Phillips, on page 102, and that of the American gun-boat overhauled by one of Admiral Collingwood's vessels in the Mediterranean, note 2, page 146. An apology was made for the former outrage, but the latter was passed by.

Surrender of the *Chesapeake*.

The Deserters carried away.

The Outrage resented.

strike his flag, for he perceived that a surrender would be necessary to save the ship from utter destruction. He was gratified. Just as the colors in their descent touched the taffrail, Lieutenant Allen, who had made ineffectual attempts to use a loggerhead,¹ ran with a live coal between his fingers and touched off one of the guns of the second division of the ship, of which he was commander.

The *Leopard* had kept up her cannonade, without any response, for about twelve minutes. Twenty-one of her round shot had hulled the *Chesapeake*, and her grape had made considerable havoc with (the victim's sails and rigging. When the American ensign was lowered, two British lieutenants and several midshipmen went on board, mustered the crew, arrested the three deserters from the *Melampus*, dragged from his concealment in the coal-hole the fourth, named John Wilson, who had deserted from the *Halifax*, and bore them all away to the *Leopard*. Barron, meanwhile, had informed Humphreys by note² that the *Chesapeake* was his prize; but that commander refused to receive her, saying, "My instructions have been obeyed, and I desire nothing more." He then expressed regret because of the loss of life, and offered any assistance the crippled ship might require. His proffered sympathies and aid were indignantly rejected; and the *Chesapeake*, with mortified officers and crew, made her way sullenly back to Norfolk.

The unfortunate deserters were taken to Halifax, tried by a court-martial, and sentenced to be hung. The three Americans were reprieved on condition that they should re-enter the British service, but Wilson, the English subject, was hanged.

When Canning, the British Minister for Foreign Affairs, heard of the outrage, he expressly disavowed the act in behalf of his government, and informed Monroe and Pinkney that orders had been sent out for the recall of Berkeley from his command. Humphreys also suffered the displeasure of his government because he had exceeded his instructions, and he was never again employed in service afloat. One of the Americans remanded to slavery in the British navy died in captivity; the others, ¹ after five years of hard service, were restored^a to the deck of the ship from ^{1812.} which they had been taken. Provision was also made for the families of the slain.

The attack on the *Chesapeake* created the most intense excitement and indignation throughout the United States, and for a time all local politics were forgotten, and all parties, Federalists and Democrats, natives and foreigners, were united in a firm resolve that Great Britain should make reparation for the wrong, or be made to feel the indignation of the insulted republic in the power of war. Public meetings were held in all the principal cities from Boston to Norfolk,³ in which the feelings of the people were vehemently expressed. "It is an act of such consummate violence and wrong," said the citizens of Philadelphia,⁴ "and of so barbarous and murderous character, that it would debase and degrade any nation, and much more so a nation of freemen, to submit to it." Such were the sentiments every where expressed, and there

¹ A loggerhead is a spherical mass of iron heated and used in place of a match in firing cannon in the navy.

² Barron's dispatch to the Secretary of the Navy, June 23, 1807; Cooper's *Naval History of the United States*, ii., 97-104; Hildreth's *History of the United States*, Second Series, ii., 673; Perkins's *History of the Late War*, page 22.

³ On the return of the *Chesapeake* to Norfolk a public meeting was held there, when it was resolved that no intercourse of any kind should be held with the British squadron in the vicinity until the pleasure of the President should be known. Captain Douglas, the commander of the squadron, made some insolent threats, when Cabell, Governor of Virginia, ordered detachments of militia to Norfolk and Hampton. Douglas, finding his threats to be working mischief for himself, became as obsequious as he was before insolent, and withdrew from a menacing position in Hampton Roads to Lynnhaven Bay. Decatur, then in command of the American naval force at Norfolk, was ordered not to molest him while he remained there. Some rather spicy correspondence with Erskine, the British minister, ensued, in the course of which he asked indemnification for some water-casks belonging to the British fleet destroyed by the indignant people of Hampton after the return of the *Chesapeake*! In a letter to the Secretary of State from Monticello, concerning this demand under such circumstances, President Jefferson wrote: "It will be very difficult to answer Mr. Erskine's demand respecting the water-casks in a tone proper for such a demand. I have heard of one who, having broken his cane over the head of another, demanded payment for his cane. This demand might well enough have made part of an offer to pay the damages done to the *Chesapeake*, and to deliver up the authors of the murders committed on board her."

⁴ July 1, 1807. The secretary of the meeting, who drafted the resolutions, was Joseph Hopkinson, Esq., a leading Federalist, and author of *Hail, Columbia!*

British Vessels ordered to leave American Waters.

Harbors to be defended.

Punishment of Barron.

was a general desire for an immediate declaration of war against Great Britain to redress all wrongs and grievances. But the President and his Cabinet, averse to war, preferred a pacific course, and determined to allow Great Britain an opportunity for a disavowal of the act, and to make reparation of the wrong. The former, as we have observed, was promptly done by Mr. Canning; the latter, embarrassed by intricate negotiations, was accomplished more tardily.

In response and submission to the popular will, the President issued a proclamation on the 2d of July, in which he complained of the habitual insolence of the British cruisers, expressed his belief that the present outrage was unauthorized, and ordered all British armed vessels to leave the waters of the United States immediately. As his government possessed no power to compel compliance with this order, he directed that, in case of their refusal to leave, all intercourse with them, their officers and crews, should be at once suspended. He forbade all persons affording such vessels aid of any kind, unless in the case of a ship in distress or charged with public dispatches. Preparations for defense were also made. Most of the gun-boats in commission were ordered to New York, Charleston, and New Orleans; military stores were purchased; one hundred thousand militia were ordered to be detached by the different states, but without pay, and volunteers were invited to enroll themselves.

Commodore Barron was made to feel the nation's indignation most severely. He was accused of neglect of duty, and was tried by a court-martial on specific charges of that nature. The navy, government, and nation appear to have predetermined his guilt. The wounded national pride needed a palliative, and it was found in the supposed delinquencies of the unfortunate commodore. He was found guilty, and sentenced to five years' suspension from the service, without pay or emoluments.¹ Captain Gordon was tried on the same charge, but his offense was so slight that he was only privately reprimanded. Such also was the fate of Captain Hall, of the marines; while the gunner, for neglect in having priming-powder sufficient, was cashiered.

It was the opinion of Mr. Cooper that these officers were made the



*God Bless you all
James Barron*

¹ James Barron was born in Virginia in 1768, and commenced his services in the navy under his father, who was "commodore of all the armed vessels of the Commonwealth of Virginia" during the Revolution and the Confederation. He was commissioned a lieutenant under Barry in 1798, and the following year was promoted to the highest grade then known to the navy, namely, captain. With, and subordinate to his brother Samuel, he sailed to the Mediterranean that year, where he soon acquired fame for his skill in seamanship. He was one of the best officers and disciplinarians in the navy. The affair of the *Chesapeake* and its effects upon himself cast a shadow over his future life. He was restored to official position, but, somewhat broken in spirit, he never afterward entered the service afloat. In 1820 he and Decatur had a correspondence on the affair of the *Chesapeake*, which resulted in a duel, the particulars of which will be given hereafter. The duel was fought near Bladensburg, four miles from Washington City. Both were badly wounded. Decatur died; Barron recovered after months of intense suffering.

Barron held several important commands in the service on shore, and at the time of his death, on the 21st of April, 1851, he was the senior officer of the United States Navy. He died at Norfolk, in Virginia, and was buried in St. Paul's Church-yard there, with military and civic honors, on the morning of the 23d of April. A funeral sermon was preached in the venerable and venerated church by Rev. William Jackson. It was a beautiful tribute to the worth of a brave and ill-requited patriot.

Reparation demanded of England.	Failure to obtain it.	Royal Proclamation concerning British Seamen.
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scape-goats of the government, where divided power is too often not only irresponsible but inefficient. "It may well be questioned," he says, "if any impartial person, who coolly examines the subject, will not arrive at the conclusion that the real delinquents were never put on their trial." He then adverts to the fact that four months had been consumed in fitting this single vessel for sea, under the immediate eye of the government, at a time when there was pressing necessity for her service; that she did not receive all her guns until a few days before she sailed; that her crew were coming on board until the last hour before her departure; that her people had been quartered only three days before she put to sea, and that she was totally unfitted for active service when she was ordered to leave port. "When it was found that the nation had been disgraced," continues Mr. Cooper, "so unsound was the state of popular feeling that the real delinquents were overlooked, while their victims became objects of popular censure."¹

The President's proclamation was followed by the dispatch of the armed schooner *Revenge* to England with instructions to the American ministers (Monroe and Pinkney) to demand reparation for insults and injuries in the case of the *Chesapeake*, and to suspend all other negotiations until it should be granted. Unfortunately for the success of the special negotiations, these instructions also directed them, in addition to a demand for an apology and indemnity to the families of the killed, to insist, by way of security for the future, that the visitation of American vessels in search of British subjects should be totally relinquished. This was inadmissible. The British government refused to treat upon any other subject than that of reparation. A disavowal of the act had already been made, and every disposition to be just and friendly had been shown. The ministry even placed their government in the position of an injured party, inasmuch as the proclamation concerning British ships of war in American waters was evidently an act of retaliation before a demand for reparation had been made, or the disposition of the British Cabinet had been ascertained.

Monroe and Pinkney had already proposed to reopen negotiations for a treaty on the basis of the one returned from their government unratified,² and, with these new instructions, they pursued the subject with so much assiduity that Mr. Canning made

^a October 22, 1807. to them a formal and final reply^a that, while he was ready to listen to any suggestions with a view to the settlement of existing difficulties, he would not negotiate anew on the basis of a treaty concluded and signed, and already rejected by one of the parties. Indeed there was a decided aversion to treating at all on the subject of impressments; and the views of the government on that topic were

^b October 17. plainly manifested when, by royal proclamation,^b all British mariners, in whatever service engaged, were required to leave it forthwith and hasten to the aid of their native country, then menaced and imperiled, and her "maritime rights" called in question. It authorized all commanders of foreign ships of war to seize British seamen on board foreign merchant vessels (but without undue violence), and take them to any British port. It also demanded from all foreign ships of war the delivery of all British mariners on board of them; and that in case of a refusal to give them up, proper notice should be communicated to the British minister resident of the nation to which such contumacious vessel and commander might belong, that measures for redress might be employed.

Mr. Monroe formally objected to this proclamation, as shutting the door against all future negotiations on the subject of impressments.³ Canning replied that it was

¹ Cooper's *Naval History of the United States*, ii., 110.

² See page 151.

³ James Monroe was born in Westmoreland County, in Virginia, on the 2d of April, 1759. His youth was spent among political excitements when the old war for independence was kindling. He left the College of William and Mary for the camp, and enrolled himself a soldier for freedom. He was severely wounded in the van of battle at Trenton, and was promoted to captain. In other battles he was conspicuous for bravery; and after that of Monmouth he left the army, and commenced the study of law with Mr. Jefferson. When Arnold and Cornwallis invaded Virginia in 1781, he again took up arms as a volunteer. He was elected a member of the Virginia Legislature in 1782. He was promoted to the Executive Council, and at the age of twenty-five was elected to a seat in the National Congress. He remained in public

Special Envoy to the United States.

His Mission fruitless.

Critical Situation.

only a declaration of existing law, and necessary for the information of British commanders who might be placed in a situation similar to that of Captain Humphreys, of the *Leopard*.

It was evident to both parties that the topic of that outrage could not be satisfactorily treated in London, because the American ministers could not separate it from that of impressment. The British government resolved therefore to send a special



James Monroe

vessels. As the proclamation had reference to the conduct of British armed vessels in American waters from the beginning of the current European war, the President refused to withdraw the document, and Rose returned in the same vessel that bore him to our shores. Meanwhile Monroe had returned home, leaving Pinkney resident minister in London. All hopes of settling existing difficulties with England were at an end, and from the beginning of 1808 the political relations between the two governments foreboded inevitable hostilities at no distant day.

The critical condition of foreign relations induced the President to call the Tenth Congress together as early as the 25th of October. The administration party had an overwhelming majority in that body, and was daily increasing in strength throughout the country. The confidence of the Democrats in Jefferson's wisdom, sagacity, and patriotism was unbounded. In the United States Senate there were only six Federalists, and one of them, John Quincy Adams, soon left their ranks and joined those of the dominant party.¹ A new Democratic member appeared at about the same time, and began a career as a national legislator which forms a wonderful chapter in the history of the government. It was Henry Clay,² who had been appointed to fill, for a single session, the seat made vacant by the resignation of General John

minister to Washington, provided with instructions to bring the unhappy dispute to an honorable conclusion. H. G. Rose, a son of one of the ministers, was appointed for the delicate duty, and arrived at Annapolis in January, 1808. His mission was fruitless. He was instructed not to treat of the affair of the *Chesapeake* while the recent proclamation of the President was in force, nor to connect

the subject with that of impressments from private

life, and, with Patrick Henry and others of his state, he opposed the ratification of the National Constitution. He was one of the first United States senators from Virginia under it. He was sent to France as ambassador in 1794, and was recalled by Washington in 1796. In 1798 he was elected Governor of Virginia, and three years afterward Mr. Jefferson sent him to Paris to assist in negotiations for the purchase of Louisiana. He was then transferred to the British court as co-laborer in diplomacy with Mr. Pinkney. In 1811 he was again elected Governor of Virginia, but was soon called to the Cabinet of Mr. Madison as Secretary of War. In 1816 he was elected President of the United States, and held that office eight years, when he retired from public life. He lived in Virginia until 1831, when he took up his residence with his son-in-law in the city of New York. He died there on the 4th of July of that year, at the age of little more than seventy-one years.

¹ Mr. Adams was then forty years of age, and had been in the Senate since 1803. "He is a man of much information," wrote his contemporary and friend, Senator Plumer, of New Hampshire, in April, 1806, "a correct and animated speaker, of strong passions, and of course subject to strong prejudices, but a man of strict, unmediating integrity. He is not the slave of party, nor influenced by names, but free, independent, and occasionally eccentric."

² "This day [December 20, 1806]," wrote Senator Plumer, "Henry Clay, the successor of John Adair, was qualified, and took his seat in the Senate. He is a young lawyer. His stature is tall and slender. I had much conversation with him, and it afforded me much pleasure. He is intelligent, and appears frank and candid. His address is good, and his manners easy."—*Life of Plumer*, page 351.

Political Complexion of the Tenth Congress.

The President's Message.

An Embargo established.

Adair, then under a cloud because of his recent participation with Aaron Burr in his schemes in the Valley of the Mississippi.

In the House of Representatives the Democratic party had about the same average majority as in the Senate. The opposition, even with the "Quids"—John Randolph and his Virginia seceders—could not command at any time more than twenty-eight votes. Their chief leaders were Samuel W. Dana, of Connecticut, who had been a member since 1796; the late Josiah Quincy, of Massachusetts, who took his seat in 1805; Barent Gardinier, of New York, and Philip Barton Key, of Maryland. Among the new administration members was Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky. Thus sustained by the National Legislature and the people, the policy of the President and his Cabinet became the policy of the country.

^a October 27, 1807. In his seventh annual message^a the President called the attention of Congress to several very important subjects. He gave a narrative of unsuccessful efforts to settle with Great Britain all difficulties concerning search and impressments; considered the affair of the *Chesapeake*, the refusal of the British commanders to obey the orders of his proclamation to leave American waters, the orders in Council and Decrees, the subject of national defenses, the uneasiness of the Indians on the frontiers, and the relations with other foreign governments. He also expressed great dissatisfaction at the acquittal of Burr, through erroneous, if not mischievous interpretation of law, as he evidently believed; and he pressed upon the attention of Congress the propriety of so amending the law as to prevent the destruction of the government by treason.¹

^b December 11. Having been officially informed^b of the new interpretation of the Berlin Decree,² and unofficially apprised of the almost simultaneously issued

^c December 18. British orders in Council, the President communicated to Congress^c the facts in his possession, and recommended the passage of an Embargo Act—"an inhibition of the departure of our vessels from the ports of the United States."³ The Senate, with closed doors, proceeded to the consideration of the subject, and, after a session of four hours and a departure from ordinary rules, passed a bill^d

^d December 18. laying an embargo on all shipping, foreign and domestic, in the ports of the United States, with specific exceptions. The minority made a feeble opposition to the measure.⁴ They asked for delay, but it was not granted, and the act was passed by a strictly party vote—ayes twenty-two, noes six. John Quincy Adams thus signified his adherence to the dominant party by voting with them. In the House, which also sat with closed doors, the passage of the act was pressed with equal zeal by the friends of the administration, and was as warmly opposed by the Federalists and "Quids." The bill was debated for three days in Committee of the Whole, the sittings continuing far into each night. The bill was passed on Monday, the 21st, at almost midnight, by a vote of eighty-two to forty-four, and became a law by receiving the signature of the President on the following day. It prohibited all vessels in the ports of the United States from sailing for any foreign port, except foreign ships in ballast, or with cargoes taken on board before notification of the act; and coastwise vessels were required to give heavy bonds to land their cargoes in the

¹ "The framers of our Constitution," said the President, "certainly supposed they had guarded as well their government against destruction by treason, as their citizens against oppression under pretense of it; and if these ends are not attained, it is of importance to inquire by what means more effectual they may be secured."—*Statesman's Manual*, i., 207. Jefferson, like many other sagacious men, felt at that time that the Union had barely escaped dissolution from the infamous machinations of Burr and his dupes.

² See page 129.

³ Special Message to Congress, December 18, 1807.

⁴ The President was charged with having recommended an embargo before receiving positive information of the Berlin Decree and the Orders in Council. This was a mistake. Of the former he had been informed for a week previously to his communication to Congress on the subject by an official letter from Mr. Armstrong; and on the morning of the day on which the message was sent in, the *National Intelligencer*, of Washington City, contained a paragraph from a London paper of the 10th of November, announcing the Orders in Council "awaiting his majesty's signature." Private letters had also reached him, by which he was satisfied that, by the combined action of the belligerents, the foreign commerce of the United States was utterly destroyed.

Effects of the Embargo.

Prophecy of Josiah Quincy.

Party Spirit violently aroused.

United States. What little life was left in American commerce under the pressure of the orders and decrees of the belligerents was utterly crushed out by this act.

The Embargo Act, universal in its application and unlimited in its duration, was an experiment never before tried by any nation—an attempt, by withholding intercourse from *all the world*, to so operate upon two belligerent nations as to compel them to respect the rights and accede to the claims of an injured neutral. Its professed objects were to induce France and England to relax their practical hostility to neutral commerce, and to preserve and develop the resources of the United States. But it accomplished neither. The French government viewed it as timely aid to their Continental System, and far more injurious in its effects upon Great Britain than upon France; while England, feeling that her national character and honor were at stake, and believing that she could endure the privations which the measure would inflict in both countries longer than America, proudly refused to yield a single point under the pressure of this new method of coercion. The words of Josiah Quincy became prophetic. "Let us once declare to the world," he said, "that, before our embargo policy be abandoned, the French decrees and the British orders must be revoked, and we league against us whatever spirit of honor and pride exists in both those nations. . . . No nation will be easily brought to acknowledge such a dependence on another as to be made to abandon, by a withholding of intercourse, a settled line of policy."¹

Opposition to the measure, in and out of Congress, was violent and incessant. The topic was made a strong battery from which the Federalists hurled their hottest denunciatory shot against the administration. Old party cries were again heard, and the people were startled by the bugbear of French influence in the councils of the nation. The President was charged with secret intrigues with Bonaparte for an alliance of the United States and France against Great Britain, the traditional object of hatred by the Democratic party. The suggestion alarmed intelligent men, for the history of six years had taught them that the allies of the Corsican soon became his subjects.² The New England people were taught to believe that the Embargo was the result of a combination of Western and Southern states to ruin the Eastern commonwealths; and every art which party tactics could command was brought to bear in the service of the opposition, who, as politicians, hoped, by means of the alarm, distraction, and real distress which then prevailed, to array such numbers against the dominant party that, in the election for President of the United States to be held a few months later, they might fill the Executive chair with one of their own number.

¹ Speech in Congress on the supplementary Embargo Act, February, 1808.

² In the course of debate on a supplementary Embargo Act in Congress, on the 20th of February, Gardinier denounced the whole affair as a sly, cunning measure to aid France. "Is the nation prepared for this?" he vehemently exclaimed. "To settle that point," he said to the defenders of the measure, "tell the people what your object is; tell them that you mean to take part with the 'Great Pacificator.' Else stop your present course. Do not go on forging chains to fasten us to the car of the imperial conqueror!"

"The commercial portion of the United States (I mean from Pennsylvania to New Hampshire)", wrote Timothy Pickering on the 26th of January, 1808, "are in general yet patient, because, from their unlimited confidence in the President's wisdom and patriotism, they believe that some mighty state secret induced him to recommend the Embargo. If they supposed, as I do, that it originated in the influence of France—perhaps in a concert with that government, the sooner to pull down the power of Britain—the public indignation would be roused, and our country saved from becoming the provinces of the emperor and king."

"I greatly regret the retaliating order of Great Britain; for, though it really furnishes no ground for the Embargo, it will yet be urged by the President's friends to justify it. The path of interest and common policy was plain. We should have pursued our ordinary commerce with all the British dominions, and armed our vessels against French cruisers. This would have offended Bonaparte. No matter. *While Britain maintains her own independence ours will be safe.* If she fall (which I do not believe will happen), our condition would not be worse. With arms in our hands, and a manly military spirit pervading our country, we should be respected by the conqueror; but tamely crouching, without any resistance, we should be treated, as we should deserve, with contempt, and all the indignities due to voluntary slaves."—*MS. Letter to General Ebenezer Stevens*, dated "City of Washington, January 26, 1808."

This remarkable letter, now before me, from a senator of the United States to a leading merchant of the city of New York, is cited to show, first, how powerfully partisan feelings may operate upon the opinions and judgment of a true patriot, and, secondly, how much the leading men of the country at that time considered the United States a dependent on Great Britain. "While Britain maintains her *own* independence *ours* will be safe!" The war that speedily followed dispelled that servile spirit.

Inconsistency of Politicians. Violations of the Embargo. Supplementary Acts. A young Poet's Denunciations.

That section of the Federalists known as the "Essex Junto" were the most uncompromising opponents of the administration and the Embargo; and many of those who, only two years before, had vehemently denounced Great Britain because of her persistent assaults upon the rights of neutrals, were now, in the heat of party zeal, the apologists of, and sympathizers with that government, whose aggressions had constantly increased. In the very month^a when that eminent British merchant, Alexander Baring, declared before the world that "it would be no exaggeration to say that upward of three fourths of all the merchants, seamen, etc., engaged in commerce or navigation in America, have, at some time or other, suffered from acts of our [British] cruisers,"¹ a leading Federal politician (who, two years before,^b declared, by his vote in the National Senate, that the conduct of Great Britain was "an unprovoked aggression upon the property of the citizens of the United States, a violation of their neutral rights, and an encroachment upon their national independence"), wrote to a friend that, "although England, with her thousand ships of war, could have destroyed our commerce, *she has really done it no essential injury.*"²

It was soon discovered that the Embargo Act was frequently violated by enrolled coasting vessels carrying cargoes to the West Indies, and it became necessary to pass supplementary acts to prevent such evasions of the law. It was chiefly in the debates upon these acts that the acrimony already noticed appeared. Gardinier, of New York, made the most sweeping charges of corruption, and affiliation with the "French usurper" against the majority in Congress. His violence and abuse elicited some personal attacks, and one of them so incensed him that he challenged his assailant (Campbell) to mortal combat. They met at Bladensburg. Gardinier was shot through one side of his body, but, after weeks of suffering, he recovered and came back to Congress, not a whit subdued. Disputes ran high throughout the country, and public speeches, newspapers, and pamphlets teemed with the most vehement assaults upon the dominant party.³ Many men, dreading the horrors of a war with

¹ Baring's *Inquiry*, etc.

² Timothy Pickering to James Sullivan, Governor of New Hampshire, February 16, 1808.

³ Among the few political pamphlets of that period, now extant, is a remarkable one before me, entitled *The Embargo; or, Sketches of the Times: a Satire*. It is a poem, and was written by WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT, then a lad only about thirteen years of age, who is still (1867) in active political life, and holds a front rank among the literary celebrities of the age. In rhythm, vigor of thought, and force of expression, this production of his early years gave ample assurance of the future distinction of the author as a poet and political writer.* But politics were seldom the theme for his muse after this early effusion of that nature.

In the preface he spoke of the "terrapin policy" of the administration—the policy designed by the Embargo of shutting the nation up in its own shell, as it were, like the terrapin. His epigraph, from Pope's *Essay on Satire*, contained the significant line,

"When private faith and public trust are sold."

He assailed the President and his supporters as vigorously as if his weapon had been wielded by the hand of long experience. Seriously believing that his country was in great peril, he wrote—

"Ill-fated clime! condemned to feel th' extremes
Of a weak ruler's philosophic dreams;
Driven headlong on to ruin's fateful brink,
When will thy country feel, when will she think!"

Of the Embargo he wrote—

"Curse of our nation, source of countless woes,
From whose dark womb unreckoned misery flows,
Th' Embargo rages, like a sweeping wind—
Fear lowers before, and Famine stalks behind."

Influenced by the common opinion of the opposition, he said to his countrymen—

"How foul a blot Columbia's glory stains!
How dark the scene! Infatuation reigns!
For French intrigue, which wheedles to devour,
Threatens to fix us in Napoleon's power.

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* In a notice of the second edition, with other poems, printed in 1809, the *Monthly Anthology* for June of that year said, "If the young bard has met with no assistance in the composition of this poem, he certainly bids fair, should he continue to cultivate his talent, to gain a respectable station on the Parnassian Mount, and to reflect credit on the literature of his country."

An insulting Proposition by Great Britain.

Tribute exacted from Neutral Nations.

England, which they believed the Embargo Act would evoke, preferred to give freedom to the commerce of the country, and let it provide itself against the risks that menaced it, rather than to kill it outright. Such was the feeling of many merchants; but patriotic statesmen, holding the dignity and the independence of the United States as of far more consequence than the temporary interests of trade, advocated the most stringent execution of the Embargo Act, and at the middle of ^{March 12,} ^{1808.} March^a the supplementary enactments became law.

At about the same time the British Parliament, with an air of condescension, passed an act,^b as a favor to neutrals, permitting them (United States and Sweden) to trade with France and her dependencies, on the condition that ^{March 25.} vessels engaged in such trade should first enter some British port, *pay a transit duty, and take out a license!*¹ In other words, the United States were told by England, with as much insolence and *hauteur* in fact as the Dey of Algiers ever exhibited, "Pay me tribute, and my cruisers (or corsairs) will be instructed not to plunder you." This was properly regarded as a flagrant insult—one which the British government would never have offered except to a nation supposed to be incapable of efficiently resenting it. When to this insult was added a positive injury, a few weeks later,^c in the form of instructions issued by ministers, in the name of ^{April 11.} the half-demented king, to the British naval commanders, expressly intended to induce Americans engaged in commercial pursuits to violate the blockade, the administration resolved to plant itself firmly upon that dignity and independence which a free people ought always to assert. Those instructions, so disgraceful to the British ministers, were severely condemned by every honest man in the British realm.²

Evasions of the Embargo continued, and another supplementary act, applying to the navigation of rivers, lakes, and bays, increased its stringency, and awakened new and more bitter denunciations of the measure. But the government was immovable.

Oh ne'er consent, obsequious, to advance
The willing vassal of imperious France!
Correct that suffrage you misused before,
And lift your voice above a Congress roar.

Rise, then, Columbia! heed not France's wiles,
Her bullying mandates, her seductive smiles;
Send home Napoleon's slave, and by him say
No art can lure us, and no threats dismay;
Determined yet to war with whom we will,
Choose our allies, or dare he neutral still."

I have cited the above as an example of the intensity of feeling against the administration at that time among those politically opposed to Jefferson and his party—a feeling that made even boys politicians.

¹ This was essentially a *tribute* in the form of a *duty*, more odious in principle and application than the stamp tax that aroused the American colonists in 1766. The effect may be illustrated by showing the amount of tribute which American commerce was required by the act to pay upon only two of the many articles specified, with the percentage of the tariff, namely, cotton and tobacco. The amount on a cargo of cotton, at the then current prices, costing at New Orleans \$43,500, would be subjected to a tax in some English port, before it would be allowed to depart for a French port, of \$3500. To this would be added about \$2000 more on account of other charges. A cargo of tobacco of four hundred hogsheads would be subjected to a tribute of about \$13,000. The estimated annual tribute upon tobacco alone was \$2,333,000. It was proposed to tax a great variety of American productions in the same way.

² The following is a copy of the instructions:

"George R.: Instructions to the commanders of our ships of war and privateers. Given at our Court at Windsor, the 11th day of April, 1808, in the 48th year of our reign:

"Our will and pleasure is that you do not interrupt any neutral vessel laden with lumber and provisions, and going to any of our colonies, islands, or settlements in the West Indies or South America, to whomsoever the property may appear to belong, and notwithstanding such vessel may not have regular clearances and documents on board. And in case any vessel shall be met with, and being on her due course to the alleged port of destination, an indorsement shall be made on one or more of the principal papers of such vessel, specifying the destination alleged and the place where the vessel was so visited. And in case any vessel so laden shall arrive and deliver her cargo at any of our colonies, islands, or settlements aforesaid, such vessel shall be permitted to receive her freight and to depart, either in ballast or with any goods that may be legally exported in such vessel, and to proceed to any unblockaded port, notwithstanding the present hostilities, or any future hostilities which may take place. And a passport for such vessel may be granted by the governor, or other person having the chief civil command of such colony, island, or settlement."

A British-born writer of the day, after declaring that this order was a sufficient cause of war, said, "What! one of the most potent monarchs in the world, rather than do justice to an offending nation, on which, for fourteen years, his ministers had perpetrated the most flagrant outrages, invites, and tempts, and affords facilities to its citizens to violate the laws of their country, and openly pursue the infamous trade of smuggling."—*Mathew Carey*.

The Embargo denounced as suicidal.

Dangers of National Vanity.

A notable Illustration.

It was deaf to the prayers for a repeal made in petition after petition that poured into Congress, especially from New England. A proposition for repeal, and to allow merchant vessels to arm and take care of themselves, was voted down by a large majority; and the only glimpse of light was seen through an authorization given to the President to suspend the Embargo Act, according to his discretion, in case of peace in Europe, or such changes in the policy of the belligerents as might, in his judgment, make the navigation of the seas safe to American vessels. It was in the debate on this proposition that Josiah Quincy, who had then taken a place among the acknowledged leaders of the Federal party, used the language already quoted on page 163. He denounced the whole policy as fallacious and mischievous. "The language of that policy is," he said, "'Rescind your decrees and your orders, or we will, in our wrath, abandon the ocean!' And suppose Great Britain, governed by the spirit of mercantile calculation, should reply, 'If such be your mode of vengeance, indulge it to your heart's content! It is the very thing we wish. You are our commercial rivals, and, by driving you out of the market, we shall gain more than we can lose by your retirement.' . . ."

"It is to be feared," continued Mr. Quincy, "that, having grown giddy with good-fortune, attributing the greatness of our prosperity to our own wisdom, rather than to a course of events over which we have had no influence, we are now entering that school of adversity, the first blessings of which is to chastise our overweening conceit of ourselves. A nation mistakes its relative importance and consequence in thinking that its countenance, or its intercourse, or its existence is all-important to the rest of mankind. An individual who should retire from intercourse with the world for the purpose of taking vengeance on it for some real or imaginary wrong, would, notwithstanding the delusions of self-flattery, be certainly taught that the world moved along just as well after his dignified retirement as before. Nor would the case of a nation which should make a similar trial of its consequence be very different. The intercourse of human life has its basis in a natural reciprocity, which always exists, however national or personal vanity may often suggest to inflated fancies that, in the intercourse of friendship, civilities, or business, they give more than they receive."

These were words of wisdom—words as wise and significant now as they were then. They combated a great error—an error fully exemplified in our day in the assumption of a single class of our citizens, namely, the cotton-growers. These, knowing the value of their great staple and its consequence to the civilized world, believed or asserted, before the late Civil War, that it gave them power to dictate certain lines of policy to the governments of the earth. In the madness of their error they proclaimed cotton a KING too potent for all other kings. Believing that the producers of the raw material have the consumers of it always in their power, and may bring the latter to terms at any time by cutting off the supply, they forgot the great fact that dependence is reciprocal, and that, in commercial conflicts, the producer, being the poorer party, is always the first to succumb. The events and results of the late Civil War laid bare that radical error to the full comprehension of all, as well as to acute political economists.

So it was with the Embargo. Those who expected to see great national triumphs follow that measure, which was expected to starve the English manufacturing operatives and the West India slaves, were bitterly disappointed. The evils brought upon their own national industry in various forms were far greater than those inflicted upon England or France. It had one good effect, namely, the encouragement and establishment of various manufactures in the United States, which have ever been important elements of our national independence.¹

¹ When war was declared against Great Britain in 1812, the manufacture of cotton was carried on extensively in Rhode Island. A writer in 1819 estimated the number of cotton factories built and in course of erection at that time, eastward of the Delaware River, at five hundred.

CHAPTER IX.

" Let traitors, who feel not the patriot's flame,
Talk of yielding our honor to Englishmen's sway;
No such blemish shall sully our country's fair fame:
We've no claims to surrender, nor tribute to pay.
Then, though foes gather round,
We're on Liberty's ground,
Both too wise to be trapp'd, and too strong to be bound."

SONG—EMBARGO AND PEACE.

" Where are you from?" bold Rodgers cried,
Which made the British wonder;
Then with a gun they quick replied,
Which made a noise like thunder.
Like lightning we returned the joke,
Our matches were so handy:
The Yankee bull-dogs nobly spoke
The tune of Doodle Dandy."

SONG—RODGERS AND VICTORY.



RESIDENT Jefferson's policy had been to keep the army and navy upon the cheapest footing compatible with a due regard to the public good. It was now evident that these arms of the public service must be materially strengthened, in order to secure the national safety, and the President asked Congress to augment the number and efficiency of the regular army. They did so.

The measure was opposed by the Federalists, but a bill to raise seven regiments passed by a vote of ninety-eight to sixteen. Other provisions for war followed. The sum of \$1,000,000 was placed at the disposal of the President for the erection of coast and harbor defenses. Another sum of \$300,000 was appropriated for the purchase of arms, and \$150,000 for saltpetre. The President was also authorized to call upon the governors of the several states to form an army, in the aggregate, of one hundred thousand militia, to be immediately organized, equipped, and "held in readiness to march at a moment's warning" when called for by the Chief Magistrate. He was also authorized to construct arsenals and armories at his discretion; the sum of \$200,000 was placed at his disposal for providing arms and military equipments for the whole body of the militia of the republic; and about a million of dollars were appropriated to pay the first year's expenses of the seven new regiments. The government appropriated altogether about \$5,000,000 for war purposes.¹

Efforts were made to increase the efficiency of the navy by adding to the few seamen already in the service twelve hundred and seventy-two additional men, to put on board the gun-boats then completed or in process of construction. In December² the President had been authorized to procure one hundred and eighty-eight additional gun-boats by purchase or construction, making, in all, two hundred and fifty-seven.³ Mr. Jefferson's idea appears to have been to have these

¹ The formation of new regiments brought into the service several men who became conspicuous in the War of 1812. Among them was Wade Hampton, of South Carolina, who had been in the army of the Revolution, and was now made a brigadier general. Among the colonels were Smythe and Parker, of Virginia, and Boyd, of Massachusetts. Peter Gansevoort, of New York, also of the Continental army, was made a brigadier. Zebulon Pike was promoted to major, and Winfield Scott and Zachary Taylor both took offices in the army, the former as a captain, and the latter as a lieutenant.

² The engraving on the following page shows the different forms of the gun-boats at that time. The group is made from drawings presented to me when visiting the navy yard at Gosport, opposite Norfolk, in Virginia, in the spring of

boats in readiness, properly distributed, but not actually manned until necessity should call for their being put into commission. This proposition excited much ridicule, not only among naval officers, but among the people at large.¹ The whole gun-boat system was denounced as "wasteful imbecility, called by the name of economy," and Jefferson was pointed at as a dreaming philosopher without a whit of military knowledge, as evinced when Governor of Virginia in 1781.²

There seemed to be, for reasons quite inexplicable, a most violent hostility to a navy, especially at the South. A member (Mr. Williams) from South Carolina said that he "was at a loss to find terms sufficiently expressive of his abhorrence of a navy. He would go a great deal farther to see it burned than to extinguish the fire. It was a curse to the country, and had never been any thing else. Navies had deceived the hopes of every country which had relied upon them." He affirmed that the people were willing to give commerce all the protection in their power, "but they could not provide a navy for that purpose." Others opposed a navy because it might be a measure for increasing Executive patronage; and no act was passed or appropriation



GUN-BOATS.

made, either for the employment of more men, or for the placing in commission any additional vessels, until January, 1809, when the President was directed to equip the

1863. I am indebted to Mr. James Jarvis for them. The drawings were made by one who assisted in their construction, and who was then engaged in service at Gosport.

¹ Among those who ridiculed the gun-boat system was Colonel John Trumbull, the artist. According to that system, he said, "Whenever danger shall menace any harbor, or any foreign ship shall insult us, somebody is to inform the governor, and the governor is to desire the marshal to call upon the captains of militia to call upon the drummers to beat to arms and call the militia-men together, from whom are to be *drafted* (not impressed) a sufficient number to go on board the gun-boats and drive the hostile stranger away, unless, during this long ceremonial, he should have taken himself off.—TRUMBULL'S *Reminiscences of his own Times*, page 252.

² In the political poem quoted from on page 164, the author thus alludes to Mr. Jefferson at that time:

"And then, the scorn of every patriot name,
Thy country's ruin, and her councils' shame!
Poor, servile thing! derision of the brave!
Who erst from Tarleton fled to Carter's cave;
Thou, who, when menaced by perfidious Gani,
Didst prostrate to her whiskered minion fall;
And when our cash his empty bags supplied,
Did meanly strive the foul disgrace to hide.
Go, wretch, resign the Presidential chair,
Disclose thy secret measures, foul or fair;
Go search with curious eye for horned frogs
'Mid the wild wastes of Louisiana bogs;
Or where Ohio rolls his turbid stream,
Dig for huge bones, thy glory and thy theme."

James Madison elected President.

Effect of Baring's *Inquiry*.

Opposition to the British Orders in Council.

United States, 44, *President*, 44, *Essex*, 32, and *John Adams*, 24, the latter vessel having been cut down from a frigate to a sloop of war.¹

The country was now agitated by an approaching election for President and Vice-President of the United States, and for a time the political caldron seethed violently. Early in 1808 a Democratic caucus of members of Congress nominated James Madison for President, and George Clinton for Vice-President of the republic. There was then a schism in the Democratic party, caused by the ambition of leaders. Madison, Monroe, and Clinton were each candidates for the Chief Magistrate's chair; and the Federalists, perceiving, as they thought, some chance for success in the canvass, nominated C. C. Pinckney, of South Carolina, for President, and Rufus King, of New York, for Vice-President. The result was the election of Madison and Clinton.

Meanwhile events were transpiring on both sides of the Atlantic, apparently tending to a general abandonment of the policy of the Orders, Decrees, and Embargo. The able *Inquiry* of Mr. Baring concerning the orders in Council, already cited, made a powerful impression upon the mercantile classes of England. He had fully exposed the inexpediency and injustice of the measures, and nobly vindicated the character and conduct of the Americans. Some of the late Cabinet associates of Mr. Fox denounced those orders as both inexpedient and unjust; and petitions for their repeal, numerous signed by the merchants and manufacturers of Hull, Manchester, Liverpool, and London, were presented to the House of Lords on the 17th and 21st of March,² while a bill affirming the action of the Privy Council in the matter was pending. Henry Brougham, an eminent barrister, was the advocate of the petitioners, and was heard with profound attention, on the 6th of April, in that body of peers of the realm of which, a little more than twenty years afterward, he became a distinguished member.³ Already, in the month of March, resolutions moved against them by Lords Erskine, St. John, Holland, and Lauderdale, and a protest signed by the Earls of Lauderdale, King, and Albermarle, had prepared the way for Brougham's argument. These documents contained, within their brief limits, close and sound arguments on the whole subject. The motion of Erskine discussed the illegality of the new system in a constitutional view. Lord St. John's treated of its repugnance to the law of nations. Lord Holland's set forth with great clearness its effects upon British intercourse with foreign nations; and Lord Lauderdale's motion showed its prejudicial tendency to British commerce in general. The protest of the three peers named discussed more particularly the consequences on the cotton trade.³ But the efforts of these statesmen and the array of facts set forth in the minutes of evidence taken at the bar of the House of Lords, before a Committee of the whole House, on the subject of the orders,⁴ were insufficient to move the majority, and the ministry triumphed. The bill affirming the action of the Council and making it permanent was passed, and Parliament fixed the amount of *tribute* in the form of "transit duties,"

¹ This vessel was built as a small frigate of 24 in Charleston, South Carolina. She was cut down to a sloop, then raised to a frigate; finally cut down to a sloop again, and, about the year 1830, was entirely rebuilt as a first-class ship.—Cooper's *Naval History of the United States*, ii., 116.

² This was the now (1867) venerable Lord Brougham. He had recently made London his residence, having practiced law in his native city of Edinburgh until 1807. He entered Parliament as a Whig in 1810, and was a coworker with Clarkson, Wilberforce, and Granville Sharpe in favor of the negro slave. He was the vindicator of Queen Caroline against the persecution of her infamous husband, King George the Fourth. His voice and pen were ever on the side of reform and humanity. In 1830 he became a peer, and Lord Chancellor of England. He has ever held a high place in literature, his first contributions having appeared in the *Edinburg Review*, at its commencement in 1802. In his several departments of labor as philosopher, law reformer, statesman, and critic, he has ever stood pre-eminent. He has resided much at Cannes, in France, during his later years, on account of ill health.

During the late Civil War in America, Lord Brougham wrote and spoke in favor of the insurgents, who were fighting for the perpetuation of the slave system which he had opposed all his life, and against the government whose most zealous adherents were avowed Abolitionists.

³ According to the statement of that protest, the amount of cotton wool exported to England from the United States in 1807 was "250,000 bags, amounting, at £12 per bag, to the value of £3,000,000.

⁴ Printed, with the motions and protest alluded to, and an abstract of Brougham's speech, in a thin volume of about two hundred pages.

just referred to, which neutrals must pay to England for permission to navigate the ocean without fear of sea-robbers.

Napoleon, inspired by the keenest sagacity, expressed his approbation of the Embargo. He was then in Spain, ostensibly for the purpose of crushing royal intrigues for the good of the people, but really in preparing a throne for his brother Joseph.

Murat, with a competent force, occupied Madrid in March,^a and in June Joseph

^a 1808. was declared by the Emperor to be King of Spain. From Bayonne, in March, Napoleon issued a decree directing the seizure and confiscation of all American vessels in France, or which might arrive there; and when Minister Armstrong remonstrated, he was given to understand that the Emperor expected the Embargo to be *full and perfect*. "No American vessel," said the French minister craftily, "can be *lawfully* abroad since the passage of the Embargo Act; and those pretending to be such must be either English, or, if American, vessels which come under the ban of the Milan Decree because of subserviency to the British orders. The Emperor well knew that there were a large number of American vessels afloat which, under the temptation of immense profits, were sailing under British licenses; and others were evading French prohibitions by forged documents, which indicated that they had come directly from America. This leak in his Continental System Napoleon was determined to stop, and for that purpose his Bayonne Decree was effectual."

The Spaniards resisted the attempts of Napoleon to place his brother on their throne, and there was a general uprising of the Dons. The whole Spanish Peninsula and the Spanish colonies in Central and South America were thrown open to British commerce, and by so much weakened the effect of the American Embargo on that commerce. A repeal of the orders in Council as they related to Spain, and also to Portugal, whose royal family had lately fled to Brazil and opened a vast country there, immediately followed. On the receipt of intelligence concerning these facts, petitions from several maritime towns in the United States were sent to the President, praying for a suspension of the Embargo Act as to Spain and Portugal; but he declined, saying, "To have submitted our rightful commerce to prohibitions and tributary exactions from others would have been to surrender our independence. To resist them by arms was war, without consulting the state of things or the choice of the nation." He contended that the Embargo, "besides saving to our citizens their property, and our mariners to their country," gave time for the belligerent nations to revise a conduct as contrary to their interests as it was to our rights. As to Spain, he wisely suggested that her resistance might not prove (as it did not) effectual.

But the President had already taken some measures in the direction of repeal. As

^b April 31. early as the close of April^b he had sent instructions to Pinkney in London, and Armstrong in Paris, authorizing them to offer a repeal of the Embargo on certain conditions. To England such repeal was offered on condition of her recalling her orders in Council. To France Armstrong appears to have offered, in addition to a repeal of the Embargo Act, a declaration of war against Great Britain in the event of her not recalling her offensive orders after the Emperor should have withdrawn his Berlin, Milan, and Bayonne decrees.¹

Canning spoke for his government in a very courteous but extremely sarcastic note, assuring Mr. Pinkney of the kindly feeling of his majesty toward the United States, but expressing his unwillingness to change the policy involved in those orders, under the present aspect of the case. He could not see the impartiality of the Em-

¹ Armstrong's instructions said, "Should she [France] set the example of revocation, Great Britain would be obliged, either by following it, to restore to France the full benefit of neutral trade, which she needs, or, by persevering in her obnoxious orders after the pretext for them had ceased, to render collision with the United States inevitable."

Pinkney's instructions said, "Should the French government revoke so much of its decrees as violate our neutral rights, or give explanations and assurances having the like effect, and entitling it, therefore, to a removal of the Embargo as it applies to France, it will be impossible to view a perseverance of Great Britain in her retaliatory orders in any other light than that of war, without even the pretext now assumed by her."

Canning's offensive Letter. Pinkney's Opinion of the Embargo. Silence of Napoleon. Opposition to the Embargo.

bargo which Mr. Pinkney claimed;¹ nor did his majesty feel inclined to recall his orders while the proclamation of the President concerning the interdiction of British ships of war in American waters remained in full force.² He alluded to the timeliness of the Embargo in assisting France in her blockade of Europe, but expressed an unwillingness to believe that the Americans intended, or could have any interest in "the subversion of the British power."³ The letter concluded with a hope that a perfect understanding between the two governments might be maintained. But its tone was so ironical—so disingenuous and uncandid—so full of the spirit of a selfish strong man in his dealings with a weak one, that it irritated the American minister to whom it was addressed, and the administration that made the overture, not a little.

Mr. Pinkney expressed his views strongly against a repeal of the Embargo Act in a letter to Mr. Madison. "The spirit of monopoly," he said, "has seized the people and government of this country. We shall not, under any circumstances, be tolerated as rivals in navigation and trade. . . . If we persevere we must gain our purpose at last. By complying with the policy of the moment we shall be lost. By a quiet and systematic adherence to principle we shall find the end of our difficulties. The Embargo and the loss of our trade are deeply felt here, and will be felt with more severity every day. The wheat harvest is likely to be alarmingly short, and the state of the Continent will augment the evil. The discontents among their manufacturers are only quieted for a moment by temporary causes. Cotton is rising, and will soon be scarce. Unfavorable events on the Continent will subdue the temper, unfriendly to wisdom and justice, which now prevails here. But, above all, the world will, I trust, be convinced that our firmness is not to be shaken. Our measures have not been without effect. They have not been decisive, because we have not been thought capable of persevering in self-denial—if that can be called *self-denial* which is no more than prudent abstinence from destruction and dishonor."

The French Emperor maintained an ominous silence on the subject. He made no response to Armstrong's proposition, and this reticence was quite as offensive as Canning's irony. "We have somewhat overrated our means of coercion," Armstrong wrote to the Secretary of State.⁴ "Here it is not felt; and in England, August 21,
1808. amid the more recent and interesting events of the day, it is forgotten. I hope, unless France shall do us justice, we shall raise the Embargo, and make, in its stead, the experiment of an armed commerce. Should she adhere to her wicked and foolish measures, there is much more besides that we can do; and we ought not to omit doing all we can, because it is believed here that we can not do much, and even that we will not do what little we can."

At home the Embargo Act met with the most violent opposition in various forms. It was talked against and acted against, especially by the leaders of the opposition in the Eastern States. They excited a very strong sectional feeling by calling it

¹ "If considered as a measure of impartial hostility against both belligerents," wrote Mr. Canning, "the Embargo appears to his majesty to have been manifestly unjust, as, according to every principle of justice, the redress ought to have been first sought from the party originating the wrong. And his majesty can not consent to buy off that hostility, which America ought not to have extended to him, at the expense of a concession made, not to America, but to France."

² Alluding to the failure of Rose's mission in regard to the affair of the *Chesapeake*, Mr. Canning, with singular unfairness, remarked, speaking of the President's proclamation which that affair drew forth concerning British vessels of war, "The continuance of an interdiction which, under such circumstances, amounts so nearly to direct hostility, after the willingness professed, and the attempt made by his majesty to remove the cause on which that measure had been originally founded, would afford but an inauspicious omen for the commencement of a system of mutual conciliation; and the omission of any notice of that measure in the proposal which Mr. Pinkney has been instructed to bring forward, would have been of itself a material defect in the overture of the President."

³ "By some unfortunate concurrence of circumstances," said Mr. Canning sarcastically, "without any hostile intention, the American Embargo *did* come in aid of the 'blockade of the European Continent' precisely at the very moment when, if that blockade could have succeeded at all, this interposition of the American government would most effectually have contributed to its success."

These words of Canning were caught up by the opposition in America as additional evidence that the administration were playing into the hands of Napoleon, and the old cry of "French party" was vigorously revived for a while.

sometimes a "Virginia measure," at others a "Southern measure," and at all times a "subserviency to French dictation." They declared that it was a blow aimed intentionally at the prosperity of New England, she having greatly the preponderance in commercial and navigating interests; and that, while the whole country felt the injury inflicted by the Embargo Act more than England or France, that injury fell mostly upon the Eastern States. This deceptive statement, made chiefly for political effect, was contradicted by the commercial statistics of the United States.¹

Infractions of the Embargo were open and frequent all along the New England coast, for the magistrates winked at them; and smuggling became so general, especially by way of Lake Champlain, that the first active services of the newly-created army were enforcements of the laws on the Northern frontier, under the direction of Wilkinson, while gun-boats were sent into several of the Eastern ports for the same purpose. The leaders of the opposition, hoping to break down the Democratic party, made the Embargo Law as odious as possible, cast obstacles in the way of its execution, and used every means to induce England to believe that it was so unpopular that it would be speedily repealed in the face of the continuance of her orders in Council. "They are now playing a game," the President wrote, "of the most mischievous tendency, without perhaps being themselves aware of it. They are endeavoring to convince England that we suffer more from the Embargo than they do, and if they will but hold out a while we must abandon it. It is true, the time will come when we must abandon it. But if this is before the repeal of the orders in Council, we must abandon it only for a state of war. The day is not distant when that will be preferable to a longer continuance of the Embargo. But we can never remove that, and let our vessels go out and be taken under these orders, without making reprisals. Yet this is the very state of things which these Federal monarchists are endeavoring to bring about; and in this it is but too possible they may succeed. But the fact is, if we have war with England, it will be solely produced by these manœuvres."²

An "Anglican party," a mere political myth in former years, was now a practical reality.³

Another form of opposition to the Embargo was a declaration of several eminent lawyers of Massachusetts that it was unconstitutional; and very soon the doctrine of the Virginia nullifiers, as put forth in the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of 1798, so decidedly condemned by the Federalists as tending directly to disunion, was speedily proclaimed by that same party all over New England as being orthodox. When it was known that the party was defeated, and that Madison was elected President, the unpatriotic cry of disunion was heard throughout New England, in the deceptive accents of proclamations that a state, as such, has a right to declare void any act of the National Congress that might be deemed unconstitutional. That doctrine was as boldly proclaimed in the Eastern States as it had been in Virginia and the South ten years before.⁴ The arguments used by the Virginia nullifiers and secessionists in

¹ According to official tables, the value of the exports of the United States from 1791 to 1813 was \$1,848,047,000. Of this amount the exports of the Eastern, Middle, and Southern States were in value as follows:

Five Eastern States	\$299,192,000
Four Middle States	534,706,000
Six Southern States and District of Columbia	609,089,000

or for the New England States less than one fourth of the whole amount.

² Jefferson to Dr. Lieb, of Philadelphia, June 23, 1808.

³ The following clause in a resolution adopted at a public meeting in Topsfield, Massachusetts, on the 15th of January, 1807, expressed the sentiments, and illustrated the actions of a large class of Americans at that time: "This assembly can not refrain from expressing its conviction that neither the honor nor the permanent interests of the United States require that we should drive Great Britain, if it were in our power, to the surrender of those claims [right of search, impress, and confiscation] so essential to her in the mighty conflict in which she is at present engaged—a conflict interesting to humanity, to morals, to religion, and the last struggle of liberty."

⁴ A memorial from the town of Bath, in Maine, to the Massachusetts Legislature, dated December 27, 1808, contained the following resolution: "That a respectful address be forwarded in the name of the people of this town to the Legislature of this commonwealth, stating to them the wrongs and grievances we already suffer, and the painful apprehen-

The dangerous Weapons of Party Strife.

State Sovereignty proclaimed in New England.

An Enforcing Act.

1798 against the Alien and Sedition laws were used in New England in 1808 against the Embargo laws. Happily we are far enough removed from the din of that old conflict of parties to view the contest dispassionately, and perceive that we can, with just charity, declare that these New England leaders were no more real disunionists at heart than were Jefferson and Madison, and that both parties, having confidence in the people, ventured to use dangerous weapons in their partisan strife for the supremacy, feeling, as Jefferson said in his inaugural address, already cited, that there was safety in tolerating a great error "when reason is left free to combat it."

The second session of the Tenth Congress was commenced on the 7th of November,^a and, at the earliest possible moment after the organization, the opposition opened their batteries upon the Embargo in various forms. In both houses motions for a repeal or modification of the act were presented, and long and warm debates ensued. But in both houses there was a decided majority in favor of sustaining the measure, and these were supported by resolutions in favor of the Embargo passed by the Legislatures of New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. The whole country was agitated by the discussion of the question, and in private and public assemblies the great incubus upon commerce was the topic which occupied all minds, and shaped the tenor of general conversation.

The history of parties, their tactics and manœuvres, their struggles and animosities at that time, bearing as they do, more or less directly, upon the subject of this volume, form a very interesting chapter in the chronicles of the nation for the student of our history. Our plan and space do not admit of even an outline narrative of those purely partisan conflicts, and we must pass on to a rapid consideration of events which speedily caused war between the United States and Great Britain.

The policy of the administration being fully sustained, more stringent measures for enforcing the Embargo were adopted. The Enforcing Act, as it was called, caused such opposition and exasperation in New England, that action among the people and in State Legislatures assumed the aspect of incipient rebellion. Then it was that disunion sentiments, just alluded to, were freely uttered in nearly all the region eastward of the longitude of the Hudson River. Many wise men began to regard civil war as possible, if not inevitable. Some weak-kneed members of the administration party in Congress were disturbed by the mutterings of the thunder indicating an approaching

sions we experience of speedily having our calamity increased by the addition of still more restrictive and arbitrary laws; expressing to them our approbation of the measures they have already adopted upon the subject, and requesting them to take such other immediate steps for relieving the people, either by themselves alone or in concert with other commercial states, as the extraordinary circumstances of our situation require."

In Gloucester, Massachusetts, a town meeting resolved, on the 12th of January, 1809, "that to our state government we look for counsel, protection, and relief at this awful period of general calamity."

The people of Boston, in a memorial dated January 25, 1809, said: "Our hope and consolation rest with the Legislature of our state, to whom it is competent to devise means of relief against the unconstitutional measures of the general government; that your power is adequate to this object is evident from the organization of the confederacy."

The opposition press uttered many violent and inflammatory appeals to the people. A hand-bill was circulated in Newburyport which contained the following sentences: "Let every man who holds the name of America dear to him stretch forth his hand and put this accursed thing, the EMBARGO, from him. Be resolute; act like the sons of liberty, of God, and of your country; nerve your arms with VENGEANCE against the DESPOT who would wrest the inestimable gem of your independence from you, and you shall be conquerors!"

"We know," said the *Boston Repertory*, "if the Embargo be not removed, our citizens will ere long set its penalties and restrictions at defiance. It behooves us to speak, for strike we must if speaking does not answer."

"It is better to suffer the amputation of a limb [meaning the severance of New England from the Union"], said the *Boston Gazette*, "than to lose the whole body. We must prepare for the operation. Wherefore, then, is New England asleep? Wherefore does she submit to the oppression of enemies in the South? Have we no Moses who is inspired by the God of our fathers, and will lead us out of Egypt?"

"This perpetual Embargo," said Russell, in the *Boston Centinel*, "being unconstitutional, every man will perceive that he is not bound to regard it, but may send his produce or merchandise to a foreign market in the same manner as if the government had never undertaken to prohibit it. If the petitions do not produce a relaxation or removal of the Embargo, the people ought to immediately assume a higher tone. The government of Massachusetts has also a duty to perform. The state is still sovereign and independent."

The above passages have been cited to give an idea of the state of public feeling under the pressure of the Embargo. Never had the patriotism of the people greater temptations than at the gloomy period of utter commercial stagnation or ruinous fluctuation from 1808 to 1812, inclusive of those years.

Embargo or War the proclaimed Alternative. Quincy lashes the War Party. Effects of his Denunciations.

tempest, and, for the purpose of pacifying the discontented people, the majority passed
 * January 19, 1809. an act^a appointing the last Monday in May following as the time for the
 assembling of the new Congress, when a repeal of the Embargo would
 occur, and the alternative of war with Great Britain be accepted.



Josiah Quincy

partisans of the administration. "If the intention had been," he said, "to unite the nation as one man against a foreign enemy, is not this the last policy which any administration ought ever to have adopted? Is not a party army the most dreadful and detestable of all engines, the most likely to awaken suspicions and to inspire discontent?" He then sneered at the idea of going to war with England—the great maritime power of the world—with "but one frigate and five sloops in commission," while the administration had not "resolution enough to meet the expenses of the paltry little navy rotting in the Potomac!"

Quincy's lash stirred up a strong war feeling throughout the Democratic party, and stimulated the administration to more vigorous efforts for increasing the army and navy. The Southern members, with Williams, of South Carolina, at their head,

This postponement of the repeal and the expressed intention of going to war called forth from Quincy,^b the Federal leader in the lower House, a most withering, denunciatory speech—a speech that stung the dominant party to the quick, and rankled like a thorn for a long time. He treated their assertion that war would be the alternative of repeal with the most bitter scorn. He had heard enough of that "eternal clamor," he said, and, if he could help it, the old women of the country should no longer be frightened by the unsubstantial bugbear. He taunted them with cowardice, and declared his conviction that no insult, however gross, that might be offered by France or Great Britain, could force the majority into a declaration of war. "To use a coarse but common expression," he said, "they could not be kicked into a war." He declared that all the officers for the new army were

^a Josiah Quincy was born in Boston, Massachusetts, on the 4th of February, 1772. He was educated at Harvard University, in Cambridge, where he was graduated in 1790. He entered upon the practice of the law in Boston. In 1804 he was elected to a seat in the National Congress, and held that position eight successive years. In 1813 he declined a reelection. He was chosen a senator from Suffolk, and was a representative in the upper House of the Legislature of Massachusetts for four successive years. He was speaker of the lower House in 1820, and the following year was appointed judge of the Municipal Court of Boston. In 1823 he was chosen mayor of that city, and held the office six consecutive years, when he declined a re-election. He was chosen President of Harvard University in 1829, and held that honorable position until his resignation in 1846, from which time he enjoyed leisure in private life, but always^c actively alive to events around.

^b Mr. Quincy was an author of reputation, his most considerable works being *A History of Harvard University*, in two volumes, with illustrations by his daughter; *Memoirs of his father (Josiah Quincy)* and others; *A Memorial History of Boston*, etc. Mr. Quincy lived until the 2d day of July, 1864, when he died at his country seat in Quincy, Massachusetts, in the ninety-third year of his age. He and the late Lord Lyndhurst (son of Copley, the painter) were born in Boston on the same night, and the same physician attended both mothers.

^c The writer visited him when he was in his sixtieth year, and had the pleasure and profit of his conversation concerning past days; and when he spoke of having a distinct recollection of being carried out of Boston by way of the British fortifications on the Neck in 1778, and undergoing a purification by sulphur vapor on account of small-pox in the city, I seemed to be talking with a patriarch indeed—a man whose memory embraced the stirring events of much of the two centuries. He was born at the opening of the just rebellion of a great people against real tyranny, and lived to speak patriotic words in condemnation of a most unrighteous rebellion of a few demagogues against, as one of their number had but recently said, "the most beneficent government on the face of the earth."

Cotton supposed to be King of Commerce.

Non-intercourse Act.

Signs of Reconciliation.

vehemently opposed every expenditure for the navy. That violent sectionalist, with the shallowness and selfishness of his class, could perceive no other American interest but that of *cotton* worth fighting for or preserving. The "transit duty" imposed upon neutral merchandise by a late action of the British government was the chief object of his ire and assault, and because of that measure he was eager to go to war. Dazzled by the increase of the cotton trade, he believed that product of Carolina to be the King of Commerce, around which all other interests should revolve as satellites or courtiers. "The great staple," he said, "of the country—cotton—worth more than any two others, is coerced into Great Britain, and is absolutely prohibited from re-exportation altogether. . . . You are to raise cotton to carry to the British dominions, and nowhere else! What does this amount to? Any thing short of the assumption of the sovereignty of the soil? And yet gentlemen can not see any cause of war! All the objections made to war with Great Britain—want of revenue, want of ships, want of objects of attack, destruction of commerce, danger to our liberties from standing armies—are nothing but disguises for want of patriotism, and contemptible cowardice."

Yet, when Joseph Story, the afterward eminent jurist, with a broader statesmanship, a wiser forecast, and a true national patriotism, suggested a fleet of fifty fast-sailing frigates for the protection of *all* the industrial interests of the United States, and the support of the dignity and independence of the government, scarcely a man was to be found from the region southward of the Delaware to second his views; and Williams declared that if the rights of America were only so to be saved, he was for abandoning them at once. "Impatient as he was to fight for the rights of the cotton-growers, he had not the least idea of going to war for the rights of ship-owners. While urging the navigating interest to submit quietly to destruction, in hopes of forcing a wider market for cotton, he declaimed with the most perfect unconsciousness about the *self-sacrifice of the South and the selfishness of the North!*"¹—a most untruthful and ungenerous assertion, which has been constantly repeated ever since by unscrupulous demagogues for selfish purposes, to the material injury of the whole country, and especially of the slave-labor states.

The outside pressure upon the administration against the Embargo Act became too great for resistance, and on the 1st of March, 1809, it was repealed. As a pacific countervailing measure, to induce the European belligerents to respect the rights of neutrals, a Non-intercourse Act was passed, by which the commerce of America was opened to all the world except to England and France, and British and French ships of war were equally excluded prospectively from American ports. This measure was denounced by the opposition with more bitterness, if possible, than the Embargo Act. It was declared to be actual war in disguise—a cowardly obedience to French mandates—an attempt to produce hostilities with Great Britain at the instigation and for the benefit of Napoleon. Strange as it may appear to us, this foolish bugbear—this Gallic mask of demagogues for disturbing the nerves of the timid—was still effective, and the country was so agitated by the alarmists that the paralysis of industry continued. The wings of partially-released commerce fluttered timidly in harbors, because its imagination pictured whole beavies of war-hawks abroad.

Relief soon came, and the doves of peace whitened the horizon. For some time the administration, persuaded of the incompetence of the Embargo to effect its intended purposes, had been unofficially negotiating with Mr. Erskine, the British minister resident at Washington, for a settlement of the disputes between the two governments, and Mr. Madison took the Presidential chair on the 4th of March, vacated by Mr. Jefferson, with a sanguine expectation that the beginning of his administration would be signalized by some promise of peace and prosperity for his country.

¹ Hildreth's *History of the United States*, Second Series, III., 126.

Mr. Erskine's Proposition.

A just Arrangement.

General Satisfaction.

Disappearance of Party Strife.



James Madison

Mr. Erskine had made such representations to his government that Mr. Canning instructed him to offer to propose to the Americans a reciprocal repeal of all the prohibitory laws upon certain conditions. But these conditions were so partial to England—requiring the Americans to submit to the detested "rule of 1756," and to allow British cruisers to capture all American vessels attempting to trade with France—that they were rejected. But an arrangement was speedily made, by which, upon the orders in Council being recalled, the President should issue a proclamation declaring a restoration of commercial intercourse with Great Britain, but leaving all restrictive laws against France in full force. Mr. Erskine offered, in addition, reparation for the insult and injury in the case of the *Chesapeake*, and also assured the American government that Great Britain would immediately send over an envoy extraordinary "invested with full powers

to conclude a treaty on all points of the relations between the two governments."

This arrangement was completed on the 18th of April.^a On the following day the Secretary of State received a note from Mr. Erskine, saying, "I am authorized to declare that his majesty's orders in Council of January and November, 1807, will have been withdrawn, as respects the United States, on the tenth day of June next." On the same day President Madison (only forty-four days after his in-

^a April 19. auguration) issued a proclamation^b declaring that trade with Great Britain might be renewed after the tenth day of the following June.¹

This proclamation was hailed with the greatest joy throughout the United States as an omen of brighter days. The voice of partisan strife was hushed, and President Madison was lauded as the representative of the whole American people, and not of a party only. He was toasted and praised by the Federalists, invited to their feasts, and hailed as a Washingtonian worthy of all confidence. The foolish idea of "French influence" was dispelled, and every body indulged in millennial anticipations. England was lauded for her generosity and magnanimity, and in the House of Representatives John Randolph offered the following resolution on the 2d of May: "*Resolved*, That the promptitude and frankness with which the President of the United States has met the overtures of the government of Great Britain toward a restoration of harmony and freer commercial intercourse between the two nations meet the approbation of this House." The warmest Federalists supported the resolution, and a contemporary says that the praise of the President by his former political enemies was so universal that "the Democrats grew jealous. They were afraid of losing the attachment of the President, whose election they had made such exertions to secure."

The joy of the Americans was brief. On the 31st of July Mr. Erskine communicated to the President the mortifying fact that his government had refused to affirm his arrangement. This refusal was made ostensibly because the minister had exceed-

¹ After the usual preamble citing the action between the government and "the Honorable David Montague Erskine, his majesty's envoy extraordinary," he said, "Now, therefore, I, James Madison, President of the United States, do hereby proclaim, that the orders in Council aforesaid will have been withdrawn on the said tenth day of June next: after which day the trade of the United States with Great Britain, as suspended by the act of Congress above mentioned, an act laying an embargo on all ships and vessels in the ports and harbors of the United States, and the several acts supplementary thereto, may be renewed."

Erskine's Arrangements repudiated by his Government.	The supposed Reasons.	Party Rancor again revived.
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ed his instructions, and was not authorized to make any such arrangement. It was charged that this was not the true reason, because the arrangement as made was perfectly just to both parties, and more favorable to England than to the United States. To America it offered simply a repeal of the orders in Council and atonement for the outrage on the *Chesapeake*; to England it offered a restoration of all the advantages of a vast and valuable commerce, and a continuance of non-intercourse between the United States and France. The most plausible conjectures for the disavowal of an arrangement so desirable were, first, that the implied censure of the British government respecting the conduct of Admiral Berkeley, contained in one of the letters of the Secretary of State to Mr. Erskine,¹ so irritated the old monarch, who had always hated the Americans, that he refused his assent; secondly, that the recent violent proceedings in New England in relation to the enforcement of the Embargo Act deceived the British ministry into the belief that the American government would be compelled by popular clamor to repeal the Embargo, and leave England's restrictive policy unimpaired. To the comprehension of the writer, the true reason for the rejection may be found in the fact that such an arrangement would interfere in a deep-laid scheme to break up the American Union, by fomenting sectional antagonisms based chiefly upon the clashing of apparently diverse interests. Two years later it was discovered that the British authorities in Canada had an accredited agent in Boston for that purpose, the British government ignorantly supposing the opposition of the Federalists to be real disloyalty.² Whatever may have been the true reason for the rejection, the historical fact remains that England spurned the olive-branch so confidently offered. The orders in Council stood unrepealed, Mr. Erskine was recalled,³ and a proclamation of the President of the United States, dated 9th of August, 1809, declared the Non-intercourse Act to be again in full force in regard to Great Britain. The British government also issued orders to protect from capture such American vessels as had left the United States in consequence of the President's proclamation of April preceding.

The blessings of the opposition, so freely showered upon the administration when the blossoms of May and the leaves of June were unfolding, returned to their bosoms, and at the season of the harvest-moon curses flowed out as freely. It was charged that Madison and his Cabinet were acquainted with Canning's instructions to Erskine; that they knew the latter had exceeded his instructions, and that there was no expectation of the arrangement being confirmed by the British government; and that the whole affair was a pitiful trick of the administration to cast the odium of continued restrictions upon commerce from their own shoulders upon that of the British ministry. The partisan war was soon revived in all its rancor.

Francis James Jackson, who had been the British minister at Copenhagen in 1807, succeeded Mr. Erskine. He was an unscrupulous diplomat, and, because of his complicity in the unwarrantable attack by British land and naval forces upon the capital of Denmark in early September, 1807, he was known as "Copenhagen Jackson."⁴ The

¹ Secretary Robert Smith, in a letter to Mr. Erskine on the 17th of April, said, "I have it in express charge from the President to state that, while he forbears to insist on a farther punishment of the offending officer, he is not the less sensible of the justice and utility of such an example, nor the less persuaded that it would best comport with what is due from his Britannic majesty to his own honor."

² For an account of this matter, see Chapter XI. of this work.

³ Mr. Erskine was the eldest son of the celebrated English orator and lord chancellor. In the year 1800 he married the daughter of General John Cadwalader, of Philadelphia, with whom he lived until 1843, when she died. His eldest son he named Thomas Americus, and is still living, I believe, the successor to his father's title. In 1848 Lord Erskine married again. This wife died in April, 1851, and he again married in December, 1852. His last wife was the widow of Thomas Calderwood Durham, Esq., of Largo and Palton. He had children only by his first wife. He succeeded to his father's titles in 1823. He was educated for the law at Trinity College, Cambridge, but was much of his life in diplomatic service. He was British envoy at Washington from 1806 to 1810, and afterward represented his country at the courts of Wurtemberg and Bavaria. In 1848 he retired from public life, and died on the 19th of March, 1855.

⁴ The British government strongly suspected that Denmark would acquiesce in the dictates of the French emperor, and become the ally of the conqueror. If so, the Danish fleet would fall into his hands, and England's life might be imperiled. She therefore sent a formidable armament to the Baltic, accompanied by Jackson as envoy extraordinary, to negotiate with the Danish government, the basis of which was an English protectorate of Danish neutrality, on condi-

"Copenhagen Jackson" and his Misconduct. Proposed Revocation of the French Decrees. Napoleon on Armstrong.

infamy of that affair made every person connected with it odious to the people of the United States. It was a foul blot upon the boasted civilization and Christianity of Great Britain; and the sending of Jackson, who had been a conspicuous actor in the tragedy, as minister to Washington while causes for serious irritation between the two governments existed, was regarded as a meditated insult by the extreme members of the dominant party.

Jackson was received with cool courtesy, but his deportment soon excited the thorough dislike of those with whom he came in contact. He was insolent, irritable, and quarrelsome. He had an unbounded admiration of the greatness of the people he represented, and a corresponding contempt for the people he had been sent to. He regarded the Americans as an inferior people, and treated the officers of government with the *hauteur* which he had practiced toward weak and bleeding Denmark when he negotiated with her at the mouths of British cannon. His manners were so offensive that, after the second verbal conference with him, Secretary Smith refused any farther correspondence except in writing. The insolent diplomat was offended, and wrote an impudent letter to the secretary. He was soon informed that no farther communications would be received from him. Disappointed and angry, he left Washington, with every member of his diplomatic family, and retired to New York.¹ The American government requested his recall, and early in 1810 he was summoned back to England. But his government manifested the greatest indifference as to its relations with the United States. The request for his recall was received with the most perfect coolness, and no other minister was sent to Washington until early in 1811.

In the early part of 1810,² the President received intimations from abroad
* March. that a way was probably opened for a repeal of the restrictive orders and decrees. M. de Champagny (Duke de Cadore), the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, in a letter to Minister Armstrong, said that if England would revoke her blockade against France, the latter would revoke her Berlin Decree.² Minister Pinkney, still in London, on receiving this information, approached the British ministry on the subject, and he expressed to his own government his hope that the restrictive measures of the belligerents would be speedily removed.³ To aid in negotiations to that effect, Congress, on the 1st of May, 1810, repealed the Non-intercourse and Non- importation laws, and substituted an act excluding both British and French armed vessels from the waters of the United States. It farther provided that, in case either Great Britain or France should so revoke or modify its acts before the 3d of March,

tion that its fleet should be deposited in British ports until the termination of the war with France. The Danish government rejected this degrading proposal, and claimed the rights of a neutral, independent nation, whereupon the British armament of twenty-seven sail of the line, and twenty thousand land troops, under the respective commands of Admiral Gambier and Lord Cathcart, attacked Copenhagen. The splendid cathedral, many public buildings and private houses, were destroyed, and with them two thousand lives. The city was on fire from the 2d until the 5th of September. A great part of the city was consumed, when a flag of truce was displayed by the Danish commander. The Danish fleet and a large quantity of naval stores were surrendered. But the indignant Danish government refused to ratify the capitulation, and issued a declaration of war against England. Russia, indignant at the shameful treatment of Denmark, also declared war against England, and issued a manifesto on the 30th of October ordering the destruction of all British ships and property.

¹ Jackson found a residence in the city too uncomfortable, on account of the detestation in which he was held, and he took up his abode at Claremont, the seat of the Post family, at the present Manhattanville, now Jones's Hotel, a fashionable place of resort.

² See letter of Armstrong to the Secretary of State, January, 1810, in *American State Papers*. The manner of the correspondence of Minister Armstrong with the French government at this time appears to have excited the hot displeasure of the Emperor, who wrote to M. de Champagny on the 19th of January, 1810, as follows:

"MONSIEUR DUC DE CADORE,—You must see the minister from America. It is beyond all ridiculous that he writes of things that one does not comprehend. I prefer that he should write in English, but at length, and in a manner that we can understand. How is it that in affairs so important he contents himself with writing letters of four lines? Speak to the secretary who is here; speak also to the secretary who is about arriving from America. Send by a courier extraordinary a dispatch in cipher to make them understand that that government is not represented here; that its minister don't understand French—is a morose man, with whom one can not deal; that all obstacles would be removed if we had an envoy to talk with. Write in detail on the matter. Let me know what effect the letter from Altenburg has had in the United States—what has been done, and what is proposed. Write to America in such manner that the President may know what a fool has been sent here.

³ Letter of Pinkney to the Secretary of State, February 28, 1810, in *American State Papers*.

The Berlin and Milan Decrees revoked.

The British Orders in Council maintained.

1811, as that they should cease to violate the neutral commerce of the United States, and if the other nation should not, within three months thereafter, in like manner revoke or modify its edicts, the provisions of the Non-intercourse and Non-importation laws should, at the expiration of the three months, be revived against the nation neglecting or refusing to comply.

When this act was communicated to the French government, M. de Champagny addressed a note to Minister Armstrong, dated 5th of August, 1810, officially declaring that "the decrees of Berlin and Milan are revoked, and that after the first day of the following November they will cease to have effect; it being understood that, in consequence of this declaration, the English shall revoke their orders in Council, and renounce the new principles of blockade which they have wished to establish, or that the United States, conformably to their law, will cause their rights to be respected by the English." This was explicit, and the President doubted not it was sincere. Therefore, in accordance with the provisions of the act of the 1st of May, he issued a proclamation on the 2d of November announcing this revocation of the French decrees, and declaring the discontinuance, on the part of the United States, of all commercial restrictions in relation to France and her dependencies. On the same day the Secretary of the Treasury issued an order to all collectors of the customs to act in conformity with the President's proclamation, but to enforce against English war vessels, and against her commerce, the law of May^a after the 2d of the following February, unless, meanwhile, information should be received by the President of the revocation of her orders in Council. ^a May 1, 1810.

The United States had been made to doubt Gallic faith. Professing to be indignant at what seemed to be partiality shown to England by the Americans in their restrictive acts, Bonaparte had caused the seizure and confiscation of many American vessels and their cargoes. Armstrong remonstrated from time to time, and finally, when notified that a large number of these vessels were to be sold, he presented a vigorous protest,^b and recapitulated the many aggressions which American commerce had suffered from French cruisers. This just remonstrance was ^b March 10. ungenerously responded to by a decree, issued by the Emperor from Rambouillet on the 23d of March, 1810, which declared that "all American vessels which should enter French ports, or ports occupied by French troops, should be seized and sequestered." Under this decree, many American vessels and millions of American property were seized. But it was supposed that the proclamation of the President on the 2d of November would annul these hostile proceedings, and release the vessels. On the contrary, the French government simply suspended the causes in the Council of Prizes^c until February, 1811, in order to ascertain whether the United States would enforce the proclamation of November against Great Britain. ^c December 25. At the same time the French government abstained from furnishing the American government with formal official evidence of any decree relating to the revocation of former edicts, and the whole matter rested upon the simple letter of the Duke of Cadore (Champagny) to Mr. Armstrong.^d ^d August 5.

Great Britain took advantage of this fact, and resisted the application to rescind her orders, on the ground that she was furnished with no evidence that the decrees had been rescinded, because the French government had never promulgated any edict for this revocation. But she had the evidence of the French minister's explicit declaration, on which the action of the United States government was based, as well as a general order of the French government to the Director General of Customs^e not to apply the Berlin and Milan Decrees to American vessels entering French ports after the 1st of November, 1810. These official ^e December 25. declarations of the French government were sufficient for the United States, and should have been for Great Britain, for, if faith could not have been placed in them, decrees from the same source would have had little value. But France and England

England and France refuse to be just.

Friendly Proposition of the United States unheeded.

were playing such a desperate game, that they not only rightfully suspected each other of duplicity continually, but doubted the sincerity of the United States, although that government had never, in the smallest degree, broken its faith with either. England refused to recall her orders in Council; Bonaparte refused to make any indemnity for the seizures under the Bayonne and Rambouillet Decrees, and American commerce was left in a state of the most painful suspense.

Having exhausted all arguments in endeavoring to convince the British ministry of the reality of the French revocation,¹ and to effect a recall of the orders, Mr. Pinkney left England and returned home, satisfied that, while she could sustain herself in the prosecution of the war, she would never yield an iota of her power to oppress the weak. At this very time, spurned as they had been, the United States proceeded to open another door of reconciliation, by an act of Congress providing that, in case at any time "Great Britain should revoke or modify her edicts, as that they shall cease to violate the neutral commerce of the United States, the President of the United States should declare the fact by proclamation, and that the restrictions previously imposed should, from the date of such proclamation, cease and be discontinued."²

To this friendly proposition England was deaf. She would listen to no appeals to her justice or her magnanimity. For long years she had been the aggressor and the oppressor, and yet she refused to heed the kindly voice of her best friend when it pleaded for simple justice. At that very time she was exercising, by the might of her navy, the most despotic sway upon the ocean, and committing incessant injuries upon a friendly power. She had, at that time, impressed from the crews of American merchant vessels, peaceably navigating the high seas, not less than SIX THOUSAND MARINERS who claimed to be citizens of the United States, and who were denied all opportunity to verify their claims. She had seized and confiscated the commercial property of American citizens to an incalculable amount. She had united in the enormities of France in declaring a great proportion of the terraqueous globe in a state of blockade, effectually chasing the American merchant from the ocean. She had contemptuously disregarded the neutrality of the American territory, and the jurisdiction of the American laws within the waters and harbors of the United States. She was enjoying the emoluments of a surreptitious trade, stained with every species of fraud and corruption, which gave to the belligerent powers the advantage of a peace, while the neutral powers were involved in the evils of war. She had, in short, usurped and exercised on the water a tyranny similar to that which her great antagonist had usurped and exercised on the land. And, amid all these proofs of ambition and avarice, she demanded that the victims of her usurpations and her violence should revere her as the sole defender of the rights and liberties of mankind!³

At about the time when Mr. Pinkney left England, Augustus J. Foster, who had
^a February 16, 1811, been secretary to the British legation at Washington, was appointed^a
 envoy extraordinary to the United States, charged with the settlement of the affair of the *Chesapeake* and other matters in dispute between the two governments.⁴ He had just fairly entered upon the duties of his peaceful mission, when an event occurred that produced great complications and ill feelings.

¹ The British ministry, in their refusal to rescind the orders, made a strong point of the fact that one of the conditions in Champagny's letter was the renouncing by the English what were called the "new British principles of blockade," namely, the blockading of all commercial unfortified towns, coasts, harbors, and mouths of rivers. Bonaparte claimed that it ought to be confined to fortified places. Great Britain would not relax an iota of her pretensions in this matter.

² Act of Congress, passed 2d of March, 1811.

³ See Dallas's *Exposition of the Causes and Character of the late War*.

⁴ In announcing this appointment, the British ministry assured Mr. Pinkney of the most pacific feelings of their government toward that of his own, and that the delay in filling the place caused by the recall of Jackson was not because of any indisposition to keep up friendly diplomatic relations, but from a desire to make a satisfactory appointment, and also from late interruptions to official business owing to the mental disability of the king and the establishment of a regency. The king had shown signs of insanity in 1788, and a Regency Bill was submitted to Parliament in December of that year. The king recovered, and in February following it was withdrawn. In 1810 the physicians of the king announced his confirmed insanity, and on the 5th of February, 1811, his son, the Prince of Wales, afterward George the

Outrage by a British Cruiser.

Commodore Rodgers.

The Frigate *President* ordered to Sea.

Since the favorable arrangement with France, British cruisers hovering upon the American coast had become more and more annoying to commerce. A richly-laden American vessel bound to France had been captured within thirty miles of New York;¹ and early in the month of May a British frigate, supposed to be the *Guerriere*, Captain Dacres, stopped an American brig only eighteen miles from New York, and a young man, known to be a native of Maine, was taken from her and impressed into the British service.² Similar instances had lately occurred, and the government resolved to send out one or two of the new frigates³ immediately for the protection of the coast trade from the depredators.

The *President*, Captain Ludlow, was then anchored off Fort Severn,⁴ at Annapolis,



FORT OR BATTERY SEVERN, AT ANNAPOLIS.

bearing the broad pennant of Commodore Rodgers, the senior officer of the navy. The commodore was with his family at Havre de Grace, seventy miles distant;⁵ the *President's* sailing-master was at Baltimore, forty miles distant; her purser and chaplain were at Washington, an equal distance from their posts, and all was listlessness on board the frigate, for no sounds of war were in the air. Suddenly, at three o'clock in the afternoon of the 7th of May, while Captain Ludlow was dining on board the sloop-of-war *Argus*, lying near the *President*, the gig was seen, about five miles distant, sailing at the rate of ten miles an hour, with the commodore's broad pennant flying, denoting that he was on board.⁶ Rodgers was soon on the *President's* quarter-deck. He had received orders⁷ from his government to put to sea at once * May 6, 1811. in search of the offending British vessel, and on the 10th he weighed anchor

Fourth, went before the Privy Council in great state, and was sworn in as regent of the kingdom. He held that office until the death of his father in 1820, when he became king.

¹ Hildreth, Second Series, iii., 240.

² Although the sea was running high, the captain of the *Spitfire* (the arrested brig) went with the young man on board the frigate, and assured the commander that he had known him from boyhood as a native of Maine. The insolent reply was, "All that may be so, but he has no protection, and that is enough for me."—*New York Herald*, May 11, 1811.

³ The American navy then in active service consisted of the *President*, *Constitution*, and *United States*, 44 each; the *Essex*, 32; *John Adams*, 24; *Waap* and *Hornet*, 18 each; *Argus* and *Siren*, 16 each; *Nautilus*, *Enterprise*, and *Vixen*, 12 each; and a large flotilla of gun-boats, commanded principally by sailing-masters selected from the officers of merchant vessels.—Cooper, ii., 113.

⁴ The present Fort or Battery Severn, composed of a circular base and hexagonal tower, is upon the site of a fort of the same name, erected, with other fortifications, in 1776. It was then little more than a group of breast-works. These were strengthened at the beginning of the war in 1812. The present fort, seen in the picture, is rather a naval than a military work, its principal use being for a practice-battery for the students in the Naval Academy there, and for the defense of the naval arsenal, school, and officers' quarters. That academy (which was removed to Newport, Rhode Island, on the breaking out of the civil war in the spring of 1861, and its buildings at Annapolis used for hospital purposes during the conflict) was to the navy what the West Point Academy is to the army. The grounds about Fort Severn are very beautiful, and delight the eyes of all visitors. In addition to the Naval Monument there, already mentioned (page 184), are others, both elegant and expensive.

⁵ The residence of Commodore Rodgers at Havre de Grace, at that time, was yet standing when I visited that town in November, 1861. It stood at near the junction of Washington and St. John Streets, and was occupied by William Poplar. It was a two-story brick house, substantially built, and well preserved, as seen in the engraving on the next page. It will be referred to again, in an account of my visit to Havre de Grace above alluded to.

⁶ Letter from an officer on board the *President* in the *New York Herald*, June 3, 1811.

The *President* on a Cruise.

She discovers a strange Vessel.

Signals.

Method of Signaling.



COMMODORE RODGERS'S RESIDENCE.

stranger, and at two o'clock displayed her broad pennant¹ and ensign. The stranger made several signals. These were unanswered, and she bore away southward.²

¹ A pennant is a streamer made of a long, narrow piece of bunting, worn at the mast-heads of vessels of war. A broad pennant is a square piece of the same material, placed at the mast-head of the commodore's flag-ship. It is sometimes spelled *pendant* and *pennon*. The latter is not, strictly, a streamer. It is a shorter flag, split at the end, and used on merchant vessels. In the Middle Ages it was carried by knights at the heads of their lances. It is sometimes used poetically for a streamer or banner.

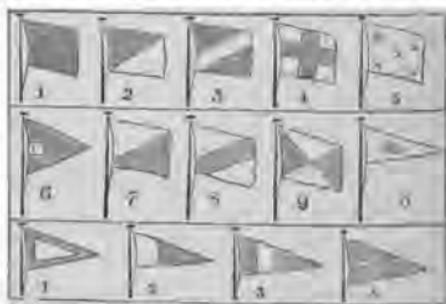
² "Made the signal 275, and finding it not answered, concluded she was an American frigate," wrote the commander of that vessel to his superior on the 21st of May. Each nation has a system of naval signals of its own, unknown to all others, and changed frequently, and for that reason Commodore Rodgers could not answer. These signals comprise a system of telegraphic signs, by which ships communicate with each other at a distance and convey information, or make known their wants. This is done by means of a certain number of flags and pennants of different colors, peculiarly arranged, which indicate the different numerals from 1 to 0. Particular flags or pennants are also used for specific purposes; for example, one pennant is called the *interrogative*, and, when hoisted, signifies that a question is asked; while another flag signifies affirmative, negative, etc. To correspond with the flags, signal-books are formed, with sentences or words which these flags represent. These books contain a list of the most common words in the language, with a table of such geographical names as are likely to be needed at sea, and also a list of the ships belonging to the navy of the country.*—*New American Cyclopaedia*, article SIGNALS.

To give the reader a practical idea of the working of naval signals, I introduce graphic and explanatory descriptions from Rodgers and Black's *Semaphoric Signal-book*, approved by the Secretary of the Navy, J. Y. Mason, in 1847. These

signals are composed of nine flags and five short pennants, capable of making 100,000 signals. These flags and pennants are seen in the engraving, No. 1. There are three colors, namely, red, white, and blue. The red and blue are represented by shading, the lines of the former being perpendicular, and of the latter horizontal. Each of the flags has the same signification as the number above it.

The pennants are used for duplicating or repeating. They are intended as substitutes for the numbers of such flags as are already in use; for example, in the signal number 2225 the figure 2 occurs twice. Having but one flag to represent that figure, another is substituted to answer its purpose, and this is done by using a pennant termed duplicate. The four pennants in the lower section of engraving No. 1 represent 1st, 2d, 3d, and 4th duplicates in the order of common enumeration. The first duplicate always repeats the number of the upper or first flag (the counting is always downward) of the signal with which it is hoist-

and proceeded down the Chesapeake, with the intention of cruising off New York as an inquirer concerning the impressment. He stopped on his way down the bay for munitions, and on the 14th passed the Virginia capes out upon the broad ocean. He lingered there as an observer for a day or two, and at about noon on the 16th, Cape Henry bearing southwest, and distant about forty miles, he discovered a strange sail on the eastern horizon. The squareness of her yards and symmetry of her sails proclaimed her a war vessel. She was bearing toward the *President* under a heavy press of sail. Thinking she might be the offender, the *President* stood for the



SIGNALS.—NO. 1.



SIGNAL-BOOK.

* These signal-books, when prepared for actual service at sea, are covered with canvas, containing a plate of lead on each side sufficient to sink them. This is for the purpose of destroying them, by throwing them into the sea when a vessel is compelled to strike her colors, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. The annexed picture of a signal-book so covered and leaded is from a drawing of one before me which was used by Commodore Barney. It is about nine inches in length. The lead is stitched into the canvas cover. It was found among Barney's papers, which that indefatigable antiquary of Philadelphia, John A. M'Allister, secured from destruction, and deposited for safe keeping with the collections of the Pennsylvania Historical Society. Those papers were kindly placed at my disposal by Mr. M'Allister, and from them I gleaned much valuable material used in the preparation of a portion of this work.

A Chase by the *President*.

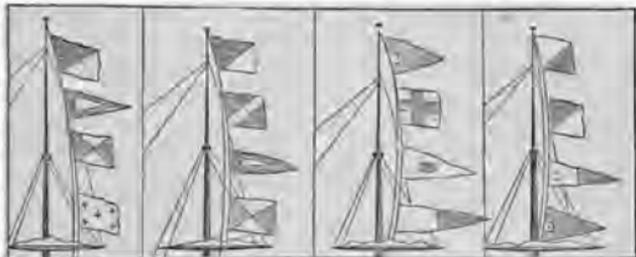
Signaling.

A Change in Signals.

Anxious to speak with her, Rodgers gave chase. The *President* gained upon her, and at three in the afternoon was so near that her hull was seen upon the horizon ;

ed; the 3d duplicate repeats the *second* flag, and so on. The first duplicate, hoisted singly, is *answering pennant*; the 2d, hoisted singly, is *No*; the 3d, hoisted singly, is *Yes*; and the 4th, hoisted singly, is *numeral* signal. 0, or cipher pennant, hoisted singly, is *alphabetical signal*.

Engraving No. 2 shows four examples of the use of the signals, in all of which the duplicates are used. By attention to the above explanations, the operation will be readily understood. The first section of the engraving No. 2 represents the number 2295, opposite which, in the signal-book, will be found the words, "The commodore wishes to see you." The second section represents the number 2329—"Can you spare a compass?" In these two the 1st duplicate is used, repeating the number of the first or upper flag. In the third section is represented number 6404—"Prepare for action."



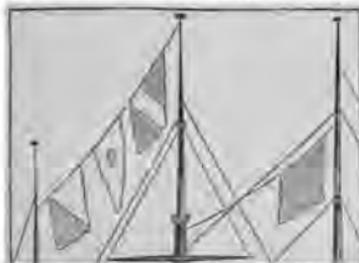
SIGNALS.—NO. 2.

In the fourth section, number 7226—"Strange sail on the starboard." In these two the second duplicate repeats the number of the second flag hoisted. The recipient of the information conveyed by the signals writes down the numbers on a slate, and then readily finds the meaning by referring to the corresponding number in the signal-book.

In a calm the signals are displayed on a more horizontal line, as seen in engraving No. 3, which represents number 1307—"Is becalmed, and requires a steam-boat to tow."

The same flags and pennants are also used for alphabetical signals, to spell a word or name. The 0, or cipher signal, is hoisted singly, as the preparatory signal, after which the 0 or cipher signal is placed above or below the flags where required, as seen in engraving No. 4, and indicated in the alphabet below.

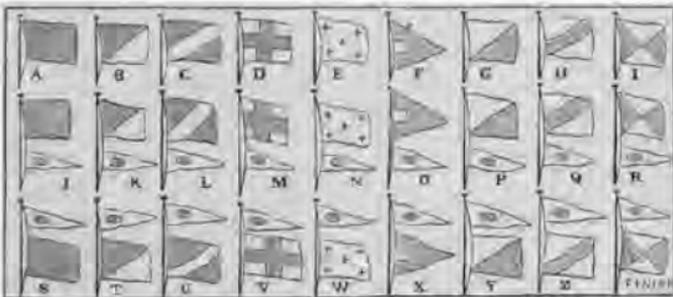
During the autumn and winter of 1811 and 1812, when war with England seemed to be inevitable, the attention of Commodore Rodgers was much occupied with the subject of land telegraphs for army purposes, and naval signals. He invented a telegraph which was adopted. On the 31st of April, 1812, he wrote to the Secretary of the Navy



SIGNALS.—NO. 3.

from the *President*, then lying in Hampton Roads, recommending a change in the naval signals, several years having elapsed since the system of day signals then in use had been introduced. He thought it had become known to the British navy. In that letter, preserved in the Department at Washington, he sent a drawing made in accordance with the proposed change. His suggestions were adopted, and the signals delineated in the engraving No. 5, on the next page, copied from Rodgers's manuscripts, were those used during the War of 1812.

A frequent change in the arrangement of the signal flags is necessary, for obvious reasons. The code of signals used in the United States Navy just previous to the late civil war was prepared by a board of officers consisting of Commodores M'Cauley and Lavalette, and Commanders Marchand and Steedman. It was adopted by the Navy Department in 1857. In 1859 another board of officers tested and approved a system of night signals invented by B. F. Coston, of the United States Navy. In October, 1861, they were adopted in the United States army. A new system of signals for both the army and navy was arranged by Major (afterward Colonel) Albert J. Myer, which was used throughout the war. Major Myer was the chief signal officer during all that time, and is now (1867) at the head of the signal department of the army.



SIGNALS.—NO. 4.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90
J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R
01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09
S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z	Finish



but the breeze slackened, and night fell upon the waters before the two vessels were near enough to each other to discern their respective characters.

At twenty minutes past eight in the evening the *President* brought-to on the weather-bow, or a little forward of the beam of the stranger, and, when within about a hundred yards of her, Rodgers hailed, and asked "What ship is that?" No answer was given, but the question was repeated from the stranger, word for word. After a pause of fifteen or twenty seconds Rodgers reiterated his inquiry, and, before he could take his trumpet from his mouth, was answered by a shot that cut off one of the main-top-backstays of his vessel, and lodged in her main-mast. He was about to order a shot in return, when a gun from the second division of his ship was fired.¹ At almost the same instant the antagonist of the *President* fired three guns in quick succession, and then the rest of her broadside, with musketry. This provocation caused

the *President* to respond by a broadside. "Equally determined," said Rodgers, "not to be the aggressor, or suffer the flag of my country to be insulted with impunity, I gave a general order to fire."² In the course of five or six minutes his antagonist was silenced, and the guns of the *President* ceased firing, the commander having discovered that his assumed enemy was a feeble one in size and armament. But, to the surprise of the Americans, the stranger opened her fire anew in less than five minutes. This was again silenced by the guns of the *President*, when Rodgers again demanded "What ship is that?" The wind was blowing freshly at the time, and he was able to hear only the words, "His majesty's ship—" but the name he could not understand. He immediately gave the name of his own vessel, displayed many lights to show his whereabouts in case the disabled ship should need assistance, and bore away.

At dawn the *President* discovered her antagonist several miles to the leeward, and immediately bore down upon her to offer assistance. Lieutenant Creighton was sent in a boat to learn the names of the vessel and her commander, to ascertain the extent of damage, offer assistance, and to express the regret of the commodore that necessity on his part had led to such results. Lieutenant Creighton brought back the information that the ship was the British sloop-of-war *Little Belt*, 18, Captain A. B. Bingham, who had been sent to the waters off Charleston, South Carolina, in search of the *Guerriere*, and, not finding her, was cruising northward for the same purpose, according to his instructions.³ Captain Bingham politely refused aid, because he did not need it, and sailed away to Halifax, where he reported to "Herbert Sawyer, Esq., Rear-admiral of the Red," the commander-in-chief on the American station.⁴ The *President* proceeded on her voyage toward New York, and "off Sandy Hook," on the 23d,⁵

May, 1811. Commodore Rodgers wrote the dispatch to the Secretary of the Navy from which the foregoing facts have been drawn.

The reports of the occurrence by Rodgers and Bingham were utterly contradictory

¹ Two English seamen, who professed to have been deserters from the *President*, testified at Halifax that this gun was discharged by accident.—*London Times*, December 7, 1811.

² Rodgers's dispatch to the Secretary of the Navy, May 25, 1811.

³ These instructions were dated at "Bermuda, this 17th day of April, 1811," signed by H. N. Somerville, by command of Admiral Sawyer, and addressed to "Arthur Burt Bingham, Esq., commander of his majesty's sloop *Little Belt*." In the instructions he was enjoined to be "particularly careful not to give any just cause of offence to the government or subjects of the United States of America; and to give very particular orders to this effect to the officers you may have occasion to send on board ships under the American flag."

⁴ Bingham reported his vessel much damaged in her masts, sails, rigging, and hull; many shot through between wind and water, and many shot imbedded in her side and all her upper works, with the starboard pump shot away. He told Creighton that he had all necessary materials on board for making sufficient repairs to enable him to reach Halifax.

Contradictory Statements of Rodgers and Bingham.

The Testimony.

Indignation of the American People.

in respect to the most essential fact, namely, as to the aggressor. Rodgers stated positively that he hailed twice, and his words were repeated by the stranger; that she first fired one shot, which struck his vessel, then three shots, and immediately

afterward the remainder of her broadside, before he opened his guns upon her, except the single one which one of the deserters declared was discharged by accident. This account was fully corroborated, before a court of inquiry, by every officer and some of the subordinates who were on board the *President*, under oath. On the contrary, Captain Bingham reported that *he* hailed first, and that *his* words were twice repeated from the *President*, when that vessel fired a broadside, which the *Little Belt* immediately returned. This statement was fully corroborated before a court of inquiry, held at Halifax on the 29th of May,^a by the officers of the *Little Belt*, and two deserters from the *President*, under oath. Bingham and

his supporting deponents declared that the action lasted for forty-five minutes to one hour; while Rodgers declared that it lasted altogether, including the intermissions, not more than fifteen min-

utes.¹ Bingham also intimated in his dispatch that he had gained the advantage in the contest.²

When intelligence of this affair went over the land it produced intense excitement. Desires for and dread of war with England were stimulated to vehement action, and conflicting views and expressions, intensified by party hate, awoke spirited contentions and discussions in every community. The contradictions of the two commanders were in due time made known, and added fuel to the fires of party strife. Each government naturally accepted the report of its own servant as the true one. Not so with all the people of the United States. The opposition politicians and newspapers, with a partisanship more powerful for a while than patriotism, took sides with the British; and, eager to convict the administration of belligerent intentions, while at the same time they inconsistently assailed it because of its alleged imbecility and want of patriotism in not resisting and resenting the outrages and insults of Great

¹ John Rodgers was born at Havre de Grace, in Maryland, in 1771. He entered the navy as lieutenant, on the 6th of March, 1798, and was the executive officer of the *Constellation*, under Commodore Truxton, when the *Insurrection* was taken. See page 103. He was appointed captain in March, 1799, and he was in active service during the naval operations in the Mediterranean until 1805. He was the oldest officer in rank in the navy at the time of the occurrence narrated in the text. He was the first to start on a cruise with a squadron after the declaration of war in 1812. His efficient services during that war will be found detailed in future pages. From April, 1815, until December, 1824, he served as president of the board of Navy Commissioners, and from 1824 until 1827 he was in command of a squadron in the Mediterranean. On his return in 1827 he resumed his place at the board, and held it for ten years, when he relinquished it on account of failing health. He died at Philadelphia in August, 1858. The portrait above given was copied from an original painting in the Navy Department at Washington.

² "The action then became general, and continued so for about three quarters of an hour, when he [the American] ceased firing, and appeared to be on fire about the main hatchway. He then fled. I was obliged to desist from firing, as the ship falling off, no gun would bear, and had no after-sail to keep her to."—Dispatch to Admiral Sawyer, May 21, 1811.

John Rodgers



Britain, or making efficient preparations for such resistance and resentment, circulated a report, with the fiercest denunciations, that Rodgers had sailed with orders from Washington to rescue by force the young man lately impressed from a Portland brig.¹ They exultingly drew a comparison between the late and present Democratic administration, the former denying the right of the *Leopard* to take a seaman by force from the *Chesapeake*, the latter ordering Rodgers to do what Captain Humphreys had been condemned by the Americans and punished by his own government for doing. Rodgers himself, who had behaved most prudently, gallantly, and magnanimously in the matter, received his full share of personal abuse from the opponents of the administration; and, strange as it may seem, when the question was reduced to one of simple veracity on the part of the two commanders, a large number of his countrymen, even with the overwhelming testimony of all the officers and many of the subordinates of the *President* against that of five officers and two deserters produced by Captain Bingham, were so misled by party zeal as to express their belief that the British commander uttered nothing but truth, and that Rodgers and his people all committed perjury! But these ungenerous and unpatriotic assaults soon lost their chief sustenance when the Secretary of State officially declared that no orders had been given for a forcible rescue of the impressed American; and the satisfaction of Mr. Foster, the British minister at Washington (who had requested an inquiry into the conduct of Rodgers), that the statements of that commander were substantially true, was manifested by the fact that the subject was dropped in diplomatic circles, was never revived there, and the affair of the *Chesapeake* was settled in accordance with the demands of the government of the United States.

But while the two governments tacitly agreed to bury the matter in official oblivion, the people of the respective countries, highly excited by the event, would not let it drop. It increased the feeling of mutual animosity which had been growing rapidly of late, and widened the gulf of separation, which every day became more and more difficult of passage by kindly international sentiments; and when the Twelfth Congress assembled, a month earlier than usual,² the administration party in
* November 4, 1811. and out of that body was found to be decidedly a war party, while the Federalists, growing weaker in numbers every day, were as decidedly opposed to war.

¹ The charge was apparently justified by the tenor of a letter, already referred to, purporting to have been written by an officer on board the *President* on the 14th of May, but whose name was never given. He wrote: "By the officers who came from Washington we learn that we are sent in pursuit of the British frigate who had impressed a passenger from a coaster. Yesterday, while beating down the bay, we spoke a brig coming up, who informed us that she saw the British frigate the day before off the very place where we now are; but she is not now in sight. We have made the most complete preparations for battle. Every one wishes it. She is exactly our force, but we have the *Argus* with us, which none of us are pleased with, as we wish a fair trial of courage and skill. Should we see her, I have not the least doubt of an engagement. The commodore will demand the person impressed; the demand will doubtless be refused, and the battle will instantly commence. . . . The commodore has called in the boatswain, gunner, and carpenter, informed them of all circumstances, and asked if they were ready for action. Ready was the reply of each."—*New York Herald*, June 3, 1811.



CHAPTER X.

"On Wabash, when the sun withdrew,
And chill November's tempest blew,
Dark rolled thy waves, Tippecanoe,
Amidst that lonely solitude.

But Wabash saw another sight;
A martial host, in armor bright,
Encamped upon the shore that night,
And lighted up her scenery."

SONG—TIPPECANOE.

"Bold Boyd led on his steady band,
With bristling bayonets burnished bright.
What could their dauntless charge withstand?
What stay the warriors' matchless might?
Rushing amain, they cleared the field;
The savage foe constrained to yield
To Harrison, who, near and far,
Gave form and spirit to the war."

BATTLE OF TIPPECANOE.



WHILE the nation was agitated by political contentions, and the low mutterings of the thunder of an oncoming tempest of war were heard, heavy, dark, and ominous clouds of trouble were seen gathering in the northwestern horizon, where the Indians were still numerous, and discontents had made them restless.

In the year 1800, as we have seen (page 130), the Indiana Territory (then including the present States of Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin) was established, and the late President Harrison, then an energetic young man of less than thirty years of age, was appointed governor. He had resigned his commission of captain in the United States army, and for a few years had been employed in civil life. In the year 1805 a Territorial Legislature was organized, much to the discontent of the French settlers on the Wabash, and Vincennes, an old town already spoken of (page 40), was made the capital. Harrison was popular among all classes, and particularly with the Indians; and he managed the public affairs of the Territory with prudence and energy in the midst of many difficulties arising out of land speculations, land titles, treaties with the Indians, and the machinations of traders and the English in Canada. He had much to contend against in the demoralization of the Indians by immediate contact with the white people, especially effected by whisky and other spirituous liquors.¹

By a succession of treaties, Governor Harrison, at the close of 1805, had extinguished Indian titles to forty-six thousand acres of land within the domain of Indiana. Every thing had been done in accordance with the principles of exact justice, and, had the governor's instructions been fully carried out, the Indians would never have had cause to complain. But settlers and speculators came, bringing with them, in many cases, the peculiar vices of civilized society, which, when copied by the Indians, were intensified fourfold. Regarding the natives as little better than the wild beasts of the forest, they defrauded them, encroached upon their reserved domain, and treated them with contempt and inhumanity. "You call us your children," said an old chief to Harrison one day, in bitterness of spirit—"you call us your children

¹ "I do not believe," wrote General Harrison in 1806, "that there are more than six hundred warriors on the Wabash, and yet the quantity of whisky brought here annually for their consumption is said to amount to six thousand gallons."

—why do you not make us happy, as our fathers, the French, did? They never took from us our lands; indeed, they were common between us. They planted where they pleased, and they cut wood where they pleased, and so did we. But now, if a poor Indian attempts to take a little bark from a tree to cover him from rain, up comes a white man and threatens to shoot him, claiming the tree as his own.” And so, with ample reason, they murmured on. Emissaries sent out by the British authorities in Canada fanned the flame of discontent; and Elliott, the old enemy of the Americans, still living near Malden, observing symptoms of impending war between the United States and Great Britain, was again wielding a potent influence over the chiefs of the tribes in the Northwest. Their resources, as well as privileges, were curtailed. Napoleon’s Continental System touched even the savage of the wilderness. It clogged and almost closed the chief markets for his furs, and the prices were so low that Indian hunters found it difficult to purchase their usual necessaries from the traders. At the beginning of 1811 the Indians were ripe for any enterprise that promised them relief and independence.

A powerful warrior had lately become conspicuous, who, like Metacomet, the Wampanoag, and Pontiac, the Ottawa, essayed to be the savior of his people from the crushing footsteps of the advancing white man. He was one of three sons born of a Creek mother (Methoataske) at the same time, in a cabin built of sapling logs unhewn, and chinked with sticks and mud, near the banks of the Mad River, a few miles from Springfield, Ohio. They were named respectively Tecumtha, Elkswatawa,



BIRTHPLACE OF TECUMTHA AND HIS BROTHERS.

and Kamskaka. Tecumtha² was the warrior alluded to. His name signifies, in the Shawnoese dialect, “a flying tiger,” or “a wild-cat springing on its prey.” He was a well-built man, about five feet ten inches in height.³ Elkswatawa, “the loud voice,” also became famous,

or, more properly speaking, notorious; but Kamskaka lived a quiet, retired life, and died in ignoble obscurity.

As early as 1805, Elkswatawa, pretending to have had a vision, assumed to be a prophet, and took the name of Pemsquatawah, or “open door.” Up to that period he had been remarkable for nothing but stupidity and intoxication. He was a cunning, unprincipled man, whose countenance was disfigured by the loss of an

¹ Governor Harrison to the Secretary of War.

² The late Colonel John Johnston, of Dayton, Ohio, who was Indian Agent among the Shawnoese and neighboring tribes for many years, and knew Tecumtha well, informed me that the proper way to spell that warrior’s name, according to the native pronunciation, is as I have given it. On such authority I have adopted the orthography in the text. From Colonel Johnston, whose name will be frequently mentioned in the course of our narrative, I obtained much valuable information concerning the Indians of the Northwest from the year 1800 to 1812, during a visit with him in the autumn of 1866.

The birthplace of Tecumtha and his brothers was at the Piqua village, about five miles west from Springfield.³ The engraving, copied by permission from Howe’s *Historical Collections of Ohio*, shows the place of his birth as it appeared a few years ago. It is on the north side of the Mad River. A small hamlet, called West Boston, now occupies the site of the Piqua village. The Indian fort at that place, consisting of a rude log hut surrounded by pickets, stood upon the hill seen on the left of the picture.

³ Colonel Johnston.

⁴ This was ancient Piqua, the seat of the Piqua clan of the Shawnoese, a name which signifies “a man formed out of the ashes,” and significant of their alleged origin. See Howe’s *Historical Collections of Ohio*, page 362. Modern Piqua, oftentimes confounded with that of the ancient one in speaking of Tecumtha, is a flourishing village on the Great Miami River, Miami County. Upper Piqua, three miles above the village, is a place of considerable historical interest. The reader is referred to Mr. Howe’s valuable work for interesting details concerning the events which made it famous.

The Prophet's Vision.

Tecumtha's Craft.

His Inspiration.

The superstitious Indians excited.

eye.¹ While lighting his pipe one day, he fell to the earth, as if dead. Preparations were made for his burial. When his friends were about to remove him, he opened his eyes and said, "Be not fearful. I have been in the Land of the Blessed. Call the nation together, that I may tell them what I have seen and heard." His people were speedily assembled, and again he spoke, saying, "Two beautiful young men were sent to me by the Great Spirit, who said, The Master of Life



THE PROPHET.

is angry with you all. He will destroy you unless you refrain from drunkenness, lying, stealing, and witchcraft, and turn yourselves to him. Unless the red men shall do this, they shall never see the beautiful place you are now to behold." He was then taken to a gate which opened into the spirit-land, but he was not permitted to enter.²

Such was the prophet's story. He immediately entered upon his mission as a professed preacher of righteousness. He in-

veighed against drunkenness and witchcraft, and warned his people to have nothing to do with the pale-faces, their religion, their customs, their arms, or their arts, for every imitation of the intruders was offensive to the great Master of Life. Tecumtha, possessed of a master mind and a statesman's sagacity, was the moving spirit in all this imposture. It was a part of his grand scheme for obtaining influence over the Northwestern tribes for political purposes, and he went from tribe to tribe publishing the wonders of his brother's divine mission.

The Prophet's harangues excited the latent superstition of the Indians to the highest degree, and for a while his sway over the minds of the savages in the Northwest was almost omnipotent. The chiefs and leading men of his own tribe denounced him, but the people sustained him. Success made him bold, and he used his newly-acquired power for the gratification of private and public resentments. He was accuser and judge, and he caused the execution of several hostile Delaware chiefs on a charge of witchcraft. A terrorism began to prevail all over the region where his divine mission was recognized. The credulous—men, women, and children—came long distances to see the oracle of the Great Spirit, who, they believed, wrought miracles.³ Their numbers became legion, and the white settlers were alarmed.

Tecumtha's deep scheme worked admirably. In the great congregation were lead-

¹ The portrait of the Prophet is from a pencil sketch made by Pierre Le Dru, a young French trader, at Vincennes, in 1809. He made a sketch of Tecumtha at about the same time, both of which I found in possession of his son at Quebec in 1848, and by whom I was kindly permitted to copy them. That of Tecumtha will be found in Chapter XIV. Owing partly to his excessive dissipation, the Prophet appeared much the elder of Tecumtha.

² Drake's *Book of the Indians*, page 224.

³ The Prophet was without honor in his own country, and he left Piqua and settled in a village of his own at Greenville, in Ohio, where Wayne held his great treaty in 1795, on lands already ceded to the United States. At the instigation of Tecumtha, no doubt, he sent emissaries to the tribes on the Lakes and on the Upper Mississippi, to declare his prophecy that the earth was about to be destroyed, except in the immediate residence of the Prophet at Greenville. Alarm caused many to flock thither as a place of refuge, and this gave Tecumtha an opportunity to divulge with ease to a large number, his plans for a confederacy. The Prophet made many predictions concerning the future glory of the Indians. His disciples spread the most absurd tales about his wonderful power—that he could make pumpkins spring out of the ground as large as wigwams, and that his corn grew so large that one ear would feed a dozen men. They spread a belief that the body of the Prophet was invulnerable, and that he had all knowledge, past, present, and future. It is said that so great a number flocked to Greenville to see him, that the southern shores of Lakes Superior and Michigan were quite depopulated. The traders were obliged to abandon their business. Of these deluded fanatics not more than one third ever returned, having died in consequence of the privations of hunger, cold, and fatigue. They perished by scores upon their weary pilgrimage.—*MS. Life and Times of Tecumseh*, by Henry Onderdonk, Jr., 1842.

ing men from all the surrounding tribes, even from the Upper Mississippi, and he had a rare opportunity to confer with them together on the subject of his darling project, a grand confederation of all the tribes in the Northwest to drive the white man across the Ohio, and reclaim their lands which they had lost by treaties. He declared to assembled warriors and sachems, whenever opportunity offered, that the treaties concerning those lands northward of the Ohio were fraudulent, and therefore void; and he always assured his auditors that he and his brother, the Prophet, would resent any farther attempts at settlement in that direction by the white people.

Governor Harrison perceived danger in these movements, and early in 1808 he addressed a speech to the chiefs and head men of the Shawnoese tribe, in which he denounced the Prophet as an impostor. "My children," he said, "this business must be stopped. I will no longer suffer it. You have called a number of men from the most distant tribes to listen to a fool, who speaks not the words of the Great Spirit, but those of the Evil Spirit and of the British agents. My children, your conduct has much alarmed the white settlers near you. They desire that you will send away those people; and if they wish to have the impostor with them they can carry him. Let him go to the Lakes; he can hear the British more distinctly."

This speech exasperated and alarmed the brothers. The Prophet and his followers, frowned upon by the Shawnoese in general, who listened to the governor, took up their abode in the spring of 1808 on the banks of the Wabash, near the mouth of the Tippecanoe River. Tecumtha was there too, when not on his political journeys among the neighboring tribes, but he was cautious and silent. The Prophet, more directly aimed at in Harrison's speech, hastened to deny any complicity with the British agents, or having hostile designs. He visited Vincennes in August to confer in person with the governor, and to give him renewed and solemn assurances that he and his followers wished to live in harmony with the white people. So specious were the words of the wily savage, that Harrison suspected he had misjudged the man, and he dismissed the Prophet with friendly assurances.

The governor soon had reason to doubt the fidelity of the oracle. There were reported movements at the Prophet's town on the Wabash, half religious and half warlike, that made him suspect the brothers of unfriendly designs toward the Americans. He charged them with having made secret arrangements with British agents for hostile purposes, and pressed the matter so closely that, at a conference between the governor and the Prophet at Vincennes in the summer of 1809, the latter acknowledged that he had received invitations from the British in Canada to engage in a war with the United States, but declared that he had rejected them. He renewed his vows of friendship, but Harrison no longer believed him to be sincere.

Soon after this interview Harrison concluded a treaty at Fort Wayne^a with Delaware, Pottawatomie, Miami, Kickapoo, Wea, and Eel River Indians, by which, in consideration of \$8200 paid down, and annuities to the amount of \$2350 in the aggregate, he obtained a cession of nearly three millions of acres of land extending up the Wabash beyond Terre Haute, and including the middle waters of the White River.¹ Neither Tecumtha, nor his brother, nor any of their tribe had any claim to these lands, yet they denounced those who sold them, declared the treaty void, and threatened to kill every chief concerned in it. Tecumtha grew bolder and bolder, for he was sanguine of success in his great scheme of a confederation, and the arrest of the white man's progress. He had already announced the doctrine, opposed to state or tribal rights, that the domain of all the Indians belonged to all in common, and that no part of the territory could be sold or alienated without the consent of all. This was the ground of the denunciations of the treaty by Tecumtha and his brother, and the justification of their threats against the offending chiefs—threats the

¹ The Weas and Kickapoos were not represented at the council, but the former, in October, and the latter, in December, confirmed the treaty at Fort Wayne.

Signs of Indian Hostilities.

The Mission of Joseph Barron.

His hostile Reception by the Prophet.

more alarming, because the warlike Wyandots, on the southern shores of Lake Erie, whom all the tribes so feared and respected that they called them uncles, had lately become the allies of these Shawanoese brothers.

In the spring of 1810 the Indians at the Prophet's town gave unmistakable signs of hostility. They refused to receive the "annuity salt," and insulted the boatmen who took it to them by calling them "American dogs." These and other indications of hostility caused Harrison to send frequent messengers to the Prophet and his brother. Finally, in July, he sent a letter to them by Joseph Barron, a Frenchman, known to and respected by all the Indian tribes in that region as a faithful and kind-

hearted interpreter. He was instructed to invite the brothers to meet the governor in council at Vincennes, and lay their alleged grievances before him. Barron was received by the Prophet in a most unfriendly spirit. The oracle was surrounded by several Indians, and when the interpreter was formally presented his single eye kindled and gleamed with fiercest anger. Gazing upon the visitor intently for several minutes without speaking, he suddenly exclaimed, "For what purpose do you come here? Brouillette was here; he was a spy. Dubois was here; he was a spy. Now you have come. You, too, are a spy." Then, pointing to the ground, he said, vehemently, "There is your grave, look on it!" At that moment Tecumtha appeared, assured Barron of his personal safety, heard the letter of Governor Harrison, and promised to visit Vincennes in the course of a few days.¹



JOSEPH BARRON.

On the morning of the 12th of August Tecumtha appeared at Vincennes. He had been requested to bring not more than thirty warriors with him; he came with four hundred fully armed, and encamped in a grove on the outskirts of the town. The inhabitants, most of whom were unarmed, were startled by this unexpected demonstration of savage strength, and, partly on

¹ Statement of Mr. Barron, quoted by Dillon in his *History of Indiana*, page 441. Mr. Barron was a native of Detroit. He was employed by Harrison as interpreter about eighteen years. He was an uneducated man, of much natural ability, and very interesting in conversation. He was slender in form, about a medium height, had black eyes, sallow complexion, a prominent nose, small mouth, and wore his hair in a cue, *à la aborigène*, with a long black ribbon dangling down his back. He was a facetious, pleasant, social, and entertaining man, full of anecdotes and *bon mots*. He was fond of music, and played the Indian flutes with skill. Barron was acquainted with most of the Indian dialects east of the Mississippi. In 1837 he accompanied emigrating Pottawatomies to the West. He also accompanied another party of the same tribe to 1838 to their lands beyond the Mississippi. He afterward returned to the Wabash, and, after a protracted illness, died on the 31st of July, 1843, at an advanced age, at the residence of his son on the Wabash, near its confluence with the Eel River.

Mr. Barron was at the battle of Tippecanoe with Harrison, and this circumstance greatly exasperated the Indians against him. They were very anxious to capture and torture him. So important did they consider him, that they made rude sketches of his features on the barks of trees, and sent them among the various tribes, that they might know and catch him. One of these was for some time in possession of Mr. Compret, of Fort Wayne. It was carried to Germany by a Catholic priest as a great curiosity. Another, on a piece of beech bark, was preserved a long time at Fort Dearborn, and in 1836 was in possession of James Hertz, a private soldier at Mackinaw, from whom a friend procured it, and in the autumn of 1861 sent me a tracing of it. The sketch is a fac-simile on a reduced scale.

George Winter, Esq., an artist of Lafayette, Indiana, painted a portrait of Mr. Barron in 1837. He kindly furnished me the copy from which the above engraving was made; also with the information concerning the famous interpreter contained in this note. Mr. Winter was the painter of the portrait of Francis Slocum, the lost child of Wyoming.—See *Lossing's Field-book of the Revolution*, 1, 369.

Brouillette and Dubois, mentioned above, with Francis Vigo, Pierre La Plante, John Conner, and William Prince, were influential men, and were frequently employed by Harrison as messengers to the Indians.



INDIAN DEFEETER.

Tecumtha at Vincennes. His Arrogance. Harrison's Speech. Hostile Demonstrations by the Indians.

account of their fears, and partly because of the fame of Tecumtha as an orator, they flocked to the governor's house. Seats had been prepared for those who were to participate in the council under the portico of the governor's residence; but when Tecumtha, after placing the great body of his warriors in camp in the shade of a grove near by, advanced with about thirty of his followers, he refused to enter the area with the white people, saying, "Houses were built for you to hold councils in; Indians hold theirs in the open air." He then took a position under some trees in front of the house, and, unabashed by the large concourse of people before him, opened the business with a speech marked by great dignity and native eloquence. When he had concluded, one of the governor's aids, through Barron the interpreter, said to the chief, pointing to a chair, "Your father requests you to take a seat by his side." The chief drew his mantle around him, and, standing erect, said, with scornful tone, "My father! The sun is my father, and the earth is my mother; on her bosom I will repose," and then seated himself upon the ground.

Tecumtha's speeches at this council were bold, arrogant, and sometimes insolent. He avowed the intention of himself and brother to establish, by a confederacy of the tribes, the principle of common interest in the domain as intended by the Great Spirit, and to not only prevent any other sale or cession of lands, but to recover what had been lately ceded by the treaty at Fort Wayne. He declared his intention to kill all the "village chiefs" who had made the sale if the lands were not returned, because he was authorized, he said, by all the tribes to do so. "Return those lands," he said, "and Tecumtha will be the friend of the Americans. He likes not the English, who are continually setting the Indians on the Americans."¹

Governor Harrison, in his reply, ridiculed the idea that the Great Spirit had intended the Indians to be one people. "If such had been his intention," he said, "he would not have put six different tongues into their heads, but would have taught them all to speak one language." As to the lands in dispute, the Shawnoese had nothing to do with it. The Miamis owned it when the Shawnoese were living in Georgia, out of which they had been driven by the Creeks. The lands had been purchased from the Miamis, who were the true owners of it, and it was none of the Shawnoese's business. When these asseverations were interpreted, Tecumtha's eyes flashed with anger. He cast off his blanket, and, with violent gesticulations, pronounced the governor's words to be false. He accused the United States of cheating and imposing upon the Indians. His warriors, receiving a sign from him, sprang to their feet, seized their war-clubs, and began to brandish their tomahawks. The governor started from his chair and drew his sword, while the citizens seized any missile in their way. It was a moment of imminent danger. A military guard of twelve men, who were under some trees a short distance off, were ordered up. A friendly Indian cocked his pistol, which he had loaded stealthily while Tecumtha was speaking, and Mr. Winans, a Methodist minister, ran to the governor's house, seized a gun, and placed himself in the door to defend the family. The guard were about to fire, when Harrison, perfectly collected, restrained them, and a bloody encounter was prevented. When the interpreter told him the cause of the excitement, he pronounced Tecumtha a bad man, and ordered him to leave the neighborhood immediately. Tecumtha retired to his

^a August 20, 1810, camp, the council was broken up,^a and no sleep came to the eyelids of the people of Vincennes that night, as they expected an attack from the savages.

On the following morning, Tecumtha, with seeming sincerity, expressed his regret because of the violence into which he had been betrayed. He found in Harrison a man not to be awed by menaces nor swayed by turbulence. With respectful words he asked to have the council resumed. The governor consented, and then placed two companies of well-armed militia in the village, for the protection and encouragement of the inhabitants. Tecumtha, always dignified, laid aside his insolent manner, and

¹ Onderdonk's MS. *Life of Tecumseh*.

Unsuccessful Attempts to conciliate Tecumtha.

Roving Plunderers.

Tecumtha's Fears and Duplicity.

publicly disavowed any intention of attacking the governor and his friends on the preceding day. When asked whether he intended to persist in his opposition to the late treaty, he replied firmly that he should "adhere to the old boundary." Chiefs from five different tribes immediately arose, and declared their intention to support Tecumtha in the stand he had taken, and their determination to establish the proposed confederacy.

Harrison well knew the great ability and influence of Tecumtha, and was very anxious to conciliate him. On the following day, accompanied only by Mr. Barron, he visited the warrior in his camp, and had a long and friendly interview with him. He told Tecumtha that his principles and his claims would not be allowed by the President of the United States, and advised him to relinquish them. "Well," said the warrior, "as the Great Chief is to determine the matter, I hope the Great Spirit will put sense enough into his head to induce him to direct you to give up this land. It is true, he is so far off he will not be injured by the war. He may sit still in his town and drink his wine, while you and I will have to fight it out."¹ The conference ended by the governor's promising to lay the matter before the President.

War with the followers of Tecumtha and the Prophet now seemed probable, and Harrison commenced measures to meet it. A small detachment of United States troops, under Captain Cross, stationed at Newport, Kentucky, were ordered to Vincennes, there to join three companies of militia infantry and a company of Knox County dragoons, in the event of an attack from the savages. The governor had paid particular attention to drilling the militia, and now, when their services were likely to be needed, they felt much confidence on account of their discipline.

The Indians on the Wabash, grown bold by the teachings of their great military leader, the oracular revelations of the Prophet, and the active encouragement of the British in Canada, began to roam in small marauding parties over the Wabash region in the spring of 1811, plundering the houses of settlers and the wigwams of friendly Indians, stealing horses, and creating general alarm. Tecumtha was exceedingly active, at the same time, in efforts to perfect his confederacy and inciting the tribes to war; and, early in the summer, the movements of the Indians were so menacing that Governor Harrison sent Captain Walter Wilson, accompanied by Mr. Barron, with an energetic letter to the Shawnoe brothers.^a He assured them that he was fully prepared to encounter all the tribes combined, and that if they did not put a stop to the outrages complained of, and cease their warlike movements, he should attack them.

^a June 24,
1811.

Tecumtha was alarmed. He received the messengers very courteously, and promised to see the governor in person very soon, when he would convince him that he had no desire to make war upon the Americans. He accordingly appeared at Vincennes on the 27th of July, accompanied by about three hundred Indians, twenty of them women. The inhabitants were alarmed. It was believed that the wily savage had intended, with these warriors at hand, to compel the governor to give up the Wabash lands. But when, on the day of his arrival, he saw seven hundred and fifty well-armed militia reviewed by the governor, he exhibited no haughtiness of tone and manner. He was evidently uneasy. He made the most solemn protestations of his friendly intentions and desires to restrain the Indians from hostilities, yet he earnestly but modestly insisted upon a return of the lands ceded by the treaty at Fort Wayne. His duplicity was perfect. He left Vincennes a few days afterward with twenty warriors, went down the Wabash, and, as was afterward ascertained, visited the Southern Indians—Creeks, Choctaws, and Chickasaws—and endeavored to bring them into his league against the white people. The remainder of his followers from the Prophet's town, astonished at the military display at Vincennes, returned to their rendezvous on the Tippecanoe, filled with doubt and alarm.

¹ Dawson's *Life of Harrison*, page 59; Drake's *Book of the North American Indians*.

Preparations for fighting the Indians.

Colonel John P. Boyd.

Response to a Call for Volunteers.



John P. Boyd

The government had suggested to Harrison the propriety of seizing Tecumtha and the Prophet, and holding them as hostages for the good behavior of their followers. The governor, in turn, suggested, as a better method of obtaining peace and security, an increase of the military resources of the Territory, and the establishment of a military post high up the Wabash toward the Prophet's town. The wisdom of this suggestion was conceded. The Fourth Regiment of United States Infantry, under Colonel John P. Boyd,¹ was ordered from Pittsburg to the Falls of the Ohio, now Louisville; and Governor Harrison was authorized² to employ these troops and call out the militia of the Territory for the purpose of attacking the hostile savages on the Tippecanoe, if he should deem it advisable. This authorization gave the inhabitants about Vincennes great relief. They had already, before the arrival of the order, appointed a committee at a public meeting³ to ask the government to direct the dispersion of the hostile bands at the Prophet's town.²

The government was anxious to preserve peace with the Indians, and Harrison's orders gave him very little discretionary powers in the matter of levying war upon the savages. They were sufficient for his purpose. He determined to push forward, build a fort on the Wabash, make peaceful overtures, and if they were rejected, open war vigorously. He called Colonel Boyd to Vincennes with his detachment, consisting of a part of the Fourth Regiment and some riflemen, and asked for volunteers. The response was quick and ample. Revenge because of wrongs suffered at the hands of the Indians north of the Ohio slumbered in many bosoms, especially in Kentucky; and when the voice of the popular Harrison called for aid, it was like the sound of the trumpet. Old Indian warriors in Kentucky like General Samuel Wells

¹ John Parke Boyd was born in Newburyport, Massachusetts, December 31, 1764. His father was from Scotland, and his mother was a descendant of Tristram Coffin, the first of that family who emigrated to America. He entered the army in 1786, as ensign in the Second Regiment. With a spirit of adventure, he went to India in 1793, having first touched at the Isle of France. In a letter to his father from Madras, in June, 1796, he says, "Having procured recommendatory letters to the English consul residing at the court of his highness, the Nizam, I proceeded to his capital, Hyderabad, 450 miles from Madras. On my arrival, I was presented to his highness in form by the English consul. My reception was as favorable as my most sanguine wishes had anticipated. After the usual ceremony was over, he presented me with the command of two battalions of infantry, each of which consists of 600 men." His commission and pay were in accordance with his command. He describes the army of the Nizam, which had taken the field against Tippecanoe. It consisted of 150,000 infantry, 60,000 cavalry, and 500 elephants, each elephant supporting a "castle" containing a nabob and servants. He remained in India several years, in a sort of guerrilla service, and obtained much favor. He was in Paris early in 1808, and at home in the autumn of that year, when he was appointed (October 2) colonel of the Fourth Regiment of the U. S. Army. He was in the battle of Tippecanoe in November, 1811, and on the commencement of war with Great Britain he was appointed (August 26) a brigadier general. He held that rank throughout the war. He was at the capture of Fort George, and in the battle of Chrysler's Field, or Williamsburg, in Canada. He left the army in 1815, and the following year he went to England to obtain indemnity for the loss of a valuable cargo of salt-petre, captured by an English cruiser while on its way from the East Indies. He procured only a single installment of \$50,000. President Jackson appointed him Naval Officer at Boston in 1830. He died there the same year, on the 4th of October, at the age of sixty-six years.

General Boyd was a tall, well-formed, and handsome man; kind, courteous, and generous. I am indebted to the courtesy of the Hon. William Willis, of Portland, Maine, for the materials of the above brief sketch and the profile of the general.

² The committee consisted of Samuel T. Scott, Alexander Devin, Luke Decker, Ephraim Jordan, Daniel M'Clure, Walter Wilson, and Francis Vigo. In a letter dated August 3, 1811, and addressed to the President, they said, "In this part of the country we have not, as yet, lost any of our fellow-citizens by the Indians; but depredations upon the property of those who live upon the frontiers, and insults to the families that are left unprotected, almost daily occur."—Dillon's *History of Indiana*, page 456.

Harrison's March up the Wabash with Troops.

Fort Harrison built.

Deputations of friendly Indians.

and Colonel Owen instantly obeyed. They hastened to the field, accompanied by the eloquent Kentucky lawyer, Joseph Hamilton Daviess, Colonel Frederick Geiger, Captain Peter Funk¹ at the head of a company of cavalry, and Croghan, O'Fallon, Shipp, Chum, Edwards, and other subalterns, who had been mustered by Geiger near Louisville. All of these have praisers for bravery in the annals of their country.

On the 26th of September Governor Harrison left Fort Knox,² at Vincennes, with about nine hundred effective men, marched up the Wabash Valley, and on the 3d of October halted on the eastern bank of the river, about two miles above an old Wea village, where the town of Terre Haute, Indiana, now stands. It was a spot famous in Indian tradition as the scene of a desperate battle, at some time far in the past, between tribes of the Illinois and Iroquois. On this account the old French settlers had named the spot "Bataille des Illinois." There they immediately commenced the erection of a quadrangular stockaded fort, with a block-house at three of the angles; and there the governor received deputations from friendly Delaware and Miami Indians, who assured him that the hostility and strength of the Prophet was increasing. In war-speeches to them he had declared that the hatchet was lifted up against the Americans; and this information was affirmed on the night of the 10th of October, when some prowling Shawnoese, who had come down the Wabash, wounded one of the sentinels. Harrison sent a deputation of Miamis to the Prophet's town with a message to the impostor, requiring the Indians on the Tippecanoe to disperse immediately to their respective tribes. It also required the Prophet to restore all the stolen horses in his possession, and surrender the men who had murdered white people on the Indiana and Illinois frontiers. The messengers never returned with an answer.

The fort was completed on the 28th of October. It was built upon a bluff thirty or forty feet above the Wabash, and covered about an acre of ground. On the day of its completion it was named, by the unanimous request of the officers present, **FORT HARRISON**, in honor of the governor. Colonel Daviess made a speech on the occasion. Standing over the gate, and holding a bottle of whisky in his hand, he said, in conclusion, "In the name of the United States, and by the authority of the same, I christen this Fort Harrison." He then broke the bottle over the gate, when a whisky-loving soldier, standing near, exclaimed, with the usual expletive, "It is too bad to waste whisky in that way—water would have done just as well." Less than a year afterward that little fort became the theatre of heroic exploits under Captain Zachary Taylor, which we shall consider hereafter.

I visited Terre Haute and the site of Fort Harrison late in September, 1860.³ I had spent the previous day at Fort Wayne, in visiting and sketching the grave of Little Turtle, the great Miami chief, and other places of interest about that historic city. A storm had just ended, and the sky was still murky

³ September 26.

¹ I am indebted to Mr. D. R. Poignard, of Taylorsville, Kentucky, for a very interesting narrative of this campaign, taken by him from the lips of Captain Funk in 1862, then aged eighty years, and enjoying good health of mind and body on his fertile farm eight miles from Louisville. Mr. Funk was a native of Maryland, where he was born in 1782. He was of German descent. His narrative is clear, and exceedingly interesting, and I have availed myself of its valuable information in compiling the account of this memorable campaign.

Captain Funk says that Governor Harrison was in Louisville in August, 1811, when the narrator was in command of a company of militia cavalry there. At Harrison's personal request he hastened to Governor Scott, and obtained permission to raise a company of cavalry to join the forces of the Governor of Indiana at Vincennes, for an expedition up the Wabash. Harrison also called for a company of infantry, to be raised by Captain James Hunter, who was afterward second in command, under Colonel Croghan, at Fort Stephenson, on the joined Colonel Bartholomew's regiment, then marching on Vincennes. At this place they found Colonel Joseph H. Daviess, with two other volunteers (James Mead and Ben. Saunders) from Lexington, the colonel's then place of residence. There were with him, also, four young gentlemen from Louisville, namely, George Croghan, John O'Fallon, a *millionaire* of St. Louis in 1862, — Moore, afterward a captain in the U. S. Army, and — Hynes.

The signature of Captain Funk (then bearing the title of Major), above given, is copied from a note to me from him, written in September, 1861.

² Fort Knox was erected by Major Hamtramck in 1787, and named in honor of General Henry Knox, the Secretary of War.



when we left, at two in the afternoon, for Indianapolis. We arrived at Peru, a little village on the Wabash fifty-six miles west of Fort Wayne, at sunset. The dull clouds had lifted the space of a degree from the horizon, and allowed the last rays of the sun to give glory to the thoroughly saturated country for a few minutes, before the luminary disappeared behind the forests that skirted a wide prairie on the west.

At Peru, a railway leading southward to the capital of Indiana connects with the Toledo and Wabash Road, over which we had traveled. But there was no evening connection, and we were compelled to remain among the Peruvians until morning. Theirs is a small village. Town and taverns were filled with people, drawn thither by the two-fold attraction of a county fair and a desire to go to Indianapolis in the morning, where the late Judge Douglas, one of the candidates for the Presidency of the United States, was to speak. I found a crowd of railway passengers around the register of the inn where I stopped, all anxious to secure good lodgings for the night. The applicants were many, and the beds proportionately few. I was fortunate enough to have for my room-companion for the night, Judge Davis, of Bloomington, Illinois, a gentleman of great weight in the West, and an ardent personal friend of the late President Lincoln. He declared that, if his friend should be elected, he would be found to be "the right man in the right place." Judge Davis is now (1867) one of the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Having half an hour to spare before supper and the approaching darkness, I strolled around the village, that lies upon a rolling plain and along the banks of the beautiful Wabash—beautiful, indeed, because of variety in outline, greenness of verdure, and its fringes of graceful trees and shrubbery. Many of the trees were more ancient than the dominion of the white man there, and others were as young as the town near by, so lately sprung up from the shadows of the wilderness. A canal, with muddy banks, dug along the margin of the river, somewhat marred the beauty of the scene. It was quite dark when I retired to the inn, having called on the way at the house of Mr. Grigg, whose wife is a daughter of the Little Turtle. They were absent, and I missed the anticipated pleasure of an interview with one whose father bore such a conspicuous part in the history of the Northwest.

I left Peru, in company with Judge Davis, at six o'clock the following morning, and reached Indianapolis at ten. It was a sunny day. The town was rapidly filling with people pouring in by railways and common roads from all directions. Flags were flying, drums were beating, marshals were hurrying to and fro, and the crowds were flowing toward the "Bates House," the common centre of attraction, where Judge Douglas was receiving his friends in a private parlor, and waiting for the appointed hour when he should go out and speak to the people on the political topics of the day. Over the broad street a splendid triumphal arch was thrown, and every avenue to the hotel was densely thronged with eager expectants. I made my way through the living sea, and registered my name for dinner at the "Bates," expecting to leave for Terre Haute at evening. After spending an hour with Mr. Dillon, author of the latest history of Indiana, I was informed that a train would leave for the West at meridian. So I again elbowed my way through the crowd just as Judge Douglas was entering his carriage, and, with the shouts of twenty thousand voices ringing in my ears, I escaped to the empty streets, and reached the railway station just in time for the midday train. I was soon reminded that I had involuntarily made a liberal contribution to some light-fingered follower of the itinerant candidate for the crown of civic victory. I had been relieved of the present care of that subtle magician thus apostrophized by Byron:

"Thou more than stone of the philosopher!
Thou touchstone of Philosophy herself!
Thou bright eye of the mine! thou loadstar of
The soul! thou true magnetic pole, to which
All hearts point duly north, like trembling needles!"

Visit to Terre Haute and the Site of Fort Harrison.

Sketch of the Fort.

A Traveler in Tronide.

Terre Haute (high land) is seventy-three miles westward of Indianapolis. It is a pleasant village, and the capital of Vigo County. It then contained less than two thousand inhabitants. It is on a high plain on the left bank of the Wabash, and is one of the most delightful summer residences in all that region. We arrived there at four o'clock in the afternoon. Hoping to visit the site of Fort Harrison that evening, so as to leave in the morning, I immediately sought a gentleman in the village to whom I had a letter of introduction. The town was almost depopulated by the attractions of a county fair in its neighborhood. The afternoon was so pleasant that men, women, and children had all gone to the exhibition, and not a vehicle of any kind could be found to convey me to the fort, over two miles distant. After wasting more than an hour in fruitless attempts to procure one, I fell back on my unfailing reserve, and started off on foot. It was twilight when I reached the spot—twilight too dim to make a sketch of the locality. The old sycamore and elm trees that were there in their early maturity when the fort was built yet stand along the bank between the canal and the ruin, and on the western shore of the Wabash opposite may still be seen the fine old timber upon the low and frequently-overflowed bottom; but nothing of the fort remained excepting the logs of one of the block-houses, which then (1860) formed the dwelling of Cornelius Smock within the area of the old stockade. I had the good-fortune to meet an old man (in my haste I forgot to inquire his name), when near the site of the fort, who was there in 1813, soon after Captain Taylor's defense of it. He pointed out the exact locality, and gave me such a minute description of the structure, that I made a rough outline of it on the spot, a finished copy of which is seen in the picture. He pronounced it perfect according to his recollection. Its truthfulness was confirmed on my return to the Terre Haute House by a picture, made in like manner a few years ago from the recollections of old people, and lithographed.¹ It was placed in my hands by Mr. Ralston, of the gas-works; and I was surprised to find such a perfect agreement, even in detail. I have no doubt the engraving here



FORT HARRISON.

given is a truthful representation of Fort Harrison and its surroundings in 1813.

I left Terre Haute for Crawfordsville, Indiana, at three o'clock in the morning,* checking my luggage (as I thought) to the Junction near Greencastle, the capital of Putnam County, where the Louisville, New Albany, and Chicago Railway crosses that of the Terre Haute and Richmond. By mistake my trunk was checked for Philadelphia, and was not left at the Junction. I found the telegraph operator in his bed half a mile from the station, but he could not send a message with effect before seven o'clock, at which time my luggage would be beyond Indianapolis, making its way toward Philadelphia at the rate of twenty-five miles an hour. The winged electricity was more fleet than the harnessed steam. It headed the fugitive at Richmond, a hundred miles distant, and at two o'clock in the afternoon it was brought back a prisoner to Greencastle Station, much to my relief. I

* September 27, 1860.

¹ Published by Moselett and Hager in the year 1848.

think I never saw so much beauty in an old black leather trunk before nor since. Meanwhile I had pretty thoroughly explored Greencastle, chiefly before daylight, when trying to find my way back to the station from the telegraphist's lodgings. Every street appeared to end at a vacant lot. At length, just at dawn, I received directions from an Irishman, with an axe on his shoulder, more explicit than clear. "Is it the dapo' you want?" he inquired. "Yes." "Will, thin," he said, "jist turn down to the lift of the Prisybterian Church that's *not* finished, and go by the way of the church that *is* finished; turn right and lift as many times as ye plaze, and bedad ye'll be there." Perfectly satisfied I walked on, found the station by accident, waited patiently for the telegraphist, and then went to the village, half a mile distant, to breakfast.

Greencastle is pleasantly situated upon a high table-land, sloping every way, about a mile east of the Walnut Fork of the Eel Run, and then contained between two thousand and three thousand inhabitants. I remained there until three o'clock in the afternoon, when I left for Crawfordsville, twenty-eight miles northward, where I met my family and remained a few days, the guest of the Honorable (afterward Major General) Lewis Wallace, the gallant commander first of the celebrated Eleventh Indiana Regiment in Western Virginia, and afterward of loyal brigades and divisions in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Northern Mississippi, in the late Civil War.¹ There I met the Honorable Isaac Naylor, who was with Harrison at the battle of Tippecanoe. He had been a resident of Crawfordsville since 1833, and for fifteen years was Judge of the Circuit Court. From him I obtained much valuable information concerning the incidents of the battle of Tippecanoe and the preceding march of the army from Vincennes.²



I also visited, at Crawfordsville, the late venerable Major Ambrose Whitlock, one of the last survivors of General Wayne's army in the Northwest. He was first under the immediate command of Hamtramck, and afterward served as aid to Wayne, and became lieutenant in the company of which Harrison was captain. Major Whitlock was the founder of Crawfordsville. He was at the head of the Land-office in Indiana, as receiver of the public moneys of the United States, for eight years. William H. Crawford, Monroe's Secretary of the Treasury, appointed him to that station. The office was at Terre Haute. It was finally determined to establish an office in another part of the Territory for the convenience of the settlers, and the selection of the locality was left to the judgment of Major Whitlock. He found in the wilderness near Sugar Creek, in a thickly-wooded dell, a spring of excellent water, and resolved to establish the new Land-office near that desirable fountain. Settlers came. He laid out a village, and named it Crawfordsville, in honor of his friend of the Treasury Department. He resided there ever afterward. His house was upon a gentle eminence eastward of the railway, and the wooded dell and the ever-flowing spring of sweet water formed a part of his premises on the eastern borders of the village. Major Whitlock³ was ninety-one years of age at the time of my visit, yet his mental faculties

¹ For an account of General Wallace's military services, see *Lossing's Pictorial History of the Civil War*.

² Judge Naylor was born in Rockingham County, Virginia, on the 30th of July, 1790, and at the age of three years was taken by his family to a settlement near Ruddle's Station, Bourbon County, Kentucky. He removed to Clarke County, Indiana, in 1805, and in 1810 made a voyage to New Orleans on a flat-boat. He repeated it next year, and soon after his return, and while preparing for college, he joined Harrison's army at Vincennes as a volunteer in Captain James Bigger's company. He assisted in the construction of Fort Harrison, participated in the battle of Tippecanoe soon afterward, and at different times during the war with Great Britain that ensued, served as a volunteer, but was not in any other battle. In 1860 he was elected Judge of the Common Pleas of Montgomery County.

³ Ambrose Whitlock was born at Bowling Green, Caroline County, Virginia, on the 25th of April, 1769. At an early age he went to Kentucky. He enlisted in Wayne's army, and was with him throughout his Indian campaigns. At one time he was his aid. He was five years in garrison at Fort Washington (Cincinnati) as sergeant. President Adams commissioned him lieutenant in 1800. In 1802 he was appointed assistant military agent at Vincennes, and also assistant paymaster. He became district paymaster in 1805, a first lieutenant in the regular army in 1807, and a captain in 1812.

Journey from Crawfordsville to Lafayette.

Political Excitement at Lafayette.

Political Parties at that Time.

were quite vigorous. Unlike many soldiers of the past, a large portion of his life was blessed with an affluence of health and fortune.

On the evening of a sultry day, the last one of September, we left Crawfordsville for Lafayette, Indiana, twenty-eight miles northward, with the intention of visiting the Tippecanoe battle-ground the next morning. The country through which we passed for the first few miles was billy, and heavily timbered, and the foliage was beginning to assume the gorgeous hues of autumn. It was the first evidence we had seen of the actual departure of summer, for nearly all September had been more like August in temperature, than itself. We soon reached a small prairie, the first we had seen, and at eight o'clock arrived at Lafayette. The town, containing full ten thousand inhabitants, was all alive with political excitement, the "Douglas Democrats" and the "Republicans" both holding public meetings there. The former, convened at a hotel, was addressed by Herschel V. Johnson, of Georgia, the "Douglas" candidate for the Vice-Presidency of the United States; the latter, held in the court-house, was addressed by Mr. Howard, member of Congress from Michigan, whom I had met a few days before at the table of Senator Lane, of Crawfordsville. Torch-light processions of the "Wide-awakes" and the "Little Giants" followed the speeches; and as they marched and countermarched in the same streets at the same time, they became so entangled to the eye of the spectator that it was difficult for a partisan to recognize his own political representative in the moving illumination. This was followed by drum-beatings and huzzas, which were kept up until midnight.



A. Whitlock

He relinquished his rank in the line in June, 1814, and in May, 1815, was appointed deputy paymaster general of the district composed of Kentucky, Illinois, and Indiana. He was disbanded in 1816, having served in the army twenty-three years and a half, and attained to the rank of major. He was never in military service afterward. After serving eight years as receiver of the public moneys in Indiana, he was dismissed by General Jackson to make room for some one else. It is supposed that not half a dozen soldiers of Wayne's army now (1867) survive. In the possession of Mr. Dillon at Indianapolis I saw a daguerreotype of Martin Huckleberry, one of Wayne's army, then (September, 1860) just taken from life; and in Bangor, Maine, I saw in November, 1860, Henry Van Meter, a colored man, over ninety years of age, who was also in "Mad Anthony's" army. I am indebted to General Wallace for the portrait of Major Whitlock, from which this engraving was made. It was taken when he was in his ninety-first year. He died at his residence in Crawfordsville on the 26th of June, 1863, when over ninety-four years of age.

¹ There was a schism in the great Democratic party, so-called, in the spring of 1860, when one portion nominated Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, for the Presidency, and were called the "Douglas Democrats," and the other portion nominated John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, then the Vice-President of the United States, and were known as the "Breckinridge Democrats." Opposed to the entire Democratic party was the Republican, a political organization of a few years' standing, composed of men of all the old parties, whose leading distinctive object was the prevention of the extension of slavery beyond the states and Territories in which it already existed. This party had nominated Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, for President. A fourth party, professedly conservative, and calling themselves the Union party, nominated John Bell, of Tennessee, for President, and Edward Everett, of Massachusetts, for Vice-President. They were frequently called the Bell-Everett party. At the election in November, 1860, these four candidates were supported by their respective friends. Mr. Lincoln was elected. Mr. Douglas died in the city of Chicago early in the following June. Mr. Bell had already declared his affiliation with rebels in arms against the government; while Mr. Breckinridge, a lately-chosen senator from Kentucky, only waited for the close of the extraordinary session of Congress, held in July, and the payment of his salary from the Treasury of the United States, to openly declare himself an enemy to that country, and become a traitor by taking up arms to overthrow the government.

² Republican associations, pledged to the support of the candidates of that party, were formed all over the free-labor states in 1860. They wore round caps, and oftentimes lights on their hats, and assumed the name of "Wide-awakes." They formed the staple of Republican torch-light processions in the autumn of 1860. Mr. Douglas was a short, powerful man. In allusion to his mental strength and shortness in stature, he was called by his admirers the Little Giant. The young men of his party formed associations like the "Wide-awakes," called themselves "Little Giants," and formed the staple of the torch-light processions of the Douglas party in the autumn of 1860.

At Lafayette I met Mr. George Winter, an English artist who has resided many years in Indiana, and had the pleasure of inspecting his fine collection of Indian portraits and scenes painted by him from nature. His collection possesses much historical and ethnological value, and ought to be in the possession of some institution where it might be preserved and the individuals never separated. He was intimately acquainted with many of the characters whose features he has delineated, and he has collected stores of anecdotes and traditions of the aboriginals of the Northwest. The memory of Mr. Winter's kind attentions while we were in Lafayette is very pleasant.

The first day of October dawned brightly, and the temperature of the air was like that of early June. Before sunrise we visited the artesian well of sulphur-water in the public square, the result of a deep search for pure water. A neat pavilion covers it; cups are furnished for the thirsty, and not far off are baths of it for invalids and others.

At an early hour we departed for the battle-ground of Tippecanoe, seven miles northward. We passed over a level and pleasant country most of the way, crossing the railway several times. Within three miles of the battle-ground we crossed the Wabash on a cable-bateau,¹ and watched with interest the perilous fording of the stream just above, near the railway bridge, by a man and woman in a light wagon. Twice they came near being submerged in deep channels, but finally reached the shore with only wet feet. The man saved the ferriage fee of twelve cents.

We arrived at the Battle-ground House at ten o'clock, passing the scene of the conflict just before reaching it. Resting in the cool shadows of the stately trees that still cover the spot, let us turn to the chronicle of the Past and study the events which have made this gentle elevation, overlooking a "wet prairie," classic ground.

Fort Harrison, as we have seen, was completed on the 28th of October. It was garrisoned by a small detachment under Lieutenant-colonel Miller—the "I'll try, sir!" hero of the battle of Niagara, three years later. The main body of the army moved forward the

• October 29, next day,² and on the 31st, soon
^{1811.} after passing the Big Raccoon Creek, crossed to the western side of the Wabash, near the site of the present village of Montezuma, in Parke County.³

There the troops were joined by some of the Kentucky volunteers, under Wells, Owen, and Geiger.³ Harrison was commander-in-chief by virtue of his office as gov-



William Henry Harrison

¹ These were large flat-boats for conveying passengers, teams, and freight. They are pushed across by poles at low water, and at high water are secured and assisted in the passage by a huge cable stretched from shore to shore.

² Dillon's *History of Indiana*, page 462.

³ Having been informed that the Indians were more numerous in his front than he had anticipated, Governor Harrison had sent Colonel Davies and one or two others to Kentucky to apply for a re-enforcement of five hundred men. Brigadier General Wells immediately ordered out his brigade and beat up for volunteers. The privates hanging back, Wells and several of his officers stepped out, and being joined by some of the file, the volunteers mustered thirty-two men. They elected Colonel F. Geiger as their captain. The reluctance of the men to turn out was owing in part to their scruples, the brigade having been ordered out without orders from the Governor of Kentucky. The governor being at Frankfort, there was no time to consult him.—*Funk's Narrative*.

First Appearance of hostile Indians.

The Prophet's Town approached.

The Indians alarmed.

ernor of the Territory, and Boyd was his next in command. The whole force consisted of nine hundred and ten men, and was composed of two hundred and fifty regulars under Boyd, sixty volunteers from Kentucky, and six hundred Indiana militia. The mounted men, consisting of dragoons and riflemen, amounted to about two hundred and seventy. The command of the dragoons was given to Colonel Daviess, and of the riflemen to General Wells, both having the relative rank of major.

The army was near the Vermilion River on the 2d of November, and there, on the western bank of the Wabash, built a block-house twenty-five feet square, in which eight men were placed, to protect the boats employed in bringing up provisions for the army. On the following day^a the army moved forward, and on the 5th encamped within eleven miles of the Prophet's town. Harrison had ^{a November 3, 1811.} been careful, on the preceding day, to avoid the dangerous passes of Pine Creek, whose banks, for fifteen or twenty miles from its mouth, were immense cliffs of rock, where a few men might dispute the passage of large numbers.¹

From their encampment on the 5th, looking northward, stretched an immense prairie, extending far beyond the limits of vision. It reached to the Illinois at Chicago, the guides asserted. It filled the troops, who had never been on the northwest side of the Wabash, with the greatest astonishment; but their attention was soon drawn from the contemplation of nature to watchfulness against the wiles of their own species. Until now they had seen no Indians, though often discovering their trails. On the following day,^b when within five or six miles of the Prophet's town, they were seen hovering around the army on every side. The approach ^{b November 6.} of the troops had become known to the Prophet, and his scouts, numerous and sagacious, watched every step of the invaders. Great caution was now necessary, and the same order of march which Harrison, as Wayne's aid, had planned for that general in 1794,² he now adopted. The infantry marched in two columns on both sides of the path, and the dragoons and mounted riflemen in front, rear, and on the flanks. To facilitate the march, and keep the troops in position for a quick and precise formation into battle order in the event of an ambuscade, they were broken into short columns of companies. They had now left the open prairie, and were marching most of the time through open woods, the ground furrowed by ravines. Parties of Indians were continually making their appearance, and Barron and other interpreters tried, but in vain, to speak to their leaders. Finally, when within a mile and a half of the Prophet's town, Toussaint Dubois, of Vincennes, offered to take a message to the mongrel warrior-pontiff. The menaces of the savages were so alarming that he soon turned back, and the army pressed forward toward the Tippecanoe.

The alarmed savages now asked for a parley. It was granted. They assured Harrison that the Prophet had sent back a friendly message by the Delaware and Miami couriers, but that they had gone down the eastern bank, and missed him on his march. They were surprised at his coming so soon, and hoped he would not disturb and frighten their women and children by occupying their town. Harrison assured them that he was ready to have a friendly talk with them, and desired a good place for an encampment. They pointed to a suitable spot back from the Wabash, on the borders of a creek less than a mile northwest from the Prophet's town. Two officers (Majors Taylor and Clarke) were sent with Quarter-master Piatt to examine it. They reported that the situation was excellent. Harrison then parted with the chiefs who had come out to meet him, after an interchange of promises that no hostilities should be commenced until an interview should be held the following day. "I found the ground destined for the encampment," Harrison wrote, "not altogether such as I could wish

¹ It was believed that the Indians might make a stand there, as they did in 1780, when General George Rogers Clarke undertook a campaign against the Wabash Indians, and again, in 1790, when Major Hamtramck penetrated that region with a small force as high as the Vermilion River, to make a diversion in favor of General Harmar's expedition on the Maumee. ² See page 54.

it. It was, indeed, admirably calculated for the encampment of regular troops that were opposed to regulars, but it afforded great facility to the approach of savages. It was a piece of dry oak land, rising about ten feet above the level of a marshy prairie in front (toward the Prophet's town), and nearly twice that height above a similar prairie in the rear, through which, and near to this bank, ran a small stream clothed with willows and other brushwood. Toward the left flank this bench of land widened considerably, but became gradually narrower in the opposite direction, and at the distance of one hundred and fifty yards from the right flank terminated in an abrupt point.¹ No doubt the wily savages recommended this position that they might employ their peculiar mode of warfare advantageously.

The above is a good description of the locality as it appeared when I visited it in the autumn of 1860. It was still covered with the same oaks; on "the front," toward Wabash and Tippecanoe Creek, stretched the same "wet" or frequently overflowed prairie; in "the rear" was the same higher bank, and prairie, and Burnet's Creek; and at the "abrupt point" the Louisville, New Albany, and Chicago Railway strikes the "bench of land," and runs parallel with the common wagon-road along the bank overlooking the "wet prairie." In the annexed sketch, taken from "the abrupt point," looking northeast over the camp-ground, is seen the southern portion of the inclosure



VIEW AT TIPPECANOE BATTLE-GROUND.

of the battle-field, near which Spencer's riflemen were posted, indicated on the plan of the encampment on page 205. The horseman denotes the direction of the wet prairie toward the Prophet's town, and the steep bank seen on the left of the picture has Burnet's Creek flowing at its base, and was still "clothed with willows," shrubbery, and vines.

Harrison arranged his camp with care on the afternoon of the 6th of November, in

the form of an irregular parallelogram, on account of the slope of the ground. On the front was a battalion of United States infantry, under Major George Rogers Clarke Floyd,² flanked on the left by one company, and on the right by two companies of Indiana militia, under Colonel Joseph Bartholomew.³ In the rear was a battalion of United States infantry, under Captain William C. Baen,⁴ acting as major, with Captain Robert C. Barton,⁵ of the regulars, in immediate command. These were supported on the right by four companies of Indiana militia, led respectively by Captains

¹ Harrison's dispatch to the Secretary of War from Vincennes, November 18, 1811.

² Was appointed Captain of the Seventh Infantry in 1808, and Major of the Fourth Infantry in 1810. In August, 1812, he was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel of Seventh Infantry, and resigned in April, 1813.

³ Afterward Lieutenant Colonel of Indiana Volunteers under General Harrison. He was appointed United States Major General of the Indiana Territory in 1816.

⁴ Appointed Captain of the Fourth Infantry in 1808, and died of his wounds received in the battle of Tippecanoe on the 9th of November, 1811.

⁵ First Lieutenant in Fourth Infantry in 1808, promoted to captain in 1809, and resigned in September, 1812.

Harrison's Instructions.	The Camp in Repose.	The Indians in Commotion.	The Prophet's Treachery.
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Josiah Snelling, Jr.,¹ John Posey, Thomas Scott, and Jacob Warrick, the whole commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Luke Decker. The right flank, eighty yards wide, was filled with mounted riflemen, under Captain Spear Spencer. The left, about one hundred and fifty yards in extent, was composed of mounted riflemen, under Major General Samuel Wells,² commanding as major, and led by Colonels Frederick Geiger³ and David Robb, as captains. Two troops of dragoons, under Colonel Joseph H. Daviess, acting as major, were stationed in the rear of the front line near the left flank; and at a right angle with these companies, in the rear of the left flank, was a troop of cavalry as a reserve, under Captain Benjamin Parke.⁴ Wagons, baggage, officers' tents, etc., were in the centre.

Having completed the arrangement of his camp and supped, Harrison summoned the field-officers to his tent by a signal, and gave them instructions. He ordered that each corps that formed the exterior line of the camp should hold its ground, in case of an attack, until relieved. In the event of a night attack, the cavalry were to parade dismounted, with their pistols in their belts, and act as a *corps de reserve*. Two captains' guards, of forty-two privates each, and two subalterns', of twenty each, were detailed to defend the camp. The whole were commanded by the field-officer of the day. Thus prepared, the whole camp, except the sentinels and guards, were soon soundly sleeping. There was a slight drizzle of rain at intervals, and the darkness was intense, except occasionally when the clouds parted and faint moonlight came through.

Quite different was the condition of affairs in the Indian camp. There was no sleep there. Both parties had agreed to parley before fighting, and there should have been no excitement; but the dusky foe of the white man had no respect for truces. The unprincipled Prophet, surrounded by his dupes, prepared for treachery and murder as soon as the curtain of night had fallen upon the land.⁵ He brought out the Magic Bowl. In one hand he held the sacred torch, or "Medean fire," in the other a string of beans which he called holy, and were accounted to be miraculous in their effect when touched. His followers were all required to touch this talisman and be made invulnerable, and then to take an oath to exterminate the pale-faces. When this was accomplished, the Prophet went through a long series of incantations and mystical movements; then turning to his highly-excited band, about seven hundred in number, he told them that the time to attack the white men had come. "They are in your power," he said, holding up the holy beans as a reminder of their oath. "They sleep now, and will never awake. The Great Spirit will give light to us, and darkness to the white men. Their bullets shall not harm us; your weapons shall be al-

¹ First Lieutenant in Fourth Infantry in 1808, regimental paymaster in April, 1809, and promoted to captain in June the same year. He was breveted a major for gallantry at Brownstown, in August, 1812. In April, 1813, was appointed assistant inspector general, with the rank of major, and in February, 1814, was commissioned Lieutenant Colonel of the Fourth Regiment of Riflemen. In April he received the commission of inspector general, with the rank of colonel. He was distinguished at Lyon's Creek, on the Chippewa, under General Bissell; and when the army was placed on a peace footing in 1815 he was retained as Lieutenant Colonel of the Sixth Infantry.

He was promoted to Colonel of the Fifth in 1819. He died at Washington City on the 20th of August, 1823.

² He was a major in Adair's battalion of mounted riflemen, General Charles Scott's division of Kentucky Volunteers, in 1793. He was afterward made Major General of the Kentucky Militia. He was appointed Colonel of the Seventeenth Regiment of Infantry in March, 1812, and was disbanded in May, 1814.

³ He afterward commanded a company of Louisville Volunteers under Major General Harrison.

⁴ Parke was promoted to major on this field of action by Governor Harrison for his gallant conduct. His company was discharged in November, 1812.

⁵ It is believed that the treachery of the Indians did not take the shape of an attack on Harrison's camp until late that evening, it having been primarily arranged that they should meet the governor in council, and appear to agree to his terms. At the close the chiefs were to retire to their warriors, when two Winnebagoes, selected for the purpose, were to kill the governor, and give the signal for the uprising of the Indians.—See *Indian Biography*, by Samuel G. Drake, 1832; 12mo, page 337.



ways fatal." Then followed war-songs and dances, until the Indians, wrought up to a perfect frenzy, rushed forth to attack Harrison's camp without any leaders. Stealthily they crept through the long grass of the prairie in the deep gloom, intending to surround their enemy's position, kill the sentinels, rush into the camp, and massacre all.¹

Harrison was in the habit of rising at four o'clock in the morning, calling his troops to arms, and keeping them so until broad daylight. On the morning of the 7th of November he was just pulling on his boots at the usual hour, when a single gun was fired by a sentinel at the northwest angle of the camp, near the bank of Burnet's Creek. This was instantly followed by the horrid yells of numerous savages in that quarter, who opened a murderous fire upon the companies of Baen and Geiger that formed that angle. The foe had been creeping up stealthily to tomahawk the sentinels, but the sharp eyes of one of them had detected the moving savage in the gloom, and fired upon him with fatal effect.² Their assault was furious, and in their frenzy several Indians penetrated through the lines, but never to return.

The whole camp was soon awakened by demon yells and a cry to arms, and the officers, with all possible speed and precision, in the faint light of smouldering fires, placed their men in battle order. These fires were then extinguished, for they were more useful to the assailants than to the assailed. Nineteen twentieths of the troops had never been in battle, yet, considering the alarming circumstances of the attack, their conduct was cool and gallant, and very little noise or confusion followed such a sudden awaking from sleep and call to defend life. The most of them were in line before they were fired upon, but some were compelled to fight defensively at the doors of their tents.

Harrison called for his horse—a fine white charger—but in affright the animal had pulled up the stake that held his tether, and could not be found. The governor immediately mounted a fine bay horse that stood snorting near, and with his aid, Colonel Owen, hastened to the angle of the camp where the attack was first made.³ He found that Barton's company had suffered severely, and the left of Geiger's was entirely broken. He immediately ordered Cook's company and that of the late Captain Wentworth, under Lieutenant Peters, to be brought up from the centre of the rear line, where the ground was much more defensible, and form across the angle in support of Barton and Geiger. At that moment the governor's attention was directed to firing at the northeast angle of the camp, where a small company of United States riflemen, armed with muskets, and the companies of Baen, Snelling, and Prescott, of the Fourth Regiment, were stationed. There he found Major Davies forming the dragoons in the rear of those companies. Observing heavy firing from some trees about twenty paces in front of them, he directed the major to dislodge them with a part of his dragoons. "Unfortunately," says Harrison in his dispatch to the Secretary of War, "the major's gallantry determined him to execute the order with a smaller force than was sufficient, which enabled the enemy to avoid him in front and

¹ During the night a negro camp follower who had been missed from duty was found lurking near the governor's marquee, and arrested. He was tried after the battle by a drum-head court-martial, and was convicted of having deserted to the enemy, and returned for the purpose of murdering the governor. He was sentenced to be hung immediately, but was saved in consequence of the kindness of heart of the governor. His imploring eyes touched Harrison's tender feelings, and he referred the matter to the commissioned officers present. Some were for his immediate execution, when Snelling said, "Brave comrades, let us save him. The wretch deserves to die; but as our commander, whose life was more particularly his object, is willing to spare him, let us also forgive him. I hope, at least, that every officer of the Fourth Regiment will be on the side of mercy." Ben was saved.—Harrison's letter to Governor Scott, of Kentucky, cited by Hall, page 149. Captain Funk, in his narrative, says the negro was the driver of Governor Harrison's cart, and that he informed the Indians that the white people had no cannon with them. Cannon were the dread of the savages. Doubtless this information caused a change in the policy mentioned in note 5, page 203, and caused the savages to conclude to attack the pale-faces.

² Judge Naylor, of Crawfordsville, already mentioned as a participant in the battle, informed me that the name of the sentinel who first fired and gave the alarm was Stephen Mars, of Kentucky. He fired, and fled to the camp, but was shot before reaching it.

³ Statement of Judge Naylor. Captain Funk says that Harrison's own white horse was ridden by Major Taylor, the general's aid, against his wishes.

Battle of Tippecanoe.

The Severity of the Battle.

Death of Major Daviess.

attack him on his flanks. The major was mortally wounded,¹ and his party driven back.² Harrison immediately promoted Captain Parke to Daviess's rank just as intelligence was brought to him that Captain Snelling, with his company of regulars, had driven the savages from their murderous position with heavy loss.



The battle now became more general. The Indians attacked the camp on the whole front and both flanks, and a portion of the rear line. They fell with great severity upon Spencer's mounted riflemen on the right and the right section of Warrick's company, which formed the southwest angle of the encampment. Spencer and his lieutenant were killed, and Warrick was mortally wounded, and yet their men gallantly maintained their position. They were speedily re-enforced by Robb's riflemen, who had been driven or ordered by mistake from their position on the left flank toward the centre of the camp, and at the same time Prescott's company of the Fourth Regiment was ordered to fill the space vacated by the riflemen, the grand object being to maintain the lines of the camp unbroken until daylight, when the as-

¹ The letter B in the plan marks the spot where Daviess fell. It was near an oak whose top was blown off in a gale a few years ago. It is seen in the sketch of the battle-ground as it appeared in 1860, printed on page 209.

² Daviess was gallant and impatient of restraint. One of his party was General Washington John, of Vincennes, a quarter-master of the dragoons, who was intimate with Harrison. Daviess sent him to the governor when the Indians first made the attack at this point, asking permission to go out on foot and charge the foe. "Tell Major Daviess to be patient; he shall have an honorable station before the battle is over," Harrison replied. In a few moments Daviess repeated the request, and the governor made the same reply. Again he repeated it, when Harrison said, "Tell Major Daviess he has heard my opinion twice; he may now use his own discretion." The gallant major, with only twenty picked men, instantly charged beyond the lines on foot, and was mortally wounded. He was a conspicuous mark in the gloom, because he wore a white blanket coat.—Statements of Judge Naylor and Captain Funk. The latter says Colonel Daviess's horse was a roan bought of Frank Moore, of Louisville. The Indians were masked by some fallen timber. Captain Funk attended him at about nine o'clock; assisted in changing his clothes, and dressing his wounds. He was shot between the right hip and ribs, and it was believed that the fatal bullet proceeded from the ranks of his friends firing to the gloom. Daviess was afraid the expedition might be driven away hastily, and leave those wounded behind. He exacted a promise from Captain Funk that in no event would he leave him to fall into the hands of the savages.

sailed would be able to make a general charge upon a visible foe. To do this required great activity on the part of the commander. Harrison was constantly riding from point to point within the camp, and kept the assailed positions re-enforced. Finally, when the day dawned, he discovered the larger portion of the Indians to be on the two flanks. He accordingly strengthened these, and was about to order the cavalry, under Parke, to charge upon the foe on the left, when Major Wells, not understanding Harrison's intentions, led the infantry to perform that duty. It was executed gallantly and effectually. The Indians were driven at the point of the bayonet, and the dragoons pursued them into the wet prairies on both sides of the ridge on which the battle was fought. The ground was too soft for the horsemen to pursue, and the savages escaped. Meanwhile the Indians had been charged and put to flight on the right flank, and had also taken refuge in the marshy ground, chiefly on the side of Burnet's Creek, where they were sheltered from view.¹

Looking eastward from the site of the battle-ground over the "wet prairie" (now a fenced and cultivated plain) toward the Wabash, the visitor will see a range of very gentle hills, covered with woods. On one of these the Prophet stood while the battle was raging on that dark November morning, at a safe distance from danger, singing a war-song and performing some protracted religious mummeries. When told that his followers were falling before the bullets of the white men, he said, "Fight on, it will soon be as I told you." When at last the fugitive warriors of many tribes—Shawnoese, Wyandots, Kickapoos, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawatomies, Winnebagoes, Sacs, and a few Miamis—lost their faith, and covered the Prophet with reproaches, he cunningly told them that his predictions had failed because, during his incantations, his wife touched the sacred vessels and broke the charm! Even Indian superstition and credulity could not accept that transparent falsehood for an excuse, and the impostor was deserted by his disappointed followers, and compelled to take refuge with a small band of Wyandots on Wild-cat Creek. The foe had scattered in all directions into places where the white man could not well follow.

"Sound, sound the charge! spur, spur the steed,
And swift the fugitives pursue:
'Tis vain; rein in—your utmost speed
Could not o'ertake the recreant crew.
In lowland marsh, in dell or cave,
Each Indian sought his life to save;
Whence peering forth, with fear and ire,
He saw his Prophet's town on fire."

^a November 8, 1811. When, on the day after the battle,^a Harrison and his army advanced upon the Prophet's town, they found it deserted. After getting all the copper kettles they could find, and as much beans and corn as they could carry away, they applied the torch, and the village and a large quantity of corn were speedily reduced to ashes. Six days afterward the army, bearing the wounded in twenty-two wagons, reached Fort Harrison on its return to Vincennes. Captain Snelling, with his company of regulars, was left to garrison the fort, and, on the 18th of the month, the remainder of the army, excepting some volunteers disbanded the day before, were at Fort Knox, in the capital of the Indiana Territory. The immediate result of the expedition was to scatter the Prophet's warriors on the Wabash, frustrate the scheme of Tecumtha, and give temporary relief to the settlers in Indiana.

Tecumtha, who was really a great man (while the Prophet was a cunning demagogue and cheat—a tool in the hands of his brother), was absent among the South-

¹ Harrison's dispatch to Dr. Enstis, Secretary of War, November 18, 1811; M'Affee's *History of the Late War in the Western Country*, pages 22-30; Onderdonk's *MS. Life of Tecumseh*; Drake's *Indian Biography*; Hall's *Life of Harrison*, pages 132-140; Dillon's *History of Indiana*, pages 447-472; statements to the author by Judge Naylor, of Crawfordsville, Indiana, and Major Funk, of Kentucky.

The 7th was passed in burying the dead and strengthening the encampment, for rumors were plenty that Tecumtha was coming to the aid of his brother with a thousand warriors. "Night," says Captain Funk, "found every man mounting guard, without food, fire, or light, and in a drizzly rain. The Indian dogs, during the dark hours, produced frequent alarms by prowling in search of carrion about the sentinels."

Tecumtha disappointed.

Recruiting-tour of the Prophet.

Life and Character of Major Daviess.

ern Indians when the battle of Tippecanoe occurred. He returned soon afterward, and found all his schemes frustrated by the folly of the Prophet. The sudden unpopularity of the impostor deprived him of a strong instrument in the construction of his confederacy, to which his life and labors had been long directed with the zeal of a true patriot. He saw his brightest visions dissipated in a moment. Mortified, vexed, and exasperated, and failing to obtain the acquiescence of Governor Harrison in his proposition to visit the President with a deputation of chiefs, he abandoned all thoughts of peace, and became a firm ally of the British.¹

In the battle of Tippecanoe Harrison lost, in killed and wounded, one hundred and eighty-eight.² It was a hard-fought and well-fought battle, and attested both the skill and bravery of Harrison.³ The expediency and conduct of the campaign were topics for much discussion, and elicited not a little severity of censure from the opponents of the administration and of war. Harrison was a personal and political friend of President Madison, and this gave license to the opposition to make him a target for denunciatory volleys. His prudence, his patriotism, his military skill, his courage, were all brought in question; and some claimed the chaplet of fame for the victory gained, for the brow of Colonel Boyd.⁴ But time, the great healer of dissen-

¹ Elkswatawa (the Prophet) now started on a recruiting-tour among the various tribes on the Upper Lakes and Mississippi, all of which he visited with astonishing success. He entered the villages of his most inveterate enemies, and of others who had not even heard his name, and so manoeuvred as to make his mystery-fire and sacred string of beans a safe passport through all their settlements. He enlisted some eight or ten thousand warriors to fight the battles of his brother. He carried into every wigwam an image of a dead person the size of life, which was ingeniously made of some light material, and kept concealed under bandages of thin white muslin, and not to be opened to public scrutiny. Of this he made great mystery, and got his recruits to swear by touching the string of white beans attached to its neck. By his extraordinary cunning he carried terror wherever he went. If they did not obey him he threatened to make the earth tremble to its centre and darken the light of the sun. Nature seemed to conspire with the Prophet, for at this very time an earthquake extended along the Mississippi, demolishing houses and settling the ground. A comet, too, appeared in the north with fearful length of tail, and seemed a harbinger to the fulfillment of the predictions of the Prophet. The sun was eclipsed, to the great terror of the savages, but, as the Prophet declared, it resumed its wonted brightness because of his intercession. But while in the full tide of success, two rival chiefs of his own tribe dogged the footsteps of the Prophet, denounced him as an impostor, and exposed his tricks.—Onderdonk's MS. *Life of Tecumseh*.

² He lost, in killed and wounded, ten officers, namely, one aid-de-camp, one major, three captains, two subalterns, one sergeant, and two corporals. Judge Naylor told me that the sergeant and himself were asleep at the same fire when the attack commenced, and that a bullet from an Indian's musket killed him as he was springing to his feet. Colonel Abraham Owen, Harrison's aid-de-camp, was killed early in the engagement, when he and the governor rode to the point of first attack. Letter A in the plan on page 205 marks the spot where he fell. He rode a white horse, and this made him a mark for the Indians. The enemies of Harrison afterward asserted that the latter, to conceal himself, had exchanged horses with Owen. The fact was as I have stated—his own horse had scampered away in a fright, and he had mounted the first one near, which happened to be a dark-colored one. The horse Owen rode was his own. That officer had joined him as a private of Geiger's company, and had been accepted as his volunteer aid. He was a good citizen and a brave soldier, and had been a member of the Kentucky Legislature.

Among the mortally wounded, and who died before Harrison made his report, was Major Daviess, and Captains Baen and Warrick. Daviess, commonly called "Joe Daviess," was the most brilliant man in that little army, and was as brave as he was brilliant. He was a Virginian by birth, and at the time of his death was only thirty-seven years of age. He took a leading part against Aaron Burr in the West in 1806. Previous to that he had been a successful opponent of the Nicholases in political movements, they being Republicans and he a Federalist. He was a great student, very abstemious, used a hewn block for a pillow, and a bed nearly as hard. His oratory was powerful, and Wilson C. Nicholas, the leader of that art in Kentucky at the close of the last century, was often compelled to bend to his young rival. Alluding to this power, a Tennessee poet (Robert Mack) wrote as follows, in a rhyming eulogy, after his death:

"Emerging from his studious shed,
Behold, behold him rise!
All Henry bursting from his tongue,
And Marshall from his eyes.
Chained by the magic of his voice,
Fierce party spirit stood;
E'en prejudice almost gave way,
While with restless reasoning's sway
O'er far-famed Nicholas he rolled
The oratorical flood."

In 1801, '02 Mr. Daviess went to Washington City on professional business, and was the first Western lawyer who ever appeared in the Supreme Court of the United States. Mr. Jefferson made him Attorney of the United States for the District of Kentucky. He married a sister of Chief Justice Marshall, and always held a front rank in his profession. Daviess County, Kentucky, was named in his honor. He was wounded at about five o'clock in the morning of the 7th of November, and survived until one o'clock in the afternoon of the same day. He was nearly six feet high, vigorous and athletic. He was born in Bedford County, Virginia, on the 4th of March, 1774.

³ Harrison was continually exposed during the action, but escaped unhurt. A bullet passed through his hat. Major Henry Hurst, who was one of his aide-de-camp (and an active one) in this battle, and was the only lawyer who resided in Indiana while it was a Territory, died at Jeffersonville, on the Ohio, opposite Louisville, where he had lived forty years, on the 1st of January, 1855, in the eighty-fifth year of his age.

⁴ In his dispatch to the Secretary of War, Harrison said of Colonel Boyd: "The whole of the infantry formed a small

sions, corrector of errors, and destroyer of party and personal animosities, has long since silenced the voice of detraction; and the verdict of his countrymen to-day, as they study the record dispassionately, is coincident with that of his soldiers at the time, and of the Kentucky Legislature shortly afterward, who, on motion of the late venerable member of Congress, John J. Crittenden, resolved, "That in the late campaign against the Indians on the Wabash, Governor W. H. Harrison has, in the opinion of this Legislature, behaved like a hero, a patriot, and a general; and that for his cool, deliberate, skillful, and gallant conduct in the late battle of Tippecanoe, he deserves the warmest thanks of the nation." History, art, and song¹ made that event the theme for pen, pencil, and voice; and when, thirty years afterward, the leader of the fray was a candidate for the Presidency of the United States, he was every where known by the familiar title of Old Tippecanoe. His partisans erected log-cabins in towns and cities, and in them sang in chorus,

"Hurrah for the father of all the green West,
For the Buckeye who follows the plow!
The foe-men in terror his valor confessed,
And we'll honor the conqueror now.
His country assailed in the darkest of days,
To her rescue impatient he flew:
The war-whoop's fell blast, and the rifle's red blaze,
But awakened Old Tippecanoe."

The battle-field of Tippecanoe has become classic ground. It belonged to the State of Indiana, and had been inclosed with a rude wooden fence for several years, which, we were told, was soon to give place to an iron one. The inclosure comprised seven acres. It was a beautiful spot. The ground, gently undulating, and sloping from *Battle-ground City*² (an infant in years and size), was still covered with the noble oaks. In the sketch here given, made when I visited it in October, 1860, the spectator is supposed to be standing just northward of the place where Major Wells's line, on the left flank, was formed (see a plan of the camp on page 205), and looking southwest over the once wet prairie toward the Wabash. On the extreme left, in the distance, is seen the gentle eminence on which the Prophet stood during the battle, singing his war-songs. Farther to the right, near the row of posts, is a large tree with the top broken off. It marks the spot near which Daviess fell. There is only space enough between it and the verge of the prairie below for the common road and the railway.

brigade, under the immediate orders of Colonel Boyd. The colonel throughout the action manifested equal zeal and bravery in carrying into execution my orders, in keeping the men to their posts, and exhorting them to fight with valor." Judge Naylor informed me that he heard Colonel Boyd frequently cry out, "Huzzah! my sons of gold, the day is ours!"



¹ Among the many "verses composed on the occasion of the battle of Tippecanoe," none were more popular in the West, for a long time, than a string of solemn doggerel, printed on a small broadside of rough paper, at Frankfort, Kentucky. A copy lies before me. It is entitled, "A Bloody Battle between the United States Troops, under the command of Governor Harrison, and several Tribes of Indians, near the Prophet's Town, November 7, 1811." At the head is a rude wood-cut, evidently made by an amateur for some other scene, for a camp exhibits two cannons. A little distance off are seen three Indians. I give a fac-simile of this remarkable "illustration" (of reduced size),

a specimen of the art in the West at that time. The following specimen of the "poetry" shows a "fitness of things" between the rhyme and the picture:

"Harrison, a commander of great renown,
Led on our troops near by the Prophet's town;
After evils o'ercome and obstructions past,
Near this savage town they encamped at last."

Readers anxious to peruse the other seven verses will find the whole "poem" in the third volume of M'Carty's *National Song-book*, page 440.

² This village is the child of a college located there, called *The Battle-ground Institute*, devoted to the education of both sexes. It was founded in 1858, and the village was soon afterward laid out. Both college and "city" are flourishing. The former was under the charge of Rev. E. H. Staley when I was there, and contained almost three hundred pupils. The college is situated in a grove of oaks on the upper border of the battle-ground, and the shaded inclosure forms a delightful promenade and place for out-of-door study. Several students, with their books, were seen under the trees when we were there.

Departure for Chicago.

Journey across the Prairies.

Thunder-storm.

Arrival at Chicago.



TIFECANOE BATTLE-GROUND IN 1860.

We dined at the Battle-ground House, and departed for Chicago, one hundred and forty miles distant, at three o'clock in the afternoon. The journey was one of real pleasure. Soon after leaving, we entered a prairie, and traversed its dead level for seventy miles, passing some little villages on the way. It was rich with verdure and late prairie-flowers, and the broad expanse was dotted here and there in every direction, as far as the eye could comprehend, with clumps of tall trees and shrubbery, which appeared like islands in the midst of a vast green sea. Toward evening heavy black clouds gathered in the northwestern sky, and when we approached Michigan City that stands among the sand dunes at the head of Lake Michigan, just at sunset, we ran into a heavy thunder-shower that was sweeping around the majestic southern curve of that inland sea. Darkness soon came on, and as we approached Chicago, late in the evening, we encountered another shower. On lake and prairie the lightning descended in frequent streams, and the thunder roared fearfully above the din of the dashing railway train. But all was serene when we arrived at Chicago. The stars were beaming brightly, and a young moon was just dipping its horn below the great prairie on the west. It had been a day of exciting pleasure as well as fatigue, and the night at the Richmond House was one of sweet repose for us all.



CHAPTER XI.

"Hark! the peal of war is rung;
Hark! the song for battle's sung;
Firm be every bosom strung,
And every soldier ready.
On to Quebec's embattled halls!
Who will pause when glory calls?
Charge, soldiers! charge its lofty walls,
And storm its strong artillery!
Firm as our native hills we'll stand,
And should the lords of Europe land,
We'll meet them on the farthest strand;
We'll conquer or we'll die!"

FROM THE TRENTON TREE AMERICAN.



INTELLIGENCE of the battle of Tippecanoe reached Washington City soon after the Twelfth Congress had assembled, and produced a profound sensation in that body. They had been convened by proclamation a month earlier^a than the regular day of meeting. The affairs of the country were approaching a crisis, and this session was to be the most important of any since the establishment of the nation.

Both political parties came fully armed and well prepared for a desperate conflict. The Federalists were in a hopeless minority in both houses, but were strong in materials. They had but six members in the Senate, where even Massachusetts, the home of the "Essex Junto," was represented by a Democrat in the person of the veteran Joseph B. Varnum, the speaker of the last House, who had been chosen to supersede Timothy Pickering.¹ Giles, of Virginia, having joined a faction similar to Randolph's "Quids" in its relations to the administration, Wm. H. Crawford, of Georgia, became the leader in the Senate of the dominant party proper, and was ably supported by Campbell, of Tennessee.

In the lower House the Federalists had but thirty-six members, whose great leader was Quincy, of Massachusetts, ably supported by Key, of Maryland, Chittenden, of Vermont, and Emmott, of New York. Connecticut and Rhode Island were still numbered among the Federal states; but in the remainder of New England and the State of New York the Democrats had a decided majority. There were but ten Federalists for all the states south of Pennsylvania and Delaware. The more radical members of the last Congress had been re-elected; and in Cheves, Calhoun and Lowndes, of South Carolina, Clay, of Kentucky, and Grundy, of Tennessee—all young men and full of vigor—appeared not only Democratic members of ability, but enthusiastic champions of war with Great Britain. With these came the veteran Sevier, the hero

^a The contest for power between the Federalists and Democrats of Massachusetts had been long and bitter. In 1811 the latter succeeded in electing their candidate for governor (Elbridge Gerry), and a majority of both houses of the Legislature. In order to secure the election of United States senators in the future, it was important to perpetuate this possession of power, and measures were taken to retain a Democratic majority in the State Senate in all future years. The senatorial districts had been formed without any division of counties. This arrangement, for the purpose alluded to, was now disturbed. The Legislature proceeded to rearrange the senatorial districts of the state. They divided counties in opposition to the protests and strong constitutional arguments of the Federalists; and those of Essex and Worcester were so divided as to form a Democratic district in each of those Federal counties, without any apparent regard to convenience or propriety. The work was sanctioned, and became law by the signature of Governor Gerry. He probably had no other hand in the matter, yet he received most severe castigations from the opposition.

In Essex County, the arrangement of the district in its relation to the towns was singular and absurd. Russell, the veteran editor of the *Boston Centinel*, who had fought against the scheme valiantly, took a map of that county and des-

Henry Clay chosen Speaker.

The President's feeble War-trumpet.

History of the Gerry-mander.

of King's Mountain, and first Governor of Tennessee—"stiff and grim as an Indian arrow; not speaking, but looking daggers."¹ The young and ardent members, with the imperious Clay at their head, immediately took the lead; and the warlike temper of the House was manifested by the election of Mr. Clay to the speakership by the decided vote of seventy-five, against thirty-eight given for William Bibb, the peace candidate, and a dozen scattering votes.² A determination that inactivity and indecision should no longer be the policy of the administration was soon manifested, and the timid President Madison found himself, as the standard-bearer of his party, surrounded, like a can-part of the United States, to substitute for the accumulating dangers to the peace of



H. Clay

tious sachem, with irrepressible young warriors eager for a fray.

The President, in his annual * November message,³ 5, 1811. sounded a war-trumpet, though rather feebly. After alluding to the condition of the national defenses, he said, "I must now add, that the period has arrived which claims from the legislative guardians of the national rights a system of more ample

provision for maintaining them. Notwithstanding the scrupulous justice, the protracted moderation, and the multiplied efforts on the



THE GERRY-MANDER.

ignated by particular coloring the towns thus selected, and hung it on the wall of his editorial room. One day Gilbert Stuart, the eminent painter, looked at the map, and said the towns which Russell had thus distinguished resembled some monstrous animal. He took a pencil, and with a few touches added what might represent a head, wings, claws, and tail. "There," Stuart said, "that will do for a salamander." Russell, who was busy with his pen, looked up at the hideous figure, and exclaimed, "Salamander I call it *Gerry-mander!* The word was immediately adopted into the political vocabulary as a term of reproach to the Democratic Legislature.—See *Specimens of Newspaper Literature, with Personal Memoirs, Anecdotes, and Reminiscences*, by Joseph T. Buckingham, ii., 91.

Stuart's monstrous figure of the *Gerry-mander* was presented upon a broadside containing a natural and political history of the animal, and hawked about the country. From one of these before me, kindly placed in my possession by the late Edward Everett, I copied the picture given in this note, which is about one half the size of the original.

After giving some ludicrous guesses as to its character and origin—whether it was the genuine *Basiliak*, the *Serpens Monocephalus* of Pliny, the *Griffin* of romance, the *Great Red Dragon* of Apollon of Buayan, or the *Monstrum Horrendum* of Virgil—the writer of the natural history of the *Gerry-mander* says that the learned Dr. Water-

gruel proved it to be a species of salamander, engendered partly by the devil in the fervid heats of party strife. "But," he says, "as this creature has been engendered and brought forth under the sublimest auspices, the doctor proposes that a name should be given to it expressive of its genus, at the same time conveying an elegant and very appropriate and compliment to his excellency the governor, who is known to be the zealous patron of whatever is new, astonishing, and erratic, especially of domestic growth and manufacture. For these reasons, and other valuable considerations, the doctor has decreed this monster shall be denominated a *GERRY-MANDER*."

¹ Mr. Clay was elected on the first ballot. The vote stood—for Clay, 75; for Bibb, 35; for Bassett, of Virginia, 1; for Nelson, of Virginia, 2; and for Macon, of North Carolina. ³ Mr. Clay was declared duly elected speaker. A corre-

the two countries all the mutual advantages of re-established friendship and confidence, we have seen that the British Cabinet perseveres not only in withholding a remedy for other wrongs, so long and so loudly calling for it, but in the execution, brought home to the threshold of our territory, of measures which, under existing circumstances, have the character as well as the effects of war on our lawful commerce. With this evidence of hostile inflexibility in trampling on rights which no independent nation can relinquish, Congress will feel the duty of putting the United States into an armor and an attitude demanded by the crisis, and corresponding with the national spirit and expectations." Yet Mr. Madison, like Mr. Jefferson, was anxious to avoid war, if possible.

A war-note in a higher key was speedily sounded by the Committee on Foreign Relations, of which Peter P. Porter, of New York, was chairman. They made a short

^{1811.} but energetic report on the 29th of November.^a They referred in severe terms to the wrongs which for more than five years the commerce of the United States had suffered from the operations of the conflict for power between England and France—wronges inaugurated by British orders in Council, and imitated, in retaliation, by French decrees. They charged Great Britain with the crime of persisting in the infliction of these wrongs after France, by abandoning her decrees, so far as the United States were concerned, had led the way toward justice to neutrals. They then arraigned Great Britain upon a more serious charge—that of continued impressment of American seamen into the British service. While they pleaded for the protection of commerce, they were not, they said, "of that sect whose worship is at the shrine of a calculating avarice. . . . Although the groans of those victims of barbarity for the loss of (what should be dearer to Americans than life) their liberty—although the cries of their wives and children, in the privation of protectors and parents, have of late been drowned in the louder clamors of the loss of property, yet is the practice of forcing our mariners into the British navy, in violation of the rights of our flag, carried on with unabated rigor and severity. If it be our duty to encourage the fair and legitimate commerce of this country by protecting the property of the merchant, then, indeed, by as much as life and liberty are more estimable than ships and goods, so much more impressive is the duty to shield the persons of our seamen, whose hard and honest services are employed, equally with those of the merchants, in advancing, under the mantle of its laws, the interests of their country. To sum up, in a word, the great cause of complaint against Great Britain, your committee need only say, that the United States, as a sovereign and independent power, claim the right to use the ocean, which is the common and acknowledged highway of nations, for the purposes of transporting, in their own vessels, the products of their own soils and the acquisitions of their own industry to a market in the ports of friendly nations, and to bring home, in return, such articles as their necessities or convenience may require, always regarding the rights of belligerents as defined by the established laws of nations. Great Britain, in defiance of this incontestable right, captures every American vessel bound to or returning from a port where her commerce is not favored; enslaves our seamen, and, in spite of our remonstrances, perseveres in these aggressions. To wrongs so daring in character and so disgraceful in their execution, it is impossible that the people of the United States should remain indifferent. We must now tamely and quietly submit, or we must resist by those means which God has placed within our reach.

spondent of the New York *Evening Post* wrote: "He made a short address to the House on taking his seat, which, from the lowness of his voice at that time, could not be distinctly heard." In the same letter the writer said, "It is believed Clay was not thought of for Speaker till Sunday; he certainly was not publicly mentioned. The Democrats had a caucus Sunday evening, and fixed on Clay. This was done to prevent the election of Macon, who has too much honesty and independence for the leading administration men."

Mr. Clay was then thirty-four years of age, and this was his first appearance as a member in the House of Representatives. He was in the Senate previously, as we have observed. The portrait given on the previous page is from a painting from life by the late Mr. Ranney, when Mr. Clay was nearly sixty years of age.

Resolutions of the Committee on Foreign Relations.

The first railway Traveler and telegraphic Dispatch.

“Your committee would not cast a shade over the American name by the expression of a doubt which branch of this alternative will be embraced. The occasion is now presented when the national character, misunderstood and traduced for a time by foreign and domestic enemies, should be vindicated. If we have not rushed to the field of battle like the nations who are led by the mad ambition of a single chief in the avarice of a corrupted court, it has not proceeded from the fear of war, but from our love of justice and humanity. That proud spirit of liberty and independence which sustained our fathers in the successful assertion of rights against foreign aggression is not yet sunk. The patriotic fire of the Revolution still lives in the American breast with a holy and unextinguishable flame, and will conduct this nation to those high destinies which are not less the reward of dignified moderation than of exalted valor. But we have borne with injury until forbearance has ceased to be a virtue. The sovereignty and independence of these states, purchased and sanctified by the blood of our fathers, from whom we received them, not for ourselves only, but as the inheritance of our posterity, are deliberately and systematically violated. And the period has arrived when, in the opinion of your committee, it is the sacred duty of Congress to call forth the patriotism and resources of the country. By the aid of these, and with the blessing of God, we confidently trust we shall be able to procure that redress which has been sought for by justice, by remonstrance, and forbearance in vain.”

The committee, “reserving for a future report those ulterior measures which, in their opinion, ought to be pursued,” earnestly recommended Congress to second the proposition of the President by immediately putting the United States “into an armor and attitude demanded by the crisis, and corresponding with the national spirit and expectations.” In a series of resolutions they recommended the immediate completion of the military establishment as authorized by law, by filling up the ranks and prolonging the enlistments; the authorization of an additional force of ten thousand regular troops to serve for three years, and the acceptance by the President, under proper regulations, of any number of volunteers not exceeding fifty thousand, to be organized, trained, and held in readiness; giving the President authority to order out detachments of militia when the interests of the country should require; the immediate repairing of all national vessels and fitting them for service, and the allowing merchant ships to arm in their own defense.¹

This report, spread upon the wings of the press, went over the country swiftly—not so swiftly as now, for railways and telegraphs were unknown²—and produced a

¹ Niles's *Weekly Register*, i., 253.

² The first trip made by a locomotive on this continent was thus described a few years ago in a speech at an Erie Railway festival, by Horatio Allen, the eminent engineer:

“When was it? Who was it? And who awakened its energies and directed its movements? It was in the year 1828, on the banks of the Lackawaxen, at the commencement of the railroads connecting the canal of the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company with their coal mines, and he who addresses you was the only person on that locomotive. The circumstances which led to my being alone on the engine were these: The road had been built in the summer; the structure was of hemlock timber, and rails of large dimensions notched on caps placed far apart. The timber had cracked and warped from exposure to the sun. After about three hundred feet of straight line, the road crossed the Lackawaxen Creek on trestle-work about thirty feet high, with a curve of three hundred and fifty-five to four hundred feet radius. The impression was very general that the iron monster would either break down the road, or it would leave the track at the curve and plunge into the creek. My reply to such apprehensions was that it was too late to consider the probability of such occurrences; there was no other course than to have a trial made of the strange animal, which had been brought here at a great expense, but that it was not necessary that more than one should be involved in its fate; that I would take the first ride alone, and the time would come when I should look back to the incident with great interest. As I placed my hand on the throttle-valve handle, I was undecided whether I would move slowly or with a fair degree of speed; but, believing that the road would prove safe, and preferring, if we did go down, to go handsomely, and without any evidence of timidity, I started with considerable velocity, passed the curve over the creek safely, and was soon out of hearing of the vast assemblage. At the end of two or three miles I reversed the valve and returned without accident, having thus made the first railroad trip by locomotive on the Western hemisphere.”

The first regular telegraphic dispatch, for the public eye and ear, was sent from Washington City to Baltimore by Professor Samuel F. B. Morse, the inventor of the electro-telegraphic system of intellectual communication, in May, 1844. The dispatch, furnished to Professor Morse, according to promise, by Miss Anna Ellsworth, daughter of the then Commissioner of Patents, who had taken great interest in Mr. Morse's experiments, was worthy of the occasion: it was the expression of Balaam—“WHAT HATH GOD WROUGHT!” That first dispatch, in the telegraphic language, may be found in the archives of the Connecticut Historical Society.

powerful impression upon the American mind and heart. No one could deny the truthfulness of its statements, and few well-informed persons doubted the wisdom and justice of its conclusions. While great indignation was felt toward France for her past and present aggressions upon the rights of neutrals, much stronger was the feeling against Great Britain, because it had been her settled policy and her practice for more than half a century, and had been used with cruel rigor long before France, in retaliation, adopted the same instrument for warfare. This indignation was more vehement because England, with haughty persistence, and in violation of the sovereignty and independence of the United States, continued her nefarious practice of impressing American seamen into the British naval service. Upon such burning feelings throughout the land, just then stimulated to great intensity by the intelligence from the Indian country, fell the fuel of this trumpet-toned report. It was short, perspicuous, and pungent. It was read by every body; and every measure proposed in Congress, looking to hostilities with Great Britain, was applauded by a large majority of the people.

In Congress warm debates followed on the resolutions appended to the report. It was admitted that the United States could not meet Great Britain on the ocean fleet to fleet, but it was believed that when an army from the States should appear on the soil of Canada, or of the other British provinces in the farther East, the people, then tired of being ruled as colonies, would gladly join fortunes with the young Giant of the West. It was believed that their bosoms swelled with desires since embodied in these words of an English poet :

"There's a star in the West that shall never go down
'Till the records of valor decay;
We must worship its light, though 'tis not our own,
For liberty bursts in its ray."

It was also believed that American privateers would speedily ruin British commerce and fisheries, and that, by sea and land expeditions, the people of the United States would be remunerated tenfold for all the spoiliations inflicted on their commerce, and thus compel the British government to act justly and respectfully.¹

Most of the Southern and Western members were in favor of war. But John Randolph, always happy in his element of universal opposition, battled against the men of his own section in his peculiar way, sometimes with ability, always discursively, and frequently with the keenest satire. He endeavored to excite the fears of the members of the slave-labor states by warning them that an invasion of Canada might be retorted upon Southern soil with fearful effect. He declared that the slaves had already become polluted by that French democracy which animated the administration party, who were so eager to go to war with the enemy of Napoleon, whom he ranked, as a scourge of mankind, with Tamerlane and Genghis Khan—"malefactors of the human race, who grind down men into mere material of their impious and bloody ambition." He said the negroes were rapidly gaining notions of freedom, destructive alike to their own happiness and the safety and interests of their masters. He denounced as a "butcher" a member of Congress who had proposed the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. He said men had broached on that very floor the doctrine of imprescriptible rights to a crowded audience of blacks in the galleries, teaching them that they were equal to their masters. "Similar doctrines," he said, "are spread throughout the South by Yankee peddlers; and there are even owners of slaves so infatuated as, by the general tenor of their conversation, by contempt of order, morality, religion, unthinkingly to cherish these seeds of destruction. And what has been the consequence? Within the last ten years repeated alarms of slave-insurrections, some of them awful indeed. By the spreading of this infernal doctrine the whole South has been thrown into a state of insecurity. . . . You have de-

¹ Porter's Speech.

Randolph scolds the Democrats.

John C. Calhoun.

Sketches of Randolph and Calhoun.

prived the slave of all moral restraint," he continued, addressing the Democratic members; "you have tempted him to eat of the tree of knowledge just enough to perfect him in wickedness; you have opened his eyes to his nakedness. . . . God forbid that the Southern States should ever see an enemy on these shores with their infernal principles of French fraternity in the van! While talking of Canada, we have too much reason to shudder for our own safety at home. I speak from facts when I say that the night-bell never tolls for fire in Richmond that the frightened mother does not hug her infant the more closely to her bosom, not knowing what may have happened. I have myself witnessed some of these alarms in the capital of Virginia."

Randolph¹ then gave the Democrats some severe words concerning the adverse policy advocated by their party in 1798, when the Federal administration was preparing for a war with France. He taunted them with being preachers of reform and economy heretofore, but now, in their blind zeal to serve their French master, were willing to create a heavy national debt by rushing into an unnecessary and wicked war with a fraternal people—fraternal in blood, language, religion, laws, arts, and literature.²

Randolph's speech had but little effect upon his auditors other than to irritate the more sensitive and amuse the more philosophic. A few members, at the risk of poisoned arrows from his tongue, ventured to give him some home thrusts, while Calhoun, then less than thirty years of age, made this the occasion of his first oratorical effort in that great theatre of legislative strife wherein he so long and so valiantly contested.³ With that dexterous use of subtle logic which never failed to give him



John Randolph

¹ John Randolph claimed to be seventh in descent from Pocahontas, the famous Indian princess. He was born three miles from Petersburg, in Virginia, on the 2d of June, 1773. He was educated at Princeton College, New Jersey, Columbia College, New York, and William and Mary College, in Virginia. From infancy he suffered from ill health. He studied law, but never practiced it. His first appearance in public life was in 1799, when he was elected to a seat in the National Congress, and for thirty years, with an interval of two years each, he held a seat in that body. He became insane for a time in 1811, and had returns of his malady at intervals during the remainder of his life. He strenuously opposed the war with Great Britain in 1812, and after that event his political career was very erratic. He was the warm friend of General Jackson in 1828, and in 1839 that gentleman appointed him United States Minister to Russia. He could not endure the winter on the Neva, and his stay in Russia was short. He resided in England for a while, and after his return his constituents elected him to Congress. But he did not take his seat. Consumption laid its hand upon him, and he died in a hotel in Philadelphia, on the 25d of May, 1833, while on his way to New York to embark for Europe.

² Speech in the House of Representatives, December 10, 1811.—Niles's Register, I., 315.

³ John Caldwell Calhoun was born in Abbeville District, South Carolina, on the 18th of March, 1782. His mother was a native of Virginia. He entered Yale College as a student in 1802, where he was marked as a young man of genius and great promise. He was graduated in 1804 with the highest honors of the institution. He studied law in Litchfield, Connecticut, and entered upon its practice in his native district. He was elected to a seat in the Legislature of South Carolina in 1808, and in 1811 he took his seat as member of the National Congress as a staunch Republican or Democrat. He ably supported Mr. Madison's administration, and in 1817 President Monroe called him to his Cabinet as Secretary of War. He was elected Vice-President of the United States in 1825, and was re-elected with Jackson in 1829. He succeeded Hayne in the Senate of the United States in 1831, and became the leader in the disloyal movement of his native state known in history under the general title of Nullification, in 1832-'33. President Tyler called him to his Cabinet as Secretary of State in 1843, and he again entered the Senate as the representative of his state in 1845. He held that position until his death, which occurred at Washington City on the 31st of March, 1850, when he was just past sixty-eight years of age. Our portrait of Mr. Calhoun, on the next page, is from one taken from life about the year 1830, when he was forty-eight years of age.

ingenious arguments in favor of any views he might desire to enforce, he replied to Randolph at some length, insisting that it was a principle as applicable to nations as to individuals to repel a first insult, and thus command the respect, if not the fear of the assailant. "Sir," he said, "I might prove the war, should it ensue, justifiable by the express admission of the gentleman from Virginia; and necessary, by facts undoubted and universally admitted, such as that gentleman



J. C. Calhoun

to controvert. The extent, duration, and character of the injuries received; the failure of those peaceful means heretofore resorted to for the redress of our wrongs, is my proof that it is necessary. Why should I mention the impressment of our seamen; depredation on every branch of our commerce, including the direct export trade, continued for years, and made under laws

which professedly undertake to regulate our trade

with other nations;¹ negotiation resorted to time after time till it became hopeless; the restrictive systems persisted in to avoid war and in the vain expectation of returning justice? The evil still grows, and in each succeeding year swells in extent and pretension beyond the preceding. The question, even in the opinion and admission of our opponents, is reduced to this single point, Which shall we do, abandon or defend our own commercial and maritime rights, and the personal liberties of our citizens in exercising them? These rights are essentially attacked, and war is the only means of redress. The gentleman from Virginia has suggested none, unless we consider the whole of his speech as recommending patient and resigned submission as the best remedy. Sir, which alternative this House ought to sustain is not for me to say. I hope the decision is made already by a higher authority than the voice of any man. It is not for the human tongue to instill the sense of independence and honor. This is the work of nature—a generous nature that disdains tame submission to wrongs. This part of the subject is so imposing as to enforce silence even on the gentleman from Virginia. He dared not deny his country's wrongs, or vindicate the conduct of her enemy.²

In this dignified strain Mr. Calhoun charmed his listeners, steadying the vacillating, convincing the doubting, and commanding the respectful attention of the opponents of the resolutions. He treated Randolph's bugbear of slave insurrection with lofty contempt. "However the gentleman may frighten himself," he said, "with the disorganizing effects of French principles, I can not think our ignorant blacks have felt much of their baleful influence. I dare say more than one half of them never heard of the French Revolution."³

The Federalists said very little on this occasion. It had always been their policy to be prepared for war. The resolutions appended to the report of the Committee

¹ December 16, 1811.

² See page 165.

³ *Abridgment of the Debates of Congress from 1789 to 1856*, by Thomas H. Benton, iv., 449.

Augmentation of the Army. Patriotism of leading Federalists. Reasons of Quincy and Emott for their Course.

ber of twenty-five thousand were authorized by a vote of the House early in January.^a The bill also provided for the appointment of two major generals and five additional brigadiers; also for a bounty to new recruits of sixteen dollars, and, at the time of discharge, three months' extra pay and a certificate for one hundred and sixty acres of land.¹ On the 14th of the month another act was passed, appropriating a million of dollars for the purchase of arms, ordnance, camp equipage, and quarter-master's stores; and four hundred thousand dollars for powder, ordnance, and small-arms for the navy. Thus, in a brief space of time, the little army of the peace establishment, which had been comparatively inactive, was swelled in prospective from about three thousand men to more than seventy thousand regulars and volunteers. The President was authorized to call upon the governors of states

¹ Seven of the thirty-seven Federalists in the House voted for these measures. These were Quincy and Reed, of Massachusetts; Emott, Bleecker, Gold, and Livingston, of New York; and Milnor, of Pennsylvania. The latter was the late James Milnor, D.D., Rector of St. George's Church, New York. It was during this session of Congress that he became deeply impressed with religious sentiments, and felt himself called to the Gospel ministry. He abandoned the lucrative profession of the law and the turbulent field of politics, and took orders in the Protestant Episcopal Church, of which, until his death, in the spring of 1844, he was "a bright and shining light."

The position taken by these leading Federalists at that critical time, in opposition to the great body of their colleagues in Congress and of the party in New England, was patriotic in the highest degree, and yet, so doubtful were they of the verdict which posterity might pass upon their actions, that two of them (Quincy and Emott) prepared quite an elaborate defense, in which the reasons for their course were ably set forth. It was drawn up by Emott, slightly amended by Quincy, and signed by both. It was left in Emott's hands, to be used at any future time by him or his descendants in vindication of their course. Posterity—even contemporaries—have pronounced their course wise and patriotic. The original manuscript, in the possession of the Hon. James Emott, of Poughkeepsie, New York, a son of one of the signers, is before me while I write. It is in the delicate and neat handwriting of the elder Emott,* and dated January 1, 1812. After clearly stating the position of public affairs, they say: "We thought it therefore worthy of an experiment to allow the administration to make out their case before the great bar of the public without, as heretofore, aiding it by an early opposition; and we hoped, and yet hope, that by withdrawing the aliment of party rancor it will cease to exist, and that the people will see the precipice to which they have been drawn, and the danger which awaits the country unless there is a speedy and radical change of men or measures. . . . By leaving the government in the first instance unmolested, in its measures the people may receive a distinct impression of its objects. If they are really of that high and commanding character as to effectuate what their friends promised, relief to our country, it is of little consequence from whose hands so desirable a blessing is received. But if the character of the plans of the administration continues time-serving, self-oppressive, and hypocritical, on it and its supporters would fall the responsibility, without the possibility of transferring it to those who had neither shared nor opposed their purposes."

Josiah Quincy
James Emott

These gentlemen then allude to the prevalent opinion that if the Federalists should withhold their opposition, the British government, hopeless of a party in its favor in the United States, would relax its restrictive measures. They then declare that if the British government or people believe that opposition of the Federalists arises from any unpartisan motives, "bottomed on a desire for power to be obtained at the expense of the interests of the nation," there has been an essential and lamentable mistake.

In reference to the measures proposed for putting the country in a state of adequate strength in the event of war, for which these gentlemen voted four days after the date of the paper under action, they remarked: "In re-estimating our duties upon this occasion, we have not deemed it necessary to take into consideration the causes which have led to our present embarrassments. We certainly do not entertain the opinion that the course which has been pursued by the administration is either correct or to be justified; but we can not but perceive that our present difficulties are not so apparently and exclusively attributable to the American government as to justify a resort to a policy which would leave the nation unprotected and defenseless. . . . It is because we wish for peace with security that we are willing to add to the present military establishment. . . . Our country and our firesides are dear to us. We think they are in danger, and we wish to protect them. . . . When, by measures in which we have had no agency, and for which we do not hold ourselves responsible in whole or in part, we discover that a necessity has been produced for defensive preparations, we can not permit ourselves to resist such preparations from motives of general opposition to the administration, or from a desire to render it odious to the country."

* James Emott was born at Poughkeepsie, New York, on the 14th of March, 1771. He chose the profession of law as his vocation, and commenced its practice at Ballston Centre, New York, a growing village a few miles from Ballston Spa. In 1797 he was appointed a commissioner, with Robert Yates and Vincent Mathews, to settle disputes concerning titles to lands in the military tract of Onondaga County. The commissioners held their sittings at Albany, and to that city Mr. Emott removed about the year 1800. In 1804 he was chosen to represent Albany County in the State Legislature. He soon afterward removed to the city of New York, and after practicing law there for a while he returned to Poughkeepsie, and was elected to represent the Dutchess District in the National Congress. He took his seat in 1809, and continued in possession of it by re-election until 1813. In politics he was a Federalist, and was one of the prominent leaders, yet his patriotism was never in subjection to the behests of party. He was representative of Dutchess County in the New York Assembly in 1814, and was Speaker of the House. He was a member of that body four consecutive years. In 1817 he was appointed first judge of Dutchess County, and held the office until 1823, when, for political reasons, he was removed to make room for the late Maturin Livingston. He was appointed judge of the second circuit by Governor Clinton in 1827, and held it until 1831, when he was sixty years of age. Judge Emott then retired from active life. He died at Poughkeepsie, New York, on the 10th of April, 1850, aged seventy-nine years.

each to furnish his respective quota of one hundred thousand militia, to be held in readiness to instantly obey the call of the chief magistrate. For the expense of this reserve one million of dollars were appropriated.

The State Legislatures, meanwhile, spoke out emphatically for war if necessary. New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Georgia, Kentucky, and Ohio, resolved to stand by the general government when decisive measures should be adopted; and, in their reply to the annual message of Governor Gerry, the House of Representatives of Massachusetts exhibited the same sentiments, denouncing Great Britain as a "piratical state," and her practice of impressment "man-stealing."

The navy, important as it proved to be in the war that followed, was neglected. Cheves, of South Carolina, made a report in favor of its augmentation; and he and Lowndes, in supporting speeches, hinted at the expediency of constructing forty frigates and twenty-five ships of the line. It was urged by these members, in direct opposition to the narrow views of Williams from the same state a year before, that "protection to commerce was protection to agriculture." Quincy also argued that protection to commerce was essential to the preservation of the Union, and, with a covert but significant threat, he gave as a reason that the commercial states could not be expected to submit to the deliberate and systematic sacrifice of their most important interests.¹ Their pleas were in vain. A bill, containing only an appropriation of four hundred and eighty thousand dollars for repairing three frigates—*Constellation*, *Chesapeake*, and *Adams*—and two hundred thousand dollars annually for three years, to purchase timber for the purpose of refitting three others, was passed, and sent to the Senate, where Lloyd, of Massachusetts, moved to insert an appropriation for thirty new frigates.* "Let us have the frigates," he said; "powerful as Great Britain is, she could not blockade them. With our hazardous shores and tempestuous northwesterly gales from November to March, all the navies in the world could not blockade them. Divide them into six squadrons. Place those squadrons in the northern ports ready for sea, and at favorable moments we would pounce upon her West India Islands, repeating the game of De Grasse and D'Estaing in '79 and '80. By the time she was ready to meet us there, we would be round Cape Horn cutting up her whalers. Pursued thither, we would skim away to the Indian Sea, and would give an account of her China and India ships very different from that of the French cruisers. Now we would follow her Quebec, now her Jamaica convoys; sometimes make our appearance in the chops of the Channel, and even sometimes wind north almost into the Baltic. It would require a hundred British frigates to watch the movements of these thirty. Such are the means by which I would bring Great Britain to her senses. By harassing her commerce with this fleet, we could make the people ask the government why they continued to violate our rights."

* January 17,
1812.

Crawford, of Georgia, replied at some length, and the Senate, unmoved by the glowing pictures of naval achievements drawn by the senator from Massachusetts, not only refused to sanction Lloyd's amendment, but reduced the appropriation for repairs to three hundred thousand dollars.

While the war party, strong in Congress and throughout the country, were energetic in action and impatient of delay, Mr. Madison showed great timidity. It was owing, doubtless, in a great degree, to the character of his Cabinet, which unfortunately surrounded him at that momentous crisis. Mr. Monroe, the Secretary of State, was the only member who had any military taste and experience, and he had seen only limited service in the Revolution. Gallatin, the Secretary of the Treasury, was a civilian, and was avowedly opposed to the war with Great Britain. Eustis, the Secretary of War, knew very little about military affairs. Hamilton, the Secretary of the Navy, had no practical knowledge of naval affairs to qualify him for the station;

¹ Hildreth, Second Series, iii., 277.

Madison threatened with Desertion by the War Party. He recommends an Embargo. A British Plot discovered.

and Mr. Madison himself was utterly unable, though by virtue of his office commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, to grasp with vigor the conduct of public affairs in a time of war. Consciousness of this made him timid and vacillating.

The administration members of Congress at length resolved to take a bold and decided stand with the President. His first term of office was drawing to a close, and it was known that he was anxious for re-election. The leading Democrats in the State of New York, whose voices were potential in the matter at that time, dissatisfied with Mr. Madison's weak course, contemplated nominating De Witt Clinton, then mayor of the city of New York, for the Presidency of the United States. His pretensions were sustained by Gideon Granger, the postmaster general, who doubted the propriety of a war with Madison as leader. Other influential Democrats in different parts of the country held similar views.

In this state of things, Mr. Madison was waited upon^a by several of the leading Democratic members of Congress, and informed, in substance, that war with England was now resolved upon by the dominant party, the supporters of his administration; that the people would no longer consent to a dilatory and inefficient course on the part of the national government; that, unless a declaration of war took place previous to the Presidential election, the success of the Democratic party might be endangered, and the government thrown into the hands of the Federalists; that, unless Mr. Madison consented to act with his friends, and accede to a declaration of war with Great Britain, neither his nomination nor his re-election to the Presidency could be relied on. Thus situated, Mr. Madison concluded to waive his own objections to the course determined on by his political friends, and to do all he could for the prosecution of a war for which he had neither taste nor practical ability.¹

Mr. Madison's first step in the prescribed direction after this interview was in the form of a confidential message to Congress on the 1st of April, recommending, as preliminary to a declaration of war, the immediate passage of a law laying a general embargo on all vessels then in the ports of the United States, or that might thereafter enter, for the period of sixty days. Meanwhile another subject had produced very great excitement throughout the country. An Irishman, named John Henry, who had become a naturalized citizen of the United States, and had lived several years in Canada, appeared at the Presidential mansion one dark and stormy evening early in February,^b 1812. He bore a letter of introduction to Mr. Madison from Governor Gerry, of Massachusetts, who seemed to be impressed with the truthfulness of Henry, and the great importance of the information which he proposed to lay before the President.² An interview was arranged for the following evening, when Henry divulged to the President what appeared to be most astounding secrets concerning efforts that had been in progress for two years on the part of the British authorities in Canada, sanctioned by the home government, to effect a separation of the Eastern States from the Union, and to attach them to Great Britain. He told Mr. Madison that, up to the year 1809, he had been living for five

¹ Statement of James Flisk, a Democratic member of Congress from Vermont, who was one of the committee, cited in the *Statesman's Manual*, 1., 444. The feeling against Mr. Madison on account of his timid policy had begun to manifest itself very strongly among his political friends in Congress before the close of 1811. The *New York Evening Post*, of January 6, 1812, says: "The Houses of Congress refused to adjourn on the 1st of January in order to wait on the chief magistrate. It was an intended insult."

Henry Dearborn, an officer of the Revolution, then in Washington, and who had lately been appointed a major general in the national army, wrote to his daughter, saying: "You may tell your neighbors they may prepare for war; we shall have it by the time they are ready. I know that war will be very unwelcome news to you, but I also know that you possess too much Spartan patriotism to wish your father to decline a command for the defense of the honor of our beloved country. You would, if necessary, urge him to the field rather than a speck of dishonor should attach to him for declining such a command."

² Henry had spent a week in Baltimore. He left that city for Washington on the morning of the 1st of February.—*Letter in Niles's Register*, 11., 46.

years on his farm in Vermont, near the Canada line, and amused himself in writing essays for the newspapers against republican governments, which he detested. Those



essays, he said, had arrested the attention of Sir James Craig, then Governor General of Canada, who invited him to Montreal at the close of 1808. At that time the violent demonstrations of the Federalists in New England against the embargo induced the English to believe that there was deep-seated dis-

affection to the government of the United States on the part of the people of that section. Under that impression Henry was commissioned by Sir James Craig to proceed to Boston, and ascertain the true state of affairs there, and the temper of the people in that part of the Union. His instructions directed him especially to ascertain whether the Federalists of Massachusetts would, in the event of their success at the approaching election, be disposed to separate from the Union, or enter into any connection with England. "The earliest information on this subject," said Sir James, "may be of great consequence to our government; as it may also be, that it should be informed how far, in such an event, they would look to England for assistance, or be disposed to enter into a connection with us."¹ Henry was authorized to intimate to the Federalist leaders, if the supposed state of things should be found to exist, that they might communicate to the British government through him.²

According to Henry's statement, he passed through Vermont after receiving these instructions, and arrived at Boston on the 5th of March. There he remained about three months, spending his time in coffee-houses and disreputable places, until ^{May 4,} _{1809.} Erskine's arrangement and a recall by Ryland,³ Craig's Secretary, put an end to his mission. During that time Henry had addressed fourteen letters to Sir James over the initials "A. B.," most of them written at Boston. The earlier ones were filled with the most encouraging accounts of the extreme disaffection of the Eastern people, especially those of Massachusetts, on account of the commercial restrictions. He expressed his belief that, in the event of a declaration of war against Great Britain by the United States, the Legislature of Massachusetts would take the lead in establishing a separate Northern Confederacy, which might, in some way, end in a political connection with Great Britain. The grand idea of destroying the Union was the theme of all the letters, expressed or implied. "If a war between America and France," he wrote, "be a grand desideratum, something more must be done; an indulgent, conciliating policy must be adopted. . . . To bring about a separation of the states under distinct and independent governments is an affair of more uncertainty, and, however desirable, can not be effected but by a series of acts and long-continued policy tending to irritate the Southern and conciliate the Northern people. . . . This, I am aware, is an object of much interest in Great Britain, as it would forever insure the integrity of his majesty's possessions on this continent, and make the two governments, or whatever member the present confederacy might join with, as useful and as much subject to the influence of Great Britain as her colonies can be rendered."³

¹ Sir James Craig's Instructions to John Henry, dated at Quebec, 6th February, 1809.

² Henry was furnished with the following credentials, to be used if circumstances should require:

"The bearer, Mr. John Henry, is employed by me, and full confidence may be placed in him for any communication which any person may wish to make to me on the business committed to him. In faith of which I have given him this, under my hand and seal, at Quebec, the 6th day of February, 1809.

Henry was also furnished with a cipher to be used in his correspondence.

J. H. CRAIG."

³ Henry to Sir James Craig, 13th of March, 1809. Mr. Erskine's arrangement greatly disappointed the British authorities in Canada, who doubtless expected to reap great rewards from the home government by a successful effort to disrupt the American Union. For twenty years they had been inciting the Indians on the Northwestern frontiers to war upon the Americans, and now they hoped, by a successful movement among those whom they supposed to be as mer-

Henry's Correspondence in Madison's Possession.

The President's Message on the Subject.

Henry soon perceived that his estimate of New England disloyalty was simply absurd, and he came to the conclusion that the idea of a withdrawal from the Union was unpopular; that, as matters stood, the Federalists would confine themselves to the ordinary resistance of political opposition. "Weak men," he wrote, "are sure to temporize when great events call upon them for decision."

Henry's performances seem to have pleased Sir James Craig, who promised him employment in Canada worth at least a thousand pounds (\$5000) per annum. Henry waited long for the fulfillment of that promise, and finally Sir James died. In June, 1811, the British spy was in London humbly petitioning the government for remuneration for his services in Boston. There he was at first treated with great consideration by the government. "I was received in the highest circles," he said to his friend, the Count Edward de Crillon. "I was complimented with a ticket as member of the *PITT CLUB* without being balloted for."¹ But when he had spent all his money, and presented his claims for retribution, the government attempted to cheapen his services. He claimed thirty thousand pounds, but speedily lowered his demands. He would be content, he said, with the office of Judge Advocate of Lower Canada, with a salary of five hundred pounds a year, or a consulate in the United States. Robert Peel, the Earl of Liverpool's under secretary, in behalf of that official, politely referred Henry to Sir James Craig's successor in Canada, Sir George Prevost. The spy was exasperated, and sailed for Boston instead of for Quebec, full of wrath, and a determination to be revenged by divulging the whole secret of his mission to the United States government, and, if possible, receive from it the remuneration which he had vainly sought in England. He was successful. Mr. Madison was satisfied of the great value of Henry's disclosures at that crisis, when war against England was about to be declared. They gave overwhelming proof of the secret designs of the British government to destroy the new republic in the West. Out of the secret service fund in his possession he gave Henry fifty thousand dollars for the entire correspondence of the parties to the affair in this country and in England.

After receiving the money² Henry went to Philadelphia, where he wrote a letter to the President³ as a preface to his disclosures. On the 9th of March ^{a February 20,} the United States sloop-of-war *Wasp*, Captain Jones, sailed from Sandy ^{1812.} Hook with dispatches for Mr. Barlow, the American minister at Paris, bearing away Henry to sunny France, where he would be safe from British vengeance. On the same day the President laid the Henry documents³ before Congress, with a message, in which he said, "They prove that at a recent period, while the United States, notwithstanding the wrongs sustained by them, ceased not to observe the laws of neutrality toward Great Britain, and in the midst of amicable professions and negotiations on the part of the British government through its public minister here [Mr. Erskine], a secret agent of that government was employed in certain states—more especially at the seat of government in Massachusetts—in fomenting disaffection to the constituted authorities of the nation, and in intrigues with the disaffected for the purpose of bringing about resistance to the laws, and eventually, in concert with

canary as themselves, to reduce the United States to virtual vassalage. Ryland, Governor Craig's secretary, in a letter to Henry on the 1st of May (four days before his official letter summoning him to Montreal), exhibited that disappointment. He concluded his letter in these petulant words: "I am cruelly out of spirits at the idea of Old England trucking to such a debased and accursed government as that of the United States."

¹ De Crillon's deposition before the Committee on Foreign Relations, submitted to Congress March 18, 1811.

² This was paid out of the Treasury of the United States in two sums, on the draft of Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury, to the order of James Graham, the United States Treasurer, one for forty-nine thousand dollars, and the other for one thousand dollars, dated 10th of February, 1812. Henry was probably swindled out of his money. He had landed at Boston with a Frenchman calling himself the Count de Crillon, and a great intimacy grew up between them. They went to Washington together. When Henry returned to Baltimore he had a deed from the "count" for an estate in Languedoc, the consideration being four hundred thousand francs. It is probable the count received the forty-nine thousand dollars, and Mr. Henry the one thousand dollars, the latter being sufficient to enable him to reach his valuable French estate. The "count," who became a witness in the government investigation of Henry's disclosures, proved to be an arrant knave and impostor.

³ These may be found in Benton's *Abridgment of the Debates in Congress*, iv., 506 to 514 inclusive.

Henry's Disclosures make Political Capital. The British Ministry suppress the Correspondence. Embargo proposed.

a British force, of destroying the Union, and forming the eastern part thereof into a political connection with Great Britain."

The indignation against Great Britain was intensified by these disclosures, and the inhabitants of New England felt deeply annoyed by this implied disparagement of the patriotism of their section. Both political parties endeavored to make capital out of the affair. The Democrats vehemently reiterated the charge that the Federalists were a "British party," and "disunionists;"¹ while the opposition alleged that the affair was a political trick of the administration to damage their party, insure the re-election of Madison, and to offer an excuse for war. The feeling excited in New England against the administration was intense, and the indignation of the people was almost equally divided between the President and the British sovereign. It was charged that the whole matter was a fraud; that Monroe wrote the letter purporting to have been sent by Henry from Philadelphia to the government, and that the paper on which Lord Liverpool's communication to Henry, through Robert Peel, was written, bore the mark of a Philadelphia paper manufacturer.

These charges were all untrue. Every thing about the matter was genuine. The British minister at Washington (Mr. Foster), two days after the President's message

^a March 11,
1812.

was published, declared in the public prints^a his entire ignorance of any transaction of the kind, and asked the United States government to consider the character of the individual² who had made these disclosures, and to "suspend any farther judgment on its merits until the circumstances shall have been made known to his majesty's government." That government was called upon for an ex-

^b May 5. planation, early in May, by Lord Holland, who gave notice^b that he should make a motion to call for the correspondence in relation to the intrigue.

Ministers were alarmed, and their guilt was apparent in their efforts to suppress inquiry. Every pretext was brought to bear to oppose the motion. When they could no longer deny the facts, they endeavored to throw the obloquy of the act upon the dead Sir James Craig. The ministerial party in the House of Lords, when the motion was made, prevailed, and, by a vote of seventy-three against twenty-seven, refused to have the correspondence produced. Lord Holland declared in his closing speech that, until such investigation should be had, the fact that Great Britain had entered into a dishonorable and atrocious intrigue against a friendly power would stand unrefuted. And it does stand unrefuted to this day. It was so palpable, that Madison, in his war message on the 1st of June, made this intrigue one of the serious charges against Great Britain as justifying war.

The President, as we have observed, sent a confidential message to Congress on the 1st of April, recommending the laying of an embargo for sixty days. It was avowedly a precursor of war; and Mr. Calhoun immediately presented a bill in Com-

¹ They called up in formidable array the proceedings of the New England people against the Embargo Laws during the past two or three years, and in an especial manner they arraigned Mr. Quincy, the great opposition leader of the House, who, a year before (January 14, 1811), in the debate on the bill to enable the people of the Territory of Orleans to form a State Constitution preparatory to their admission into the Union, had declared that the passage of the bill would "justify a revolution in this country." "Look," they said, "to the signification of this passage in Mr. Quincy's speech—a passage which, when called to order, he reduced to writing: "I am compelled to declare it as my deliberate opinion that, if this bill passes, the bonds of the Union are virtually dissolved; that the states which compose it are free from their moral obligations, and that, as it will be the right of all, so it will be the duty of some to prepare definitely for a separation, amicably if they can, violently if they must." For an abstract of Mr. Quincy's speech on that occasion, see Benton's *Abridgment of the Debates in Congress*, iv., 827.

The Senate, by resolution, asked for the names of persons in Boston or elsewhere who were concerned in the plot with Henry. By Secretary Monroe's reply, it seems that the spy never mentioned the name of any individual.

² John Henry was a native of Ireland. He appeared in Philadelphia about the year 1798 or 1794, having come over as a steerage passenger. He possessed considerable literary ability, and became editor of Brown's *Philadelphia Gazette*. He afterward kept a grocery, and married in that city. Having become naturalized, and obtained a commission in the army in the time of the expected war with France, he had command of an artillery corps under General Ebenezer Stevens, of New York, and was superior officer at Fort Jay, on Governor's Island, for more than a year. He afterward had a command at Newport, where he quitted the service, settled upon a farm in Northern Vermont, studied law, and after five years entered upon the service recorded in the text. "He was a handsome, well-behaved man," says Sullivan, "and was received in some respectable families in Boston."

Efforts to alarm the People.	War predicted.	The Sins of France.	Embargo Act passed.
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mittee of the Whole in accordance with the recommendation.¹ The opposition sounded an alarm. The weakness of the country, and its utter want of preparation for war, became the themes of impassioned appeals to the fears of the people. The continued aggressions of France—equal, they said, to those of England²—were pointed to as causes for war with that nation, and it might be necessary to encounter both at the same time.

To these alarmists Clay vehemently responded. He charged them with having cast obstacles in the way of preparation, and now made that lack of preparation an excuse for longer submission to great wrongs. Weak as we are, he said, we could fight France too, if necessary, in a good cause—the cause of honor and independence. He had no doubt that the late Indian war on the Wabash had been excited by the British;³ and he alluded to the employment of Henry, as a spy and fomentor of disunion, as another gross offense. “We have complete proof,” he said, “that England would do every thing to destroy us. Resolution and spirit are our only security.” He viewed the Embargo as a war measure, and “war we shall have in sixty days,” he said.

John Randolph implored the House to act with great caution. He said the President dared not plunge the country into a war while in its present unprepared state. There would be no war within sixty days. He believed the spirit of the people was not up to war, or the provocation of an Embargo Act would not be needed.

Other remarks were heard from both sides. The bill, by the aid of the previous question, was passed that evening^a by a vote of seventy against forty-one. ^a April 1, 1812. It was sent to the Senate the next morning. That body suspended the rules, took up the bill, and carried it through all the stages but the last, with an amendment increasing the time to ninety days. It was sent back to the House the next morning,^b where it was concurred in, and on Saturday, the 4th of April, it became a law by the signature of the President. ^b April 3. It had been violently assailed by Quincy, when it came back from the Senate, as an attempt to escape war, not as a preliminary to it. It was absurd to think of creating a sufficient army and navy in ninety days to commence war. He coincided with Randolph in the belief that the Embargo was only intended to aid Bonaparte, by stopping the shipment of

¹ When the Embargo project was first suggested in the Committee on Foreign Relations, it was proposed to discuss it under a pledge of secrecy. John Randolph refused to be bound by any such pledge, denying the committee's authority to impose it. Mr. Calhoun, with frank generosity, on the ground that all should have an equal chance, communicated to Mr. Quincy the fact that an embargo was to be laid the day before the committee's report to that effect was made. Quincy, Lloyd, and Emott immediately sent expresses with the information to Philadelphia, New York, and Boston. Emott's message appeared in the *New York Evening Post* on the 31st of March, the day before the President's message was sent in. In consequence of this information, several vessels at these respective ports loaded and escaped to sea before the Embargo was laid.

² These assertions contained much truth. According to a report laid before Congress on the 6th of July, 1812, it appeared that the whole number of British seizures and captures of American vessels since the commencement of the Continental War was 917. Of these, 528 had occurred previously to the orders in Council of November, 1807, and 389 afterward. The French seizures and captures were 558; of these, 206 were before the Berlin and Milan decrees, 317 afterward, and 45 since their alleged repeal. Recent Danish captures amounted to 70, and Neapolitan to 47. Besides these there had been extensive Dutch and Spanish seizures, which, it was alleged, should properly be placed to the French account, as those countries were under the control of Napoleon. It was also stated that more than half the captures by British cruisers had been declared invalid, and restoration ordered, while in France only a quarter of the vessels seized were so treated. It must be confessed that France was guilty of direct and indirect spoliation of American commerce to an extent equal, if not exceeding that inflicted by Great Britain.

³ On the 11th of June the Secretary of War laid before Congress numerous letters from military and civil officers of the government from various portions of the Northwestern, Western, and Southwestern frontiers, dating back as far as 1807, and giving overwhelming evidence of the continual efforts of British emissaries to stir up the Indians to hostilities against the United States, and to win them to the British interest in expectation of war between the two countries. I will quote as a matter of fact, not speculation, from a speech of Red Jacket, the great Seneca chief, in behalf of himself and other deputies of the Six Nations, in February, 1810:

“BROTHER.—Since you have had some disputes with the British government, their agents in Canada have not only endeavored to make the Indians at the westward your enemies, but they have sent the war-belt among our warriors [in Western New York], to poison their minds and make them break their faith with you. At the same time we had information that the British had circulated war-belts among the Western Indians, and within your territory.”

Copious extracts from the letters above mentioned as having been laid before the Secretary of War may be found in Niles's *Weekly Register*, ii., 342.

provisions to Spain, where the British armies were then beginning to win victories.¹ It was called, in ridicule, "a Terrapin War."²

The Embargo Act (which prohibited the sailing of any vessel for any foreign port, except foreign vessels, with such cargoes as they had on board when notified of the act) was speedily followed by a supplement³ prohibiting exportations by land, whether of goods or specie.³ Farther provision was also made for the immediate strengthening of the army.

These belligerent measures were hailed with joy throughout the country by the war party, who were dominant and determined. They alarmed those who wished for peace; yet these, unwilling to believe that the administration would push matters to the extreme of actual hostility, acquiesced in the embargo because of a delusive hope that it might be the means of causing Great Britain to modify its system concerning neutrals, and thereby avert war. It was, indeed, a *delusive* hope. The letters of Jonathan Russell (who had succeeded Mr. Pinkney as minister to England) at this time gave no encouragement for it. On the contrary, they were discouraging. To Mr. Monroe he wrote, after attending discussions on the orders in Council in Parliament: "If any thing was wanting to prove the inflexible determination of the present ministry to persevere in the orders in Council, without modification or relaxation, the declarations of leading members of the administration on these measures must place it beyond the possibility of a doubt. I no longer entertain a hope that we can honorably avoid war."⁴

¹ One great object of the Embargo appears to have been to detain at home as many merchant ships as possible, for the twofold purpose, in view of approaching war, to keep them from British privateers, and to engage them for that service on the part of the Americans. Mr. Allison, the British historian, suggests only part of the truth in saying that it was to prevent intelligence of the proceedings of the Americans in their preparations for war reaching England, and to furnish them with means, from their extensive commercial navy, of manning their vessels of war. To do this, cost the nation a great sacrifice. A writer in the *American Review* of April, 1812, estimated the loss as follows:

Mercantile loss.....	\$24,514,242
Deteriorated value of surplus produce and waste.....	46,196,628
Loss sustained by the revenue.....	9,660,000
Total national loss.....	\$74,010,877, or \$6,167,522 a month.

² See note 3, page 164. Argument, ridicule, satire were all employed against the "Terrapin War." During the late spring and early summer of 1812, the subjoined song was sung at all gatherings of the Federalists, and was very popular:

"Huzza for our liberty, boys,
There are the days of our glory—
The days of true national joys,
When terrapins gallop before ye!
There's Porter, and Grundy, and Rhea,
In Congress who manfully vapor,
Who draw their six dollars a day,
And fight bloody battles on paper!
Ah! this is true Terrapin war.
"Poor Madison the tremors has got,
'Bout this same arming the nation
Too far to retract, he can not
Go on—and he loses his station.

Then bring up your 'regulars,' lads,
In 'attitude' nothing ye lack, sirs,
Ye'll frighten to death the Danads,
With fire-coals blazing aback, sirs!
Oh, this is true Terrapin war!
"As to powder, and bullet, and swords,
For, as they were never intended,
They're a parcel of high-sounding words,
But never to action extended.
Ye must frighten the rascals away,
In 'rapid descent' on their quarters;
Then the plunder divide, as ye may,
And drive them headlong in the waters.
Oh, this is great Terrapin war!"

³ The opposition speakers and newspapers denounced the Embargo (especially the "Land Embargo," as the supplementary act was called) in unmeasured terms! The land trade with Canada, so suddenly arrested and thrown into confusion by it, was represented by a bewildered serpent, which had been suddenly stopped in its movements by two trees, marked respectively EMBARGO and NON-INTERCOURSE. The wondering snake is puzzled to know what has happened, and the head cries out, "What is the matter, tail!" The latter answers, "I can't get out." A cock (in allusion to France) stands by, crowing joyfully.

⁴ Letter to Secretary Monroe, March 4, 1812. Mr. Percival, one of the Cabinet, and a leading administration member, said, in the course of debate: "As England is contending for the defense of her maritime rights, and for the preservation of her national existence, which essentially depends on the maintenance of these rights, she could not be expected, in the prosecution of this great and primary interest, to arrest or vary her course in relation to the pretensions of neutral nations, or to remove the *veils*, however they might be regretted, which the uniform policy of the times indirectly or unintentionally extended to them."



FAC-SIMILE OF A NEWSPAPER CUT.

British Orders and French Decrees unrepealed.

A preliminary War Measure.

Madison renominated.

The determination of the British government not to relax the rigor of the orders in Council was explicitly stated a few weeks later,^a when Mr. Foster, the British minister at Washington, in a letter to Mr. Monroe, after reviewing the whole ground of controversy between the two countries, said: "Great Britain can not admit, as a true declaration of public law, that free ships make free goods. She can not admit, as a principle of public law, that arms and military stores are alone contraband of war, and that ship-timber and naval stores are excluded from that description; and she feels that to relinquish her just measures of self-defense and retaliation would be to surrender the best means of her own preservation and rights, and with them the rights of other nations, so long as France maintains and acts upon such principles."

The conduct of France now became a subject for just animadversion, and cast obstacles in the way of the arguments of the war party concerning the orders in Council. Joel Barlow had been sent to France as the successor of minister Armstrong. He strove in vain to procure from the French government any promise of indemnity for past spoliations, or of a relaxation of restrictive measures in future. The President and his Cabinet had earnestly hoped that the Berlin and Milan decrees would be repealed, thereby compelling Great Britain to withdraw her orders in Council, or stand before the world as a willful violator of the rights of nations. In this they hoped for a door of escape from war. It was certain that, while the decrees stood absolutely unrepealed in form, Great Britain would not relax her restrictive system one iota. Dispatches from Barlow late in March gave no hope of a change. Indeed, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs had laid before the Conservative Senate^b a report in which those decrees were spoken of as embodying the settled policy of the emperor, to be enforced against all nations who should suffer their flags to be "denationalized" by submitting to the pretensions of the British to seize enemies' goods in neutral vessels, to treat timber and naval stores as contraband, or to blockade a port not also invested by land.

* 30th May, 1812.

* March 10



Geo. Clinton

Thus matters stood on the 1st of June, when Mr. Madison sent into Congress, after previous arrangement with the Committee on Foreign Affairs, a most important confidential message, by which he was fairly committed to the war policy. He had hesitated somewhat. He was willing to sign a bill declaring war against Great Britain, but he did not wish to appear as a leader in the measure. His new political masters would consent to no flinching. They resolved that the President should share the fearful responsibility with themselves. A Congressional caucus was about to be held to nominate a Democratic candidate for the Presidency, and a committee, with the imperious Clay at their head, waited on Mr. Madison, and told him plainly that he must move in a declaration of war, or they would not support him for re-election. He yielded. The caucus was held. Eighty members were present. Varnum, of Massachusetts, was president, and Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky, was secretary. The entire vote was given to Mr. Madison. George Clinton, the Vice-President, whom they had intended to nominate for re-election, had died a few

^a A little later a London ministerial paper used the following language, which exposed the animos of the men in power and the aristocratic and mercantile classes: "As Great Britain has got possession of the ocean, it must have the right to enact laws for the regulation of its own element, and to confine the tracks of neutrals within such boundaries as its own rights and interests require to be drawn."—London Courier, April, 1812.

weeks before,¹ and the aged Elbridge Gerry, lately defeated as a candidate for reelection to the governorship of Massachusetts, was placed on the ticket for Vice-President. This matter disposed of, and the continued claims of De Witt Clinton, of New York, to a nomination for President being considered as of little moment, the war party, led by Clay and Calhoun, put forth vigorous exertions for the full accomplishment of their purposes.

In his message to Congress on the 1st of June the President recapitulated the wrongs which the people of the United States had suffered at the hands of Great Britain—wrongs already noticed in preceding pages, and need not be repeated here. He declared that her conduct, taken together, was positively belligerent. "We behold in fine," he said, "on the side of Great Britain, a state of war against the United States, and on the side of the United States a state of peace toward Great Britain."² He warned his countrymen to avoid entanglements "in the contests and views of other powers"—meaning France—and called their attention to the fact that the French government, since the revocation of her decrees as applied to American commerce, had authorized illegal captures by her privateers; but he abstained at that time from offering any suggestions concerning definitive measures with respect to that nation.

The message was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations,³ and on the 3d of June Mr. Calhoun, its then chairman, presented a report, in which the causes and reasons for war were more fully stated—more in historical order and detail—than in the President's message. In concluding the review of British aggressions, the report declared that the hostility of the government of Great Britain was evidently based

¹ George Clinton was born in Ulster County, New York, in 1739. He chose the profession of the law for his avocation. In 1768 he was elected to a seat in the Colonial Legislature, and was a member of the Continental Congress in 1775. He was appointed a brigadier in the army of the United States in 1776, and during the whole war was active in military affairs in New York. In April, 1777, he was elected governor and lieutenant governor, under the new Republican Constitution of the state, and was continued in the former office eighteen years. He was president of the Convention assembled at Poughkeepsie to consider the Federal Constitution in 1788. He was again chosen governor of the state in 1801, and three years afterward he was elected Vice-President of the United States. He occupied that elevated position at the time of his death, which occurred at Washington City on the 20th of April, 1812.

Mr. Clinton expired about nine o'clock in the morning. He had been ill for some time, and his death was not unexpected. His funeral took place on the afternoon of the 21st. The corpse was removed from his lodgings to the Capitol, escorted by a troop of horse. There it remained until four o'clock, when the procession, composed of cavalry and the marine corps, clergymen, physicians, mourners, the President of the United States, members of both houses of Congress, heads of departments, etc., moved to the Congressional burying-ground, situated on the Eastern Branch of the Potomac, about a mile eastward of the Capitol. Over his grave a monument of white marble was erected. The annexed sketch of it was made when I visited that resting-place of many of the American worthies, in the autumn of 1861. It is about fifteen feet in height. The tablet for the inscription, and a profile in high relief on the obelisk, are of statuary marble. On the east side (in shadow in the picture) is the inscription; on the north side the fasces; on the west side a serpent on a staff; and on the south side the winged caduceus of Mercury. On the west side of the obelisk is a Roman sword, crossed by a saber, and tied together by a scarf. The following is a copy of the inscription:

"To the memory of GEORGE CLINTON. He was born in the State of New York on the 26th of July, 1739, and died at Washington on the 20th of April, 1812, in the 73d year of his age. He was a soldier and statesman of the Revolution, eminent in council, distinguished in war. He filled, with unexampled usefulness, purity, and ability, among many other high offices, those of governor of his native state, and of Vice-President of the United States. While he lived, his virtue, wisdom, and valor were the pride, the ornament, and the security of his country; and when he died he left an illustrious example of a well-spent life, worthy of all imitation. This monument is affectionately dedicated by his children."



CLINTON'S TOMB.

² For the message in full, see *Statesman's Manual*, I, 387.

³ The committee was composed of John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina; Felix Grundy, of Tennessee; John Smith, of Pennsylvania; John A. Harper, of New Hampshire; Joseph Deaha, of Kentucky; and Ebenezer Seaver, of Massachusetts.

Action of the House of Representatives in Secret Session.

Action of the Senate on a Declaration of War.

on the fact that the United States were considered by it as its commercial rival, and that their prosperity and growth were incompatible with its welfare. "Your committee," said the report, "will not enlarge on any of the injuries, however great, which have a transitory effect. They wish to call the attention of the House to those of a permanent nature only, which intrench so deeply on our most important rights, and wound so extensively and vitally our best interests, as could not fail to deprive the United States of the principal advantages of their Revolution, if submitted to. The control of our commerce by Great Britain, in regulating at pleasure and expelling it almost from the ocean; the oppressive manner in which these regulations have been carried into effect, by seizing and confiscating such of our vessels, with their cargoes, as were said to have violated her edicts, often without previous warning of their danger; the impressment of our citizens from on board our own vessels on the high seas and elsewhere, and holding them in bondage till it suited the convenience of their oppressors to deliver them up, are encroachments of that high and dangerous tendency which could not fail to produce that pernicious effect; nor would these be the only consequences that would result from it. The British government might, for a while, be satisfied with the ascendancy thus gained over us, but its pretensions would soon increase. The proof which so complete and disgraceful a submission to its authority would afford of our degeneracy, could not fail to inspire confidence that there was no limit to which its usurpations and our degradation might not be carried."

On the presentation of this report the doors were closed, and a motion to open them was denied by a vote of seventy-seven against forty-nine. Mr. Calhoun then presented a bill, as part of the report, declaring war between Great Britain and her dependencies and the United States and its Territories. Amendments were offered. Ten votes were given for a proposition by M'Kee, of Kentucky, to include France in the declaration. Mr. Quincy endeavored, by an addition to the bill, to provide for the repeal of all restrictive laws bearing upon commerce; and Randolph moved to postpone the whole matter until the following October. All were rejected, and the bill, as Calhoun presented it, was passed on the 4th day of June by a vote of seventy-nine for it and forty-nine against it.

When the bill reached the Senate^a it was referred to a committee already appointed to consider the President's message. It remained under discussion twelve days. Meanwhile the people throughout the country were fearfully excited by conflicting emotions. A memorial against the war went from the Legislature of Massachusetts; and another from the merchants of New York, led by John Jacob Astor, recommending restrictive measures as better than war. War-meetings were held in various places, and the whole country was in a tumult of excitement. Finally, on the 17th of June—the anniversary of the battle of Bunker Hill—the bill, with some amendments, was passed by a vote of nineteen against thirteen. It was sent back to the House on the morning of the 18th, where the amendments were concurred in. The bill was engrossed on parchment, and at three o'clock on the afternoon of that day became a law by the signature of the President.¹ In the House, the members from Pennsylvania, and the states South and West, gave sixty-two votes for it

¹ The act declaring war was drawn up by William Pinkney, late minister to England, and then Attorney General of the United States. It is as follows: "That war be, and the same is hereby declared to exist between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and the dependencies thereof and the United States of America and their Territories; and that the President of the United States is hereby authorized to use the whole land and naval force of the United States to carry the same into effect, and to issue to private armed vessels of the United States commissions, or letters of marque and general reprisal,* in such form as he shall think proper, and under the seal of the United States, against the vessels, goods, and effects of the government of the said United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and the subjects thereof."

* *Letters of marque and reprisal*, or commissions to seize the goods of an enemy in time of war and not incur the penalty of robbery or piracy, were issued in England as early as Edward the First. It has ever been a powerful belligerent arm in warfare against commercial nations, and the system was of great service to the Americans during their war with Great Britain in 1812-'15. Efforts have recently been made to abolish the system among nations. It should be, for, after all, it is only legalized piracy.

Declaration of War.

The President proclaims the Fact.

A Protest.

"Josiah the First."

to seventeen against it. In the Senate the same states gave fourteen for it to five against it. "Thus," says a late writer, "the war may be said to have been a measure of the South and West to take care of the interests of the North, much against the will of the latter."¹

When the War Act became law, the injunction of secrecy was removed, and on the ^{June 19,} following day² the President issued a proclamation announcing the fact, and ^{1812.} calling upon the people of the United States to sustain the public authorities in the measures to be adopted for obtaining a speedy, just, and honorable peace. "I exhort all the good people of the United States," he said, "as they love their country; as they value the precious heritage derived from the virtue and valor of their fathers; as they feel the wrongs which have forced on them the last resort of injured nations; and as they consult the best means, under the blessing of divine Providence, of abridging its calamities, that they exert themselves in preserving order, in promoting concord, in maintaining the authority and the efficiency of the laws, and in supporting and invigorating all the measures which may be adopted by the constituted authorities."

This was soon followed by an able protest against the measure. It was chiefly written by Mr. Quincy, who then stood at the head of the opposition, not only in Congress,

but throughout the country. The prestige of his father's name as a leading patriot of the Revolution; his own long services in the National Legislature; his family connections and influence; his sterling worth in private life; his withering sarcasm of tongue and pen; his fluency of speech in declamation or debate, and his handsome and commanding presence, all combined to make him peerless as a leader. He was consequently assailed with the greatest bitterness by the friends of the administration; and squibs, and epigrams, and caricatures² frequently attested the general acknowledgment of his commanding position. Mr. Quincy outlived all of his contemporaries. Not one of the members of the Twelfth Congress—the Congress that declared war against Great Britain in 1812—was living at the time of his death. He was born with the nation, whose full independence was only achieved at the close of that



¹ Edwin Williams, in the *Statesman's Manual*, 1., 450.

² One of the caricatures of Mr. Quincy is before me. It was engraved and published by William Charles,* of Philadelphia, and is entitled "Josiah the First." He is represented as a king, in reference to his political domination. On

* Of William Charles, the engraver above mentioned, who published several caricatures during the War of 1812-18, very little is remembered. The venerable Doctor Alexander Anderson, of New York, the father of wood engraving in America, and yet (1867) a practitioner of the art at the age of ninety-two years, informed the writer that he knew Charles when he first came to America, about the year 1801. He was a native of Edinburgh, Scotland. He caricatured one or more of the magistrates of that city, and, to avoid the consequences of prosecution, he left and came to the United States. He practiced his art in New York for a number of years without success, and then went to Philadelphia. The venerable John M'Allister, of Philadelphia, now (1867) more than eighty years of age, writes me that he remembers Charles and his small book-store and print-shop, which he opened in Philadelphia just before the War of 1812. After the suspension of specie payments by the banks in 1814, he engraved, printed, and vended a great quantity of notes for fractions of dollars, commonly known as "shinplasters." He died in Philadelphia in the year 1821, and his widow continued his bookselling and stationery business. I am indebted to Mr. M'Allister for the caricature of Mr. Quincy above given.

Substance of the Protest of the Minority.

Names of those who signed it.

war, and lived to see it, in sturdy maturity, not only resist a most dangerous internal and inherited disease that threatened to destroy its life, but to rise from the attack purified and strengthened, with every promise of long and vigorous existence impressed upon every fibre of its being.¹

Mr. Quincy, it has been observed, wrote the most of the minority's protest against the war. He was aided by Mr. Bayard, of Delaware, and some suggestions were made by others. It was signed by all the minority members of the House of Representatives, and was issued in the form of an address to their constituents, in which their conduct in voting against the war was vindicated.² They set forth perspicuously the state of the country, and the course of the administration and its supporters in Congress. They professed to believe that a war with Great Britain would necessarily lead to a political connection with France, then waging bitter hostilities against her—a connection which would be extremely hazardous to the liberties of the United States. They professed to regard France as the greater aggressor of the two, and looked upon her commerce as not worth contending for. Notwithstanding the French edicts, a profitable trade might be carried on with England, for France had not the power to enforce their edicts to a very great extent. Indeed, a large portion of the world where American commerce might be made profitable was not affected by the actions of either of the belligerents. They would, therefore, authorize the American merchantmen to arm in their own defense, become their own protectors, and go wherever they chose to risk themselves. As to the invasion and seizure of Canada, which was a part of the programme of the war party, they considered an attempt to carry out that measure as unjust and impolitic in itself, very uncertain in the issue, and unpromising as to any good results. They pointed to the unprepared state of the country as vehemently forbidding a declaration of war. "With a navy comparatively nominal, we are about to enter into the lists against the greatest marine on the globe. With a commerce unprotected and spread over every ocean, we propose to make profit by privateering, and for this endanger the wealth of which we are honest proprietors. An invasion is threatened of the colonies of a power which, without putting a new ship into commission, or taking another soldier into pay, can spread alarm or desolation along the extensive range of our seaboard. Before adequate fortifications are prepared for domestic defense, before men or money are provided for a war of attack, why hasten into the midst of this awful contest, which is laying waste Europe? It can not be concealed that to engage in the present war against England is to place ourselves on the side of France, and

his head is a crown. His coat is scarlet, his waistcoat brown, his breeches light green, and his stockings white silk. In one hand he holds a sceptre, and in the space near his head (omitted in our reduced copy) are the words: "I, Josiah the First, do, by this royal proclamation, announce myself King of New England, Nova Scotia, and Passamaquoddy; Grand Master of the noble Order of the Two Codfishes." On his left breast are seen two codfishes crossed, forming the order, and in the sea behind him that kind of fish is seen sporting in the water. These were probably introduced in allusion to his defense on the floor of Congress of the rights of the New England fishermen; or possibly because of the fact that the representation of a codfish has hung in the Representatives' Hall in the State-house at Boston since the year 1784, "as a memorial," in the language of John Rowe, who that year moved that it be placed there, "of the importance of the codfishery to the welfare of the commonwealth of Massachusetts."

¹ On the 29th of June, 1861, Mr. Quincy made a speech to the officers and soldiers of Captain Forbes's *Coast Guard* at Quincy, Massachusetts. He was then in his ninetieth year. In the course of his remarks on the great uprising of the people of the Northern section of the Union to put down the demagogues' rebellion in the Southern section, he remarked: "With what pride and joy would the founders of this republic have hailed the events of our day—a whole people rising as one man, with one mind and one heart, in support of the Constitution and the Union; upspringing from the East, the North, and the West, the farmer from the field, the mechanic from the work-bench—all classes and all professions—forgetting their gains, and ready to make sacrifices with one thought and one will to protect, to preserve, and to render the union of these states immortal. These are the true glories of a republic, evidencing that the masses which compose it understand the value of their liberties, and are prepared to sacrifice property and life in their defense."

² The following are the names of the signers of the protest:

George Sullivan, William Reid, Epaphroditus Champlon, Benjamin Tallmadge, H. M. Ridgely, Joseph Lewis, Jr., Elijah Brigham, Leonard White, Jonathan O. Moseley, Asa Fitch, Philip Stuart, Thomas Wilson, Abijah Bigelow, Laban Wheaton, Lyman Law, James Emott, Philip B. Key, A. M'Brady, Josiah Quincy, Elisha R. Potter, Lewis B. Sturges, James Milnor, James Breckinridge, Joseph Pearson, William Ely, Richard Jackson, Jr., Timothy Pitkin, Jr., Thomas R. Gould, John Baker, Martin Chittenden, Samuel Taggart, John Davenport, Jr., H. Bleeker, C. Goldsburgh. The protest was printed in newspapers and on broadsides, and widely circulated.

expose us to the vassalage of states serving under the banners of the French emperor."

"It is said," they remarked, "that war is demanded by honor. Is national honor a principle which thirsts after vengeance, and is appeased only by blood; which, trampling on the hopes of man and spurning the law of God, untaught by what is past and careless of what is to come, precipitates itself into any folly or madness to gratify a selfish vanity or to satiate some unhallowed rage? If honor demands a war with England, what opiate lulls that honor to sleep over the wrongs done us by France?"

"What are the United States to gain by this war?" they asked. "Will the gratification of some privateersmen compensate the nation for that sweep of our legitimate commerce by the extended marine of our enemy which this desperate act invites? Will Canada compensate the Middle States for New York, or the Western States for New Orleans? Let us not be deceived. A war of invasion may invite a retort of invasion. When we visit the peaceable, and, as to us, innocent colonies of Great Britain¹ with the horrors of war, can we be assured that our own coast will not be visited with like horrors? At a crisis of the world, such as the present, and under impressions such as these, the undersigned can not consider the war into which the United States have in secret been precipitated as necessary, or required by any moral or political expediency."

Thus the issue was fairly placed before the country. The time for discussion was ended; the time for action had arrived. While one portion of the people—the vast majority—were nobly responding to the call of the President to sustain the government by word and deed, another portion were preparing to cast obstacles in the way of its success. An organization was soon visible, called the *Peace Party*, composed chiefly of the more violent opponents of the administration and disaffected Democrats, whose party-spirit held their patriotism in complete subordination. Lacking the sincerity or the integrity of those patriotic members of the Congressional minority, whose protest was the voice of their consciences made audible, they endeavored, by attempting to injure the public credit, preventing enlistments into the armies, spreading false stories concerning the strength of the British and weakness of the Americans, and by public speeches, sermons, pamphlets, and newspaper essays, to compel the government to sheathe the sword and hold out the olive-branch of peace at the cost of national honor and independence. These machinations were kept up during the whole war to the great embarrassment of the government and the injury of the country. To this unpatriotic *Peace Party* a large number of the leading Federalists gave no countenance, but, with a clear perception of duty to their country, and in accordance with the principles of the true spirit of republicanism, many of them, bound to the expressed will of the majority, yielded their private views to the necessities of the hour, and lent their aid, as the President desired all good citizens to do, "to the constituted authorities for obtaining a speedy, a just, and an honorable peace."

Having resolved on war, the next important labor for Congress to perform was making adequate provisions for prosecuting it. One of the most important considerations was finance, for money has been justly styled the "sinews of war." In February^a the Committee of Ways and Means reported a system of finance adapted to a state of war for three years. Its chief features contemplated the support of war expenses wholly by loans; and the ordinary expenses of the government, including the interest on the national debt, by revenues. They estimated the war expenses at \$11,000,000 for the first year. Aware that a state of

^a February 17, 1812.

¹ The House of Representatives resolved that, in the event of a determination to invade Canada or other British provinces, the President should be authorized to issue a proclamation assuring the inhabitants thereof that all their rights, of every kind, should be respected if their territory should become a part of the United States.

Measures for raising Funds for War Purposes.	Belligerent Preparations.	A Fast Day proclaimed.
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war would diminish the revenue, they proposed a tariff by which the imposts should be doubled, foreign tonnage raised to a dollar and a half, a direct tax of \$3,000,000, and an extensive system of internal duties and excise.¹ Congress adopted this financial scheme generally, and authorized^a a loan of \$11,000,000, at an interest ^{a March 14, 1812.} not exceeding six per cent. a year, and reimbursable in twelve years. The Secretary of the Treasury directed subscriptions to be opened at the principal banks in the United States on the first and second days of May;^b and, to induce the banks to subscribe, it was agreed that their subscriptions should remain as deposits until called for by the wants of the Treasury. ^{b 1812.}

When war was declared, it was found, by the returns of the subscriptions to the \$11,000,000 loan, that the banks had subscribed only \$4,190,000, and individuals \$1,928,000, leaving a deficiency of \$4,882,000. To supply that deficiency, the President was authorized to issue Treasury notes, payable in one year, and bearing an annual interest of five and two fifths per cent., to be receivable in all payments at the Treasury. This was intended to pass as currency, and supersede, to a certain extent, the circulation of bank-notes. It was estimated that the entire expenses of the country for the fiscal year of 1812-'13, including the \$11,000,000 for war purposes, and the interest on \$45,154,000 (the amount of the public debt), would be \$26,616,619.²

On the 26th of June Congress passed an act respecting the issue of letters of marque and reprisal, and another for the consolidation of the old army and the new levies; the regular force to consist of twenty regiments of foot, four of artillery, two of dragoons, and one of riflemen, which, with engineers and artificers, would make a force of thirty-six thousand seven hundred men. The actual regular force—experienced, disciplined, and effective—was only about three thousand men. The regular force under arms at that time was about ten thousand men, but more than half of them were raw recruits. Little reliance could be placed on the militia except for garrison duty, notwithstanding they were eight hundred thousand strong in a population of eight millions. They were not compelled by law to serve more than three years, nor go beyond the limits of their respective states. To volunteers the government and the country looked for numbers, and the President was authorized to place them on a footing with the regular army, and, with their consent, to appoint their officers.

The navy consisted of only three frigates of forty-four guns each, three of thirty-eight, one of thirty-six, one of thirty-two, three of twenty-eight, nine smaller vessels ranging from twelve to eighteen, and one hundred and sixty-five gun-boats.

Congress adjourned on the 6th of July. They had requested the President to recommend a day of public humiliation and prayer to be observed by the people of the United States for the purpose of publicly invoking the blessing of the Almighty on their cause, and the speedy restoration of peace. In accordance with this request, the President issued a proclamation on the 9th of July, recommending the setting apart of the third Thursday of August following^c for that purpose. That ^{c August 20.} day was generally observed throughout the Union; in most places in accordance with the spirit of the Congressional resolutions and the proclamation of the President, while from several New England pulpits went forth denunciations of the

¹ As an excise duty on liquors was proposed by Mr. Gallatin, the Secretary of the Treasury, who was one of the leaders in the famous "Whisky Insurrection" in Western Pennsylvania a few years before (see page 88), which was produced by a similar duty, he was severely handled by the opposition. Smilie, a Pennsylvania member of Congress, who was much more deeply implicated in wrong-doing in connection with that insurrection than Mr. Gallatin, and who now voted against the excise on liquors, was assailed with ridicule. On account of his defective education and his use of bad grammar in his Congressional speeches, the following epigram, which appeared in a leading Federal paper in March, 1812, was pointed:

"A tax on whisky is a tax on *smi*:
Why then should Smilie hate the home-made gin-tax?
Because he is, and he has ever been,
A most inveterate enemy to *smi*-tax."

² *History of the Political and Military Events of the late War between the United States and Great Britain*, by Samuel Percival, page 58.

war, and the alleged authors and abettors of it.¹ The national anniversary that year was also made the occasion for political speeches, songs, and toasts condemnatory of the measures of the administration. Some of these were fierce, others were mild, and still others were dignified and patriotic—firm, outspoken, manly arguments against the necessity, the wisdom, or the justice of the war, but evincing a love of country more potent than love of party or opinions.²

¹ Already the governor of Massachusetts had appointed the 23d of July as a day of humiliation, fasting, and prayer. It was made the occasion for plain speaking from the pulpit against the war. Sometimes there was bitterness in the words, but generally these sermons breathed a spirit of sorrow because of the calamities threatened by the war. Among others, William Ellery Channing, of Boston, on both the state and the national fast-days, spoke out plainly, but with that charitable and sweet Christian spirit which characterized his whole life. "The cry has been," he said, "that war is declared, and all opposition should therefore be hushed. A sentiment more unworthy of a free country can hardly be propagated. If this doctrine be admitted, rulers have only to declare war, and they are screened at once from scrutiny. At the very time when they have armies at command, when their patronage is most extended, and their power most formidable, not a word of warning, of censure, of alarm must be heard. The press, which is to expose inferior abuses, must not utter one rebuke, one indignant complaint, although our best interests and most valuable rights are put to hazard by an unnecessary war. The sum of my remarks," he said, in concluding his discourse on the state fast-day, "is this: It is your duty to hold fast, and to assert with firmness those truths and principles on which the welfare of your country seems to depend; but do this with calmness, with a love of peace, without ill-will and revenge. Improve every opportunity of allaying animosities. Strive to make converts of those whom you think in error. Discourage, in decided and open language, that rancor, malignity, and unfeeling abuse which so often find their way into our public prints, and which only tend to increase the already alarming irritation of our country." "Our duties to our rulers," he said, on the national fast-day, "are not so easily presented. It is our duty toward them to avoid all language and conduct which will produce a spirit of insubordination, a contempt of laws and just authority. At the same time, we must not be tame, abject, and see, without sensibility, without remonstrance, our rights violated and our best blessings thrown away. Our elective form of government makes it our duty to expose bad rulers, to strip them of unmerited confidence and of abused power. This is never more clearly our duty than when our rulers have plunged us into an unjustifiable and ruinous war—a war which is leading us down to poverty, vice, and slavery. To reduce such men to a private station no fair and upright means should be spared, and, let me add, no other means should be employed. Nothing can justify falsehood, malignity, or wild, ungoverned passion. Be firm, but deliberate; in earnest, yet honest and just."

² In the New York *Evening Post*, July 21, 1812, may be found the following notice of a speech by the afterward eminent Daniel Webster, who had not yet appeared prominently in public life. He entered Congress the next year.

"WEBSTER'S ORATION.—A gentleman of this name, distinguished in the State of New Hampshire for the superiority of his talents, delivered an oration to the Washington Society at Portsmouth on the 4th of July. The following extracts will be read with pleasure:

"With respect to the war in which we are now involved, the course which our principles require us to pursue can not be doubtful. It is now the law of the land, and as such we are bound to regard it. Resistance and insurrection form no parts of our creed. The disciples of *Washington* are neither tyrants in power nor rebels *out*. If we are taxed to carry on this war, we shall disregard certain distinguished examples, and shall pay. If our personal services are required, we shall yield them to the precise extent of our constitutional liability. At the same time, the world may be assured that we know our *rights*, and shall exercise them. We shall express our opinions on this, as on every measure of government, I trust without passion, I am certain without *fear*. We have yet to learn that the extravagant progress of pernicious measures abrogates the duty of opposition, or that the interest of our native land is to be abandoned by us in the hour of the thickest danger and sorest necessity. By the exercise of our constitutional right of suffrage, by the peaceable remedy of election, we shall seek to restore wisdom to our councils and *peace* to our country."

Those who remember Mr. Webster's patriotic course in the Senate of the United States in voting for the "Force Bill," to crush incipient treason and rebellion in South Carolina in 1833, will perceive in the above extract the visible germ of that staunch patriotism which distinguished him through life. On the occasion referred to he said, with the spirit that animated him in 1812, "I am opposed to this administration; but the country is in danger, and I will take my share of the responsibility in the measure before us."

The *Evening Post* of the same date contains an "Ode for the Fourth of July," written by William Cullen Bryant, then seventeen years of age. He is now (1867), after a lapse of fifty-five years, one of the proprietors and the editor in chief of that journal, which he has ably conducted for a very long period. The following stanzas selected from that Ode give a specimen of its character which made it very popular at the time:

"Lo! where our ardent rulers
For fierce assault prepare,
While eager "Ate" awaits their beck
To "slip the dogs of war."
In vain against the dire design
Exclaims the indignant land;
The unbidden blade they haste to bare,
And light the unhallowed brand.
Proceed! another year shall wreat
The sceptre from your hand.

"The same ennobling spirit
That kindles valor's flame,
That nerves us to a war of right,
Forbids a war of *shame*.
For not in *Conquest's* impious train
Shall Freedom's children stand;
Nor shall in guilty fray be raised
The high-souled warrior's hand;
Nor shall the *Patriot* draw his sword
At Gallia's proud command."

CHAPTER XII.

"The tocsin has sounded—the bugle has blown,
And rapid as lightning the rumor has flown,
That, prepared to defend our heaven-blessed soil,
Our country to save and proud tyrants to foil,
We submit without marmur to danger and toil."

SONG—THE TOCSIN HAS SOUNDED.



BEFORE entering upon a description of the stirring scenes of actual conflict of arms during the war, let us make brief notes of the position of the belligerents in relation to the struggle.

The Prince of Wales (afterward George the Fourth) had become actual sovereign of Great Britain by the removal of the restrictions of the bill which created him regent of the realm.

The court physicians had pronounced the insanity of the old king to be incurable. This change in the practical relations of the prince to the government took place in February, 1812, and in May following a radical change in the Cabinet occurred, on account of the murder of Mr. Perceval, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, by Bellamy, a Liverpool ship-broker, who charged his commercial losses upon the government, and sought revenge in slaying one of its chief servants. Lord Sidmouth was appointed Secretary of State, the Earl of Harrowby Lord President of the Council, and Mr. Vansittart Chancellor of the Exchequer. Lord Castlereagh was Secretary for Foreign Affairs.



THE PRINCE REGENT—GEORGE IV.

Great Britain was still waging a tremendous war against Napoleon. Wellington was at the head of her armies in the Spanish Peninsula, and her forces by land and sea were generally successful. Her inherent energy was wonderful. Russia refused to bow the knee to the Corsican, and he threatened her with invasion. Great Britain became her ally, and the summer and autumn of 1812 saw the hopes of the ambitious emperor of obtaining universal dominion clouded with fearful doubts. Six days after the United States declared war against Great Britain, the victorious Napoleon, with an immense and splendid army, crossed the Niemen^a in the face of three hundred thousand Russians, and pushed on toward Moscow. At Borodino the retreating Muscovites confronted their invaders,^b and when the curtain of night fell upon the battle-field, ninety thousand killed and wounded soldiers lay there. The French entered Moscow in triumph, but it was soon a heap of ashes. Late in October, with one hundred and twenty thousand men, the emperor commenced a retreat toward France. Six months from the time of his entering Russian territory he had lost, in slain, wounded, starved, frozen, and prisoners, four hundred and fifty thou-

^a June 24, 1812.
^b Sept. 6.

sand men, and yet he had scarcely reached Paris before he issued orders for new conscriptions with which to prosecute the war! The sun of his glory was low in the west, yet it blazed out brilliantly before it set. In 1812, Great Britain, Russia, Sweden, and Spain were allied in arms against France, Prussia, Italy, Austria, and Poland.

The British navy at that time consisted of two hundred and fifty-four ships-of-the-line, of 74 guns and upward; thirty-five 50's and 44's; two hundred and forty-seven frigates; and five hundred and six smaller vessels of war; making a total of one thousand and thirty-six. Of these there were five ships-of-the-line, nineteen frigates, forty-one brigs, and sixteen schooners on the American station; that is to say, at Halifax and Newfoundland, Jamaica and the Leeward Islands.¹ They had also four armed vessels on Lake Ontario, namely, *Royal George*, 22; *Earl of Moira*, 16; *Prince Regent*, 14; and *Duke of Gloucester*, 8. They also had several smaller vessels nearly ready for service.

The British regular land force in Upper Canada when war was declared did not exceed fifteen hundred men;² but the aggregate of that in Lower Canada, and in the contiguous British provinces was estimated at six thousand regular troops. The population of all the North American British colonies was estimated at 400,000, and their militia at 40,000. They had an immense assailable frontier, stretching along a series of great lakes, and the Rivers St. Mary's, St. Clair, Detroit, Niagara, and St. Lawrence, commencing at Lake Superior on the west, and terminating far below Quebec on the east, along a line of about 1700 miles. Out of Lake Superior flows a rapid current, over immense masses of rock, through a channel for twenty-seven miles called the St. Mary's River, and enters Lake Huron, at the head of which is the British island of St. Joseph. On that island was then a small fort and garrison. It is distant above Detroit about three hundred and thirty miles by water. The shores of Lake Huron at that time were uninhabited except by Indians and a few traders. At its western angle is a short and wide strait, connecting it with Lake Michigan, in the centre of which is the island of Michilimackinack, which is about nine miles in circumference. On this island the Americans had a small fort and garrison. The waters flow out of Lake Huron through the rivers and Lake St. Clair, and then through the Detroit River into Lake Erie. On the latter river, at Amherstburg, the British had a fort and small garrison, where ships for service on Lake Erie were built. The British had no harbor or military post on Lake Erie. At its foot, at the head of the Niagara River, was Fort Erie, a distance of five hundred and sixty-five miles from Quebec. Just above Niagara Falls, at the mouth of the Chippewa River, there was a small stockade, called Fort Chippewa. Near the mouth of the Niagara River, not quite seven miles below Queenstown, was Fort George, constructed of earthen ramparts and cedar palisades, mounting some guns not heavier than nine-pounders. Half a mile below the fort, at the mouth of the Niagara River, was a pretty little village called Newark, now Niagara. On the north side of Lake Ontario is York, or Toronto Harbor, where was an old fort and a block-house. York was then the capital of Upper Canada. On the eastern extremity of the lake is Kingston, with a fine harbor, and was defended by a small battery of nine-pounders on Point Frederick. It was the most populous town in the Upper Province at that time, and formed the principal naval dépôt of the British on Lake Ontario. There were some military works at Montreal, and very strong ones at Quebec.

At the time when war was declared the United States were at peace with all the world, and had very little commerce exposed upon the ocean, owing to restrictions

¹ Steele's List, 1812.

² These consisted of the Forty-first Regiment, 900 men; Tenth Veterans, 250; Newfoundland Regiment, 250; Royal Artillery, 50; Provincial Seamen, 50. These forces had to occupy the Forts St. Joseph, Amherstburg, Chippewa, Erie, George, York (Toronto), and Kingston, and to defend an assailable frontier of nearly thirteen hundred miles.—*Life and Correspondence of Major General Sir Isaac Brock, K.B.*, by Ferdinand Brock Tupper, p. 168.

and dangers which had prevailed for a few years. Of the land and naval forces at that time we have spoken in the last chapter. In addition to full twelve hundred miles of frontier along the British provinces, there was a sea-coast of a thousand miles to defend against the most powerful maritime nation in the world.

The subject of sea-coast, harbor, and frontier defenses attracted the attention of the government at an early period. A school for military instruction, especially for the education of engineers, to be established at West Point, on the Hudson, was authorized by Congress in the spring of 1802;¹ and from time to time appropriations had been made for fortifications, and works had been erected.

The corps of engineers, authorized by the law just named, commenced their functions as constructors of new forts or repairers of old ones in the year 1808, when a war with England was confidently expected; and that body of young men continued thus employed, in a moderate way, until the breaking out of the war in 1812, when they were sent to the field, and all won military distinction.² The forts completed previous to 1809 were the only fortifications for the defense of the sea-coast of the United States at the commencement of the war in 1812.³

¹ Washington recommended the establishment of a military academy at West Point so early as 1783, when, on the approach of peace, his thoughts were turned to the future military condition of his country. Soon after he became President of the United States, he again called the attention of his countrymen to the importance of a military academy, and again indicated West Point as the proper place. In 1794, Colonel Rochefontaine, a French officer in the service of the United States, and other officers of artillery, were stationed at West Point for the purpose of establishing a military school there. They rebuilt the front of Fort Putnam, on the mountains in the rear, in 1795, and constructed five or six small casemates, or bomb-proofs. Fort Clinton, on the Point, was then partly in ruins. Its magazine, twenty-five by two hundred feet in size, built of stone and lined with plank, and trenches, was quite perfect. Several buildings were erected, and the whole post was under the charge of Major Jonathan Williams. The library and apparatus were commenced, but the school was soon suspended. It was revived in 1801 by Mr. Jefferson, and in the spring of the following year Congress, as we have observed in the text, authorized the establishment of a military academy there. Meanwhile the harbors on the coast were defended only by small redoubts. They were insignificant affairs. "It is worthy of remembrance," observed the late venerable General J. G. Swift, in a letter to the author in February, 1860, "that the sites upon which these small works were built were those selected in the Revolutionary struggle, and they remain to this day the best for their purpose."

² Letter of General Swift to the author, February 13, 1860. In November, 1802, the engineers at West Point formed a *Military and Philosophical Society*, the object of which was the promotion of military science. The following are the names of the original members: Jonathan Williams, Decius Wadsworth, William A. Barron, Jared Mansfield, James Wilson, Alexander Macomb, Jr., Joseph G. Swift, Simon M. Leroy, Walter K. Armistead, and Joseph G. Totten. These were the members present at the first meeting. Swift and Totten were the latest survivors of this little company. The former died in the summer of 1805, and the latter in the spring of 1864. Their portraits will be found in this work. Totten was the chief military engineer of the United States at the time of his death. The society consisted of many persons besides military men. Its membership, during its ten years' existence, comprised most of the leading men in the country, especially of the army and navy. The MS. records of the society, in four folio volumes, are in the New York Historical Society.

³ The following statement of the names, locations, and conditions of the coast fortifications previous to 1808, I have compiled from a manuscript general return of such works by Colonel Jonathan Williams* and Captain Alexander Macomb, which I found among the minutes of the *Military and Philosophical Society* of West Point, mentioned in a preceding note. Some of these forts were somewhat strengthened before the declaration of war in 1812, but the change in their general condition was not very great.

Fort Sumner, Portland, Maine.—A square block-house.

Fort William and Mary, Portsmouth, New Hampshire.—A ruin.

Fort Lily, Gloucester, Cape Ann.—Three sides of an unfinished figure, being one front and two diverging lines. A square block-house in the rear.

Fort Pickering, at Salem, Massachusetts.—Three sides of a rectangular figure, without bastions, flanks, or any prominence whatever. The lower part of the sides is stone-work, with parapets of earth. Closed in the rear by barracks, a

* Jonathan Williams was born in Boston in 1750. He was appointed Major of the Second Artillery and Engineers in February, 1801, and in December following Inspector of Fortifications and Superintendent of the Military Academy at West Point. In July, 1802, he was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel of Engineers, and resigned in June the following year. In April, 1805, he resumed the service among the Engineers, with the same rank, and in February, 1808, was promoted to colonel; he resigned in July, 1812. In 1814 he was elected to a seat in Congress from Philadelphia, but never occupied it. He died on the 20th of May, 1815, at the age of sixty-five years.—Gardner's *Dictionary of the Army*, 487. Colonel Williams was the author of *A Memoir of the Thermometer in Navigation*, and *Elements of Fortification*.

A new system of naval warfare had lately been suggested by Robert Fulton, who had been a long time abroad, and who had recently returned home* to achieve an immortal triumph in science and art, and the beginning of a

brick wall, and gate. A square block-house in the centre, and an old stone building in the rear and on the left, without the lines. A sketch of its appearance in 1860 may be found in another part of this volume.

Fort Sewall, at Marblehead, Massachusetts, is an irregular oblong figure, with a square block-house. It is founded, on one side, on a rock, and on the opposite side has a wall and arches, forming a magazine below. One stone house within the lines. A sketch of this old fort as it appeared in 1860 may be found in another part of this work.

Fort Independence, in Buxton Harbor.—New work. An irregular pentagon and well fortified, with five bastions. Three bastions and one curtain finished. This fort (whose present appearance is seen in the engraving) is on Castle Island,



FORT INDEPENDENCE.

on the site of a fortification erected during the early years of the Massachusetts colony. It was rebuilt in 1644, and burned in 1673. A new fort of stone was then erected, and other works, and it became the shelter of the British during the years preceding the Revolution. After the Revolution it was called *Fort Adams*. In 1799 Castle Island was ceded to the United States, and President Adams named the works *Fort Independence*. The present structure was erected in 1801, '2, and '3. It and Fort Warren, on an island opposite, command the entrance to Boston Harbor. The fort may contain a thousand men in time of war.

Fort Wolcott, near Newport, Rhode Island.—Built of stone cemented with lime. Had a brick and stone magazine, a sally-port and ditch, reverberatory furnace. Supported by two wings or bastions, both facing the harbor. Revetments in stone laid in lime cement; parapets supplied with sod-work; the batteries intended for ten pieces of cannon. Had five pieces, 32-pounds each. Barracks two stories high, composed of brick, and bomb-proof.

Fort Adams, Newport Harbor.—Form similar to Fort Wolcott. Situated on Brenton's Point, nearly opposite the Dumplings Fort on Canonicut Island. Similar in all its arrangement and construction to Fort Wolcott. It was then unfinished.

Fort Hamilton, Narraganset Bay, near Newport, a mile northwest of Fort Wolcott, on *Rose Island*.—Extensive fortifications, commenced in 1802. Quadrilateral in form, presenting two regular and two tower bastions. Works suspended in 1803. It was intended to be wholly constructed of stone, brick, and sod-work. The barracks were completed, and were considered the finest in America at that time. It was intended to mount seventy cannon. About half completed when the war broke out.

North Battery, Rhode Island, about three fourths of a mile northeast of Fort Wolcott, on a point of land nearer Newport.—Semicircular, and calculated for about eight guns. It was unfinished.

Dumplings Fort.—Entrance to Narraganset Bay, nearly opposite Fort Adams. A round tower bastion, built in 1804, of stone well cemented. It was about eighty feet above the water, and rose fifteen to twenty feet above the rock on which it was built. It contained a good magazine, and three other bomb-proof rooms for the men. No cannon were mounted. The platforms were not completed. Calculated for seven pieces, exclusive of howitzers and mortars. It was believed that thirty men might defend it.

Towering Hill, near Newport, Rhode Island, one mile east of the North Battery, and due north from the city.—It commanded the whole town, the country around, and a part of the harbor. Remains of Revolutionary works there. A small block-house built in 1799 or 1800 was entire.

Fort Trumbull, New London, Connecticut, on a rocky point of land projecting into the River Thames.—Form irregular. The walls fronting the water built of solid stone, elevated to the usual height, and finished with turf and gravel. Badly situated against an enemy on land, as the hills around it and across the river are higher than the fort. It had a small magazine and stone block-house, and fourteen guns mounted. A view of this fort may be seen in another part of this work.

Fort Jay, on Governor's Island, New York Harbor, thirteen hundred yards south of the Battery, at the lower extremity of the city of New York.—It was a regular fort, with bastions, quite strong, but then unfinished. It had a handsome gateway, with a *corps de garde* draw-bridge. In the centre of the fort was a square block-house of timber, two stories high, but probably not cannon-proof; under it was a well. It had two detached batteries, one mounting four 18-pounders and an 8-lbch French mortar, with platforms for four others; and the other ten pieces, 16 and 24 pounders; origi-

* Governor's Island was called *Pau-ganck* by the Indians, and Nutten Island by the Dutch. It was purchased, as a public domain, by Governor Van Twiller, in the early days of the Dutch rule in New York. In the settlement of the accounts of the Revolutionary debt, New York agreed to erect fortifications in the harbor in front of the city of New York, in payment of the quota required from that state. In accordance with an act passed by the State Legislature in March, 1794, the sum of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars was expended, under the direction of a committee, in constructing fortifications. The committee consisted of George Clinton, Matthew Clarkson, James Watson, Richard Varick, Nicholas Fish, Ebenezer Stevens, and Abijah Hammond. A further sum of one hundred thousand dollars was granted on the 6th of April, 1795, to complete the works on that and Oyster (now Ellis's) Island. Fort Jay was built, and in February, 1800, the island and all its appurtenances were ceded to the United States. The island contains seventy-two acres of land.

wonderful revolution in commerce, by the successful introduction of navigation by steam.^a While abroad, Mr. Fulton had conceived the idea of destroying ships by introducing floating mines under their bottoms in submarine boats, and ex- * 1807.



CASTLE WILLIAMS.

ally intended for thirteen guns. The parapet had fifty-one embrasures, and it would take one thousand men to man the parapet. The fort, being commanded by hills on the Long Island shore, was not constructed to withstand a siege, but as a guard to the entrance to the East River, and to operate against an enemy in the harbor or in the city.

Ellis's and *Bedloe's* Islands both had fortifications on them. The former, lying a little more than two thousand yards southwest from the *Battery*, had a semicircular battery calculated for thirteen guns. The parapet, of timbers, was unfinished. Twelve 12-pounders lay there, but no guns were mounted. It was commanded by *Bedloe's Island*, twelve hundred yards distant; also by *Paulus's Hook* (Jersey City), lying north of it. There were good quarters for officers and men. It was an excellent position to defend the harbor from an enemy coming in at the *Narrows*. Only a part of the island then belonged to the United States.

On *Bedloe's Island* a battery had been commenced, and brick buildings for quarters. No cannon were mounted excepting two field-pieces that belonged to *Fort Jay*. A dismantled 24-pounder lay upon the island. It was almost useless as a defensive work. Major *Decius Wadsworth* was then in command of the District of New York, and these works were under his supervision. Of the islands in New York Harbor, and the modern fortifications upon them, I shall have occasion to write hereafter.

Fort Mifflin, on the southeast extremity of *Mud Island*, in the Delaware, just below Philadelphia, was an irregular oval. It was the old British fort of the Revolution. It had been strengthened, and was a very important work. It was constructed of stone, brick, and earth, with heavy guns mounted. A long account of it is given in the MS. records of the *Military and Philosophical Society* (New York Historical Society), vol. iv.

Fort M'Henry, at Baltimore, was a new work situated on a point of land between the *Patapsco River* and the harbor. It was a regular pentagon, with a well-executed revetment; also a magazine, and barracks sufficient for one company. The counterscarp, covert, and glacis were yet to be made. On the water side was the wall of the battery, but not yet inclosed. It is a well-chosen position to prevent ships reaching Baltimore, and is about two and a half miles from the city. At the time we are considering, a large house belonging to a citizen stood in front of the battery, next the extreme point, and, in the event of a ship's passing, would have to be battered down, as it would cover the vessel. A picture of the fort as it appeared in 1801 may be found in another part of this work.

Fort Scorn, at Annapolis, has already been noticed. See note 4, on page 181.

Forts Norfolk and *Nelson*, one on each side of the *Elizabeth River*, near Norfolk, Virginia, were of some importance. The former, on the Norfolk side of the river, a mile and a half below the town, was an oblong square, with two bastions, built chiefly of earth, and a ditch on three sides of it. Within it was one frame house and eight small log huts, all in bad condition. Two 12, four 9, and thirteen 6 pounders, two brass 8-inch howitzers, and seven carriages, all dismantled, were lying there. The fort was on the site of some works thrown up during the Revolution.

Fort Nelson was about a mile below the town, on the opposite side of the river. Its form was triangular, but irregular, the works of the Revolutionary era having been used. It covered nearly two acres of ground. It was built of earth. It had two batteries with embrasures, lined with brick inside. In it were one large two-story house, two rooms on a floor, a kitchen, and smoke-house. There were thirteen 24-pounders and one 12-pounder mounted; the carriages were rotten, and unfit for service. This fort, like the one opposite, was intended to guard the approach to the town by water. On the land side the walls were not more than three feet high. The magazine was too damp for use.



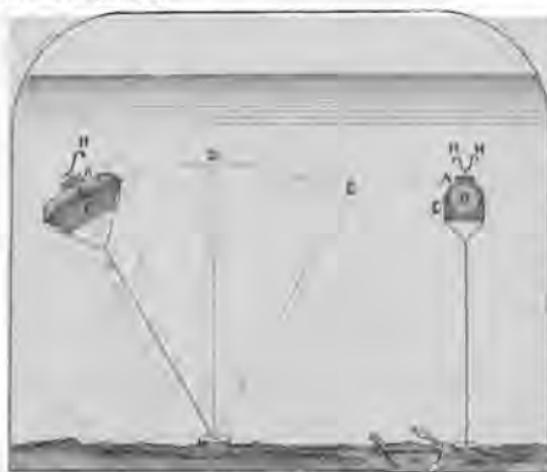
PLAN OF FORT M'HENRY.

ploding them there. He was filled with the benevolent idea that the introduction of such secret and destructive agencies would have a tendency to do away with naval warfare, and thus would be established what he called the *Liberty of the Seas*. Impelled by this grand idea, he left France, where he had been residing several years, and went over to England in 1804, for the purpose of offering his invention to the British government.¹ He finally obtained permission to make a public experiment of his TORPEDO, as he called his "infernal machine," and he was furnished

For the protection of Charleston Harbor there were several works, some of them as old as the Revolution. *Fort Johnson*, on James's Island, was enlarged and strengthened in 1793, and afterward repaired and patched at various times. The chief works were of brick. The barracks were of wood, one-story high; there was also a block-house. A large portion of the fort was carried away by a hurricane in 1804, and the remainder was inundated, sapped, and destroyed. *Fort Pinckney*, built in 1798, stood upon a marsh in front of Charleston called Shute's Folly. Built entirely of brick. It mounted eight 26-pounders *en barbette*. At the best it was an inefficient work, and in 1804 it too was sapped during the great hurricane, and rendered almost useless. *Fort Moultrie* was built on the site of the fort of that name in the Revolution. It was constructed in 1798, chiefly of brick and palmetto logs. It mounted on the ramparts ten 26-pounders *en barbette*, on double sea-coast carriages; one mortar, and six 12-pounders and a bowitzer in the ditch. This fort was also greatly damaged by the hurricane. The counterscarp and glacis were entirely swept away; no ditch remained; every traverse, and gun, and the reverberatory furnace were washed away and buried in the sand. All the wood-work of the fort was rotten, yet the fort was in a condition to be repaired. At the south end of the city of Charleston were the remains of *Fort Mifflin*, a redoubt in utter ruin.

Such was the general condition of the sea-coast defenses of the United States when war was declared in 1812. On the Northern and Northwestern frontiers there were some military posts and fortifications. First was the fort on the island of Michilimackinac, in the strait between Lakes Huron and Michigan. At Chicago, on Lake Michigan, was *Fort Dearborn*; at the head of the Maumee, *Fort Wayne*; a strong fort at Detroit; a battery and block-house at Erie; a battery at Black Rock, just below Buffalo; *Fort Niagara*, a strong work built by the French, at the mouth of the Niagara River; another considerable fort at Oswego, and a military post and a battery, called *Fort Tompkins*, at Sackett's Harbor. All of these will be noticed in the course of our narrative.

¹ Mr. Fulton took up his residence in Paris with Joel Barlow, and remained with him seven years. It was during that time that he planned his submarine boat, which he called a nautilus, and the machines attached to which he styled submarine bombs. He offered his invention several times to the French government, and once to the Dutch ambassador at Paris, but did not excite the favorable attention of either. He then opened negotiations with the British government, and went to London in 1804. There he held interviews with Mr. Pitt and Lord Melville, and explained the nature of his invention to them. Pitt was convinced of its great value, but Melville condemned it. In the course of a month a committee was appointed to examine, whose chairman was Sir Joseph Banks. They reported the submarine boat to be impracticable, when Mr. Fulton abandoned the idea of employing a submarine vessel, and turned his attention to the arrangement of his bombs, so that they might be employed without submerged boats. These he called TORPEDOS, and, in a memorial afterward presented to the American Congress,* he thus describes their construction, and method of operation:



TORPEDO.—PLATE I.

PLATE I. This shows the torpedo anchored, and so arranged as to blow up a vessel that should strike it. B is a copper case, two feet long and twelve inches in diameter, capable of containing one hundred pounds of gunpowder. A, a brass box, in which is a lock, similar to a common gun-lock, with a barrel two inches long, and holding a musket-charge of powder. The box, with the lock cocked and barrel charged, is screwed to the copper case B. H is a lever, having a communication with the cock inside the box A, holding the lock cocked, and ready to fire. C, a deal box filled with cork and tied to the case B, so as to make the torpedo fifteen to twenty pounds lighter than the water specifically, so as to give it buoyancy. It is held down to a given depth by a weight. A small anchor is attached to the weight to prevent its being moved by the tides. The torpedo was sunk not so deep as the usual draft of vessels to be acted upon. In flood-tide it would be oblique at D, and during the ebb again oblique at E. At ten feet below the surface the tide would not be likely to disturb it seriously. When a ship in sailing should strike the lever H, an instantaneous explosion would take place,

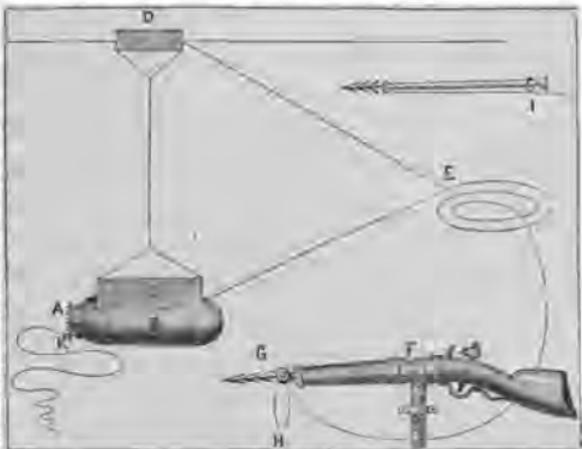
and the utter destruction of the vessel would follow. Fulton proposed to anchor a hundred of these in the Narrows approaching the harbor of New York, in the event of war. The figure on the right shows an end view of the torpedo, with a forked link, by which the chances of being struck by a vessel were increased.

* Mr. Fulton's memorial, published in pamphlet form in 1810, by William Elliott, 114 Water Street, New York, bears the following title: TORPEDO WAR AND SUBMARINE EXPLOSION, by ROBERT FULTON, Fellow of the American Philosophical Society, and of the United States Military and Philosophical Society. Its motto—*The Liberty of the Seas will be the Happiness of the Earth.*

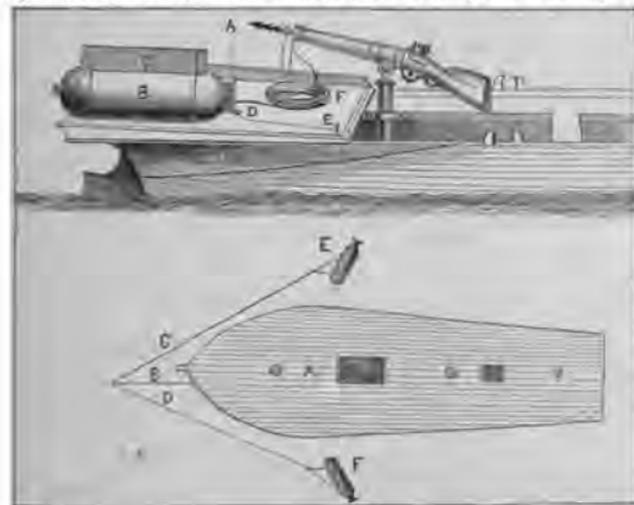
Description of Torpedoes and their Uses.

with a Danish brig, named *Dorothea*, and two boats, with eight men each, for the purpose. On the 15th of October, 1805, the *Dorothea* was anchored in Walmer

PLATE II. This represents another kind of torpedo—a clock-work torpedo—intended to attack a vessel while lying at anchor or under sail, by harpooning her on her larboard or starboard bow. B, a copper case containing one hundred pounds or more of gunpowder. C, a cork cushion, to give buoyancy to the whole. A, a cylindrical brass box, about seven inches in diameter and two deep, in which is a gun-lock, with a barrel two inches long to receive a charge of powder and wad, which charge is fired with the powder of the case B. In the brass box A there is also a piece of clock-work, moved by a coiled spring, which being wound up and set, will let the lock strike fire in any number of minutes which may be determined, within an hour. K is a small line fixed to a pin, which holds the clock-work inactive. The instant the pin is withdrawn the clock-work begins to move, and the explosion will take place in one, two, three, or any number of minutes for which it has been set. The whole is made perfectly water-tight. D is a pine box, two feet long and six or eight inches square, filled with cork to give it buoyancy, as in Plate I, although in this case it floats on



TORPEDO.—PLATE II.



TORPEDO.—PLATE III.

the stern-sheets of a boat. The harpoon is fixed in the vessel's bow, with the line from the torpedo clock-work is set in motion, the machine is thrown overboard, and the tide, on the motion of the vessel, quickly places it under the ship.

PLATE III. The upper portion of the plate represents the stern of a row-boat, with the harpoon-gun and torpedo just described. A platform, four feet long and three feet wide, is made on the stern, level with the gunwale, and projecting over the stern fifteen or eighteen inches, so that the torpedo, in falling into the water, may clear the rudder. The ropes are carefully disposed so that there may be no entanglement. The letters in this figure (A, B, and C) denote the parts, as in the last plate. The pin D, which restrains the clock-work, is drawn, when the torpedo is cast off, by the line attached to the boat at E. The harpooner, stationed at the gun,

* The late Henry Frasse, who for many years kept a shop in Fulton Street, New York, for the sale of watch-maker's materials, made the clock-work for Mr. Fulton. In his account-book before me is the following entry at the time we are considering:

"Dt. Mr. Fulton a H'y Frasse:
"26th May, 1810.—a Fulton repare un torpedos, le grand ressort, volant et rone, 4.50."
Mr. Frasse was then the only machinist of note in the city of New York. He died in February, 1849, at the age of sixty-eight years.

Road, not far from Deal, and in sight of Walmer Castle, the residence of William Pitt, the English prime minister, and there, in the presence of a large number of naval officers and others,¹ he made a successful exhibition. He first practiced the boatmen with empty torpedoes. One was placed in each boat, and connected by a small rope eighty feet long. The *Dorothea* drew twelve feet of water, and the torpedoes were suspended fifteen feet under water when cast from the boats, at the distance of seventy-five feet apart. They floated toward the brig with the tide, one on each side of her. When the connecting-line struck the hawser of the brig, both torpedoes were brought by the tide under her bottom.

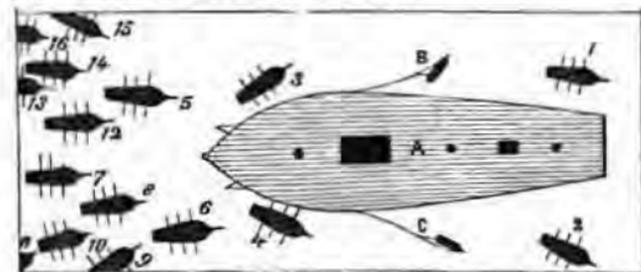
Having exercised the men sufficiently, Fulton filled one of the torpedoes with one hundred and eighty pounds of gunpowder, set its clock-work (explained in note 1, page 238) to eighteen minutes, and then went through with the same manœuvres as before, the filled and the empty torpedo being united by a rope. At the expiration of eighteen minutes from the time the torpedoes were cast overboard, and were carried toward the *Dorothea*, a dull explosion was heard, and the brig was raised bodily about six feet,² and separated in the middle; and in twenty minutes nothing was seen of her but some floating fragments. The pumps and foremasts were blown out of her; the foretop-sail-yards were thrown up to the cross-trees; the fore-chain plates, with their bolts, were torn from her sides, and her mizzen-mast was broken off in two places. The experiment was perfectly satisfactory; but the British government

refused to purchase and use the invention, because it was thought to be inexpedient



DESTRUCTION OF THE DOROTHEA.

also steers the boat, and fires according to his judgment. If the harpoon attacks into the bow of the vessel, the boat is immediately moved away, the torpedo cast out of the boat, and the clock-work set in motion. If the harpoon misses the ship, the torpedo may be saved, and another attack be made. Fulton proposed to have twelve men in each boat, all armed for their protection or offensive movements, if necessary. The figure in the lower part of the plate is a bird's-eye view of a vessel (A) at anchor. B, her cable; E F, two torpedoes; C D, their coupling lines, twelve feet long. It is touching the vessel's cable, and the torpedoes being driven under her by the tide. In this way the *Dorothea*, mentioned in the text, was attacked. Those were clock-work torpedoes.



TORPEDOES.—PLATE IV.

PLATE IV. represents a bird's-eye view of a vessel at anchor, or under weigh, attacked by a flotilla of mortar-boats. A is the vessel, and B C two torpedoes operating by means of the harpoon movement. When it was objected that these boats would be exposed to grape, canister, and musket balls from the vessel, Fulton estimated that the time of danger, by expert movements, would not exceed four minutes—two in approaching near enough to fire the harpoon, and two for retreating. He entered into a calculation of the gross efficiency and less exposure of the

torpedo system, in harbor defense, than ships of war. I have given this description of the torpedo as illustrative of a part of the history of the times we are considering. Science and mechanical skill have since produced far more destructive engines of war, and yet Fulton's dream of establishing the *liberty of the seas* by means of the torpedo, or any other instrumentality, remains unaccomplished. A Monitor of to-day is worth a million of torpedoes for harbor defense.

¹ Admiral Holloway, Sir Sidney Smith, Captain Owen, Captain Kingston, Colonel Congreve, and a greater portion of the officers of the fleet under Lord Keith were present. Pitt was in London, and did not see the exhibition. Colonel Congreve was the inventor of the rocket, or "pyrotechnic arrow," as Fulton called it, bearing his name.

² The engraving is from a drawing by Fulton, appended to his memorial to Congress in 1810.

for the mistress of the seas to introduce into naval warfare a system that would give great advantages to weaker maritime nations. The Earl St. Vincent said Pitt was a fool to encourage a mode of warfare which they, who commanded the seas, did not want, and which, if successful, would deprive them of it.¹

At the beginning of 1807 Mr. Fulton was in Washington with his drawings, models, and plans for a "torpedo war." He was favorably listened to then, but his plans were regarded with more interest after the affair of the *Leopard* and *Chesapeake*, a few months later. That affair caused much public discussion about harbor defenses, and able practical writers, like Colonel Williams and John Stevens, favored the use of Fulton's torpedoes. It was believed that measures would be taken to drive British vessels of war from American harbors, and on the 6th of July Fulton again brought his torpedoes to the notice of the Secretary of the Navy. Congress made a small appropriation for experiments, and on the 20th of July, by the direction of the President, Fulton performed a feat in the harbor of New York similar to that of the destruction of the *Dorothea* in Walmer Road. He utterly destroyed a vessel of two hundred tons burden, and convinced the spectators that any ship might be so demolished.² The experiment created quite a sensation in England. The Earl of Stanhope, Fulton's early friend, alluded to it in Parliament, and reproached the government, by implication, for suffering such an invention to go to America, when, for three thousand pounds, they might have possessed it. Nothing farther of importance was done in the matter, for Fulton was then deeply engaged in bringing to a successful issue his experiments in navigating by steam as a motor. But when those experiments resulted in absolute and brilliant success, and men's minds were filled with speculations concerning the future of this new aid to commerce, he believed that his torpedo system would be of far more benefit to mankind than navigation by steam. In a letter to a friend, giving him an account of his first voyage to Albany and back by steam—the first achievement of the kind—he said: "However, I will not admit that it is *half so important* as the torpedo system of defense and attack, for out of it will grow the liberty of the seas, an object of infinite importance to the welfare of America and every civilized country. But thousands of witnesses have now seen the steam-boat in rapid movement, and believe; they have not seen a ship-of-war destroyed by a torpedo, and they do not believe."³

How utterly impotent is the finite mind when it attempts to understand the future. It is like a bewildered traveler in a dark night attempting to comprehend an almost illimitable prairie before him by the aid of a "fire-fly lamp." The torpedo is forgotten; the steam-boat, in *Monitor*⁴ form, is now (1867) the great champion for the "liberty of the seas."

In January, 1810, Fulton again visited Washington, and at Kalorama, the seat of his good friend Barlow, near Georgetown, in the presence of President Jefferson, Secretary Madison, and a large number of members of Congress, he exhibited and explained the plans and models of improved torpedoes, such as are described in note 1,

¹ Letter from Robert Fulton to Joel Barlow.

² Mr. Fulton invited the Governor of the State of New York, the Corporation of the city, and many others, to witness his experiments. They assembled at Fort Jay, on Governor's Island, on the 20th of July, and in the shadow of the great gateway he lectured on the subject of his torpedoes. He had a blank one for his explanations, and his numerous auditors gathered close around him, with great eagerness, to catch every word from his lips, and see every part of the machine. At length he turned to one of the torpedoes lying near, under the gateway of the fort, to which his clock-work was attached, and drawing out the plug, and setting it in motion, he said: "Gentlemen, this is a charged torpedo, with which, precisely in its present state, I mean to blow up a vessel. It contains one hundred and seventy pounds of gunpowder, and if I were to suffer the clock-work to run fifteen minutes, I have no doubt that it would blow this fortification to atoms." The circle of the audience around Mr. Fulton immediately widened, and, before five of the fifteen minutes had elapsed, all but two or three had disappeared from the gateway, and retired to as great a distance as possible with the utmost speed. Fulton, entirely confident in his machine, was perfectly calm. "How frequently fear arises from ignorance," he said.—Colden's *Life of Fulton*, page 73.

³ Letter to Joel Barlow from New York, dated August 22, 1807.

⁴ For a description of the *Monitor*, a new style of vessel of war, first made known to the world by a terrible encounter with the *Merrimack*, another efficient vessel of war, in Hampton Roads, Virginia, in March, 1862, see Lossing's *Pictorial History of the Civil War*.

Farther Experiments with Torpedoes.

A wholesome Fear of them.

Robert Fulton.

page 238. They were deeply impressed with the value of the invention, and in March Congress appropriated five thousand dollars for farther experiments, to be publicly made in the harbor of New York, under the direct superintendence of Commodore Rodgers and Captain Chauncey. The sloop-of-war *Argus* was prepared to defend herself against Fulton's torpedo attacks.¹ The experiments were tried ^{* September and October, 1810.} in the autumn.² They failed, so far as attacks upon the *Argus* were concerned, and Rodgers reported the scheme to be wholly impracticable.

Commissioners, among whom were Chancellor Livingston, Morgan Lewis, and Cadwallader Colden, reported in its favor. But Fulton, then still deeply engaged in steam-boat matters, made no farther efforts to induce the government to adopt his torpedo system; yet his faith in its value was not abated.

When war was declared in 1812, Fulton revived his torpedo scheme, but could not win the countenance of the government. Several attempts to put it in execution were made by inexperienced persons, and failed, and torpedoes did not enter into the system of warfare carried on



at that time. But while they were not actually used, except in a few isolated cases, against the British vessels of war, a wholesome fear of them was abroad in the British navy. There was great anxiety manifested on the part of the British naval commanders, when they approached our coasts, to know where Mr. Fulton³ was; and, such was their caution, they seldom attempted to enter the harbors of the United States during the war. No doubt the fear of Fulton's torpedoes



FULTON'S BIRTH-PLACE.

¹ Fulton had also invented a submarine machine for cutting the cables of ships at anchor. Experiments with this were tried at the same time.

² Robert Fulton was born at Little Britain, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, in 1765. His parents were from Ireland. His early education was meagre. At the age of seventeen he was painting miniatures* at Philadelphia, and indulging his taste for mechanics in the work-shops of that city. His friends sent him to London, to receive instructions in painting, when he was twenty-one years of age. The celebrated West was his instructor. The Earl of Staphope, who took great interest in mechanics, became his friend, and encouraged his taste for the useful arts. He heard of the experiments of Fitch and Evans in the use of steam for navigation, and his active mind began to speculate on the subject, and have glorious perceptions of future achievements. He left painting, and became an engineer. He entered the family of Joel Barlow, at Paris, in 1797, and there he became acquainted with Chancellor Livingston, with whom he carried on experiments in navigation by steam. They saw wealth and honor as the reward of success in that line on the inland waters of the United States. They came home, and were successful. The first voyage from Albany to New York silenced all doubt. In

* In White's Philadelphia Directory, 1786, is the following: "Robert Fulton, miniature painter, corner of Second and Walnut Streets."

saved several of our sea-port towns from destruction. Fulton's steam-frigate, launched in 1814, will be noticed hereafter.

Notwithstanding war had been declared by a large majority in Congress, and was approved by an equally large majority of the people of the United States, the administration was anxious for some honorable means for averting it. Indeed, both governments at the last moment seemed to hesitate. In the United States there was a large and powerful party utterly opposed to hostilities. There was a smaller organization, called the "Peace party," who were pledged to cast obstacles in the way of the government while hostilities should last. The authorities of several of the states took ground early against affording aid to the government; and it was very soon perceived that the Canadians, whose willingness to cast off the yoke of the imperial government had not been doubted, were generally loyal, and ready to take up arms against the United States. The Governors of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut refused to comply with the requisition made upon them for militia immediately after the declaration of war was promulgated. They planted themselves upon the Constitution, and the act of Congress authorizing the President to make a requisition for the militia, which contemplated the exigency of expected invasion. No evidence of any danger of invasion, they said, existed; and, supported by the judiciary and Legislatures of their respective states, they set the President at defiance. The Legislature of New Jersey denounced the war as "inexpedient, ill-timed, and most dangerously impolitic, sacrificing at once countless blessings." The Maryland House of Delegates passed resolutions commending the action of the Governors of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, and disapproving of the war; while in the Senate opposite views were expressed. The Legislature of Pennsylvania rebuked the action of the three New England governors, and called it "an alarming and unexpected occurrence." They resolved that "the declaration of war was the result of solemn deliberation, sound wisdom, and imperious necessity." The Legislature of Ohio declared that the United States had been driven into the war by the aggressions of Great Britain, and said, "The man who would desert a just cause is unworthy to defend it." The Governor of New York exhorted a hearty concurrence in support of the national government; and the new State of Louisiana, just admitted into the Union, said, by the voice of its governor, "If ever war was justifiable, the one which our country has declared is that war. If ever a people had cause to repose in the confidence of their government, we are that people."

These conflicting views produced corresponding conflict of action. Party spirit was aroused in all its fierceness. Personal collisions became frequent occurrences, and in the city of Baltimore a most fearful riot occurred, the result of which was murder and maiming.¹

1809 he obtained his first patent. His torpedo scheme failing, he turned his attention to submarine batteries. In 1814 he was directed by Congress to construct a war steamer. She was launched, and called *Fulton*. He died seven months afterward (February 24, 1815), at the age of fifty years. Our engraving of Mr. Fulton is from a portrait by Benjamin West, painted in 1805. The view of his residence is from a sketch by E. B. Cope, Esq. It gives its present appearance.

¹ There was a violent opposition newspaper in Baltimore called *The Federal Republican*, edited by a young man only twenty-six years of age. Baltimore was then a flourishing commercial city, and this paper was the organ of the mercantile interest, which had suffered from the restrictive commercial measures, and was now prostrated by the impending war. The *Republican* denounced the declaration of war, and, in defiance of intimations that had been made in Congress that when that declaration was once made all opposition to the war must cease, the editor announced his determination to speak as freely against the administration and its measures as before, thereby reversing the policy of his party in 1798 in the matter of the Alien and Sedition Laws. "We mean," he said, "to represent, in as strong colors as we are capable, that the war is unnecessary, inexpedient, and entered into from partial, personal, and, as we believe, motives bearing upon their front marks of undisguised foreign influence which can not be mistaken." This announcement was made on Saturday, June 20th, and on Monday evening, the 22d, a mob, headed by a French apothecary, proceeded to the office of that paper and demolished it. Having thus commenced violence, they proceeded to the wharves and dismantled some vessels, and committed other heinous acts. The publisher of the *Federal Republican* determined to re-establish the office. The lower portion of the house of one of the proprietors was used for the purpose. The paper was printed in Georgetown, but published then in Baltimore after a silence of five weeks. According to expectation, the publishing office was attacked. The magistrates of the city seemed to have used no means to quell the riot in June, and were not expected to do so now. General Henry Lee, then a resident of Baltimore, furnished the proprietors with a regular plan of defense, and offered to superintend the execution of it. General Lingan, another soldier of the Revolution, and also

The people of Canada, whose soil was about to be invaded, were filled with feelings of doubt and alarm, especially in the Upper Province. A large number of the inhabitants in that section were natives of the United States who had emigrated thither to better their condition. Many of them still felt a lingering affection for the land of their birth, and were unwilling to take up arms against it; but there was another class of emigrants—Loyalists, or the children of Loyalists of the Revolution—political exiles—occupying a large tract of land lying between Lakes Erie and Ontario, and westward, who were indebted to the liberality of the British government for the soil they were cultivating, and to their own industry for the roofs that sheltered them. These retained bitter feelings toward the United States, and took up arms with alacrity against a people whom they regarded as their oppressors. When war was actually commenced—when American troops were actually encamped on Canadian territory, these old Loyalists formed a most energetic and active element in the firm opposition which the invasion encountered. To these the Legislature of Upper Canada, whose loyalty was at first considered somewhat doubtful, addressed a most stirring appeal, soon after the American declaration of war was known, to the delight of the governor and the English party. “Already,” they said, “have we the joy to remark that the spirit of loyalty has burst forth in all its ancient splendor. The militia in all parts of the province have volunteered their services with acclamation, and displayed a degree of energy worthy of the British name. They do not forget the blessings and privileges which they enjoy under the protective and fostering care of the British empire, whose government is only felt in this country by acts of the purest justice, and most pleasing and efficacious benevolence. When men are called upon to defend every thing they call precious, their wives and children, their friends and possessions, they ought to be inspired with the noblest resolutions, and they will not be easily frightened by menaces, or conquered by force; and beholding, as we do, the flame of patriotism burning from one end of the Canadas to the other, we can not but entertain the most pleasing anticipations. Our enemies have, indeed, said that they can subdue this country by a proclamation; but it is our part to prove to them that they are sadly mistaken; that the population is determinately hostile, and that the few who might be otherwise inclined will find it their safety to be faithful.”

The address then proceeded to warn the people that, “in imitation of their European master (Napoleon),” the United States would “trust more to treachery than to

a Federalist, joined him, and about twenty others made up the defensive party. They were well-armed and provisioned for a siege. On the evening of the 26th of July (the evening of the day on which the revived newspaper first appeared) the mob assembled. After assailing the building with stones for some time, they forced open the door, and when ascending the stairs they were fired upon. One of the ringleaders was killed and several were wounded. After much solicitude, two magistrates, by virtue of their authority, ordered out two companies of militia, under General Stricker, to quell the mob. A single troop of horse soon appeared, and at about daylight the mayor and General Stricker appeared. A truce was obtained, and it was agreed that the defenders, some of whom were hurt, and who were all charged with murder, should be conducted to prison to answer that charge. They were promised not only personal safety, but protection of the premises by a military guard. On their way to prison the band played the rogue's march. The mob immediately sacked the house. Only a few more of the military could be persuaded to come out, and the mob had its own way to a great extent. At night they gathered around the prison, and the turnkey was so terrified that he allowed them to enter. The prisoners extinguished their lights and rushed out. They mingled with the mob, and thus several escaped. Some were dreadfully beaten, and three were tortured by the furious men. General Lee was made a cripple for life, and General Lingan, then seventy years of age, distinguished for his services in the field during the old war for independence, expired in the hands of the mob.* In the treatment of their unfortunate prisoners the most intense savagism was displayed. The riot was at length quelled, and the city magistrates, on investigation, placed the entire blame on the publishers of the obnoxious newspaper. It was decided that in a time of war no man has a right to cast obstacles in the way of the success of his country's undertakings. The course of the *Federal Republican* was condemned as treasonable—as giving aid and comfort to the enemy; and its fate was not mourned outside of the circle of its political supporters. While all right-minded men deprecated a mob, and condemned, in unmeasured terms, its atrocities, they as loudly condemned the unpatriotic course of the offending newspaper.

* Funeral honors were paid to General Lingan, at Georgetown, on the 1st of September following, by a great procession, and an oration by the late George Washington Parke Custis, the adopted son of Washington. His oration was extemporaneous, and was an eloquent and impassioned appeal to the feelings of his auditors. Only three years and six months after the death of the orator, the blood of other patriots, not engaged in the immediate defense of the liberty of the press, but hurrying to the national capital to save it from the grasp of fratricides, were slain in the streets of Baltimore by a mob (April 19, 1861), who, as in 1812, were tenderly dealt with, if not encouraged, by the magistrates of the city.

Enlistments in the British Provinces.	Peaceful Propositions.	Action on the Orders in Council and Decrees.
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force;" that they would be falsely told that armies come to give them freedom and peace; that emissaries "of the most contemptible faction that ever distracted the affairs of any nation—the minions of the very sycophants who lick the dust from the feet of Bonaparte," would endeavor to seduce them from their loyalty.

This address had a powerful effect. The prudence and sagacity of Sir George Prevost, the governor general of Canada, had allayed the political agitations in the Lower Province, which had assumed a threatening aspect during the administration of his predecessor, Sir James H. Craig. Now, when war seemed impending, the Legislature of the Lower Province, laying aside their political bickerings, voted to furnish two thousand unmarried men to serve for three months during two successive summers. Besides these, a corps, called the Glengary Light Infantry, numbering, on the 1st of May, 1812, four hundred rank and file, and drawn chiefly from the Lower Province, was organized. Its officers promised to double that number. At the same time, enlistments were made in Acadia and Nova Scotia, while Lieutenant M'Donell gathered under his banner a large number of Highlanders, settled upon the Lower St. Lawrence and the Gulf.¹ It was soon made evident to the Americans that no dependence could be placed upon disloyalty among the Canadians, and that, instead of finding friends and allies north of the lakes, they would find active foes.

While these events were transpiring in America, there were movements abroad which faintly promised an adjustment of difficulties between the two governments without a resort to arms. Immediately after the declaration of war, President Madison, through Secretary Monroe, sent a dispatch^a to Mr. Russell, the American minister at the British court, by Mr. Foster, the English minister retiring from Washington,² instructing him to offer an armistice preliminary to a definite arrangement of all differences, on condition of the absolute repeal of the obnoxious orders in Council, the discontinuance of impressment, and the return of all American seamen who had been impressed and were still in the British service. He was authorized to promise, on the part of the United States, a positive prohibition of employment for British seamen in the American service, public or private, on condition of a reciprocity in kind on the part of the British government. He made still more liberal advances toward reconciliation in a subsequent dispatch,^b offering to agree to an armistice on a tacit understanding, instead of a positive stipulation, that no more American seamen should be impressed into the British service.

The British government had already taken action on the orders in Council. We have noticed the effect of Brougham's efforts in Parliament, and Baring's potent *Inquiry* on the subject of those orders. In the spring of 1812 a new order was issued, declaring that if at any time the Berlin and Milan Decrees should, by some authoritative act of the French government publicly promulgated, be withdrawn, the orders in Council of January, 1807, and of April, 1809, should be at once repealed. Mr. Barlow, the American minister at Paris, immediately after receiving information of this new order, pressed the French government to make a public announcement that those decrees had ceased to operate, as against the United States, since November, 1810. The Duke of Bassano exhibited great reluctance to do so, but finally, persuaded that the Americans would resume trade with Great Britain in defiance of the few French cruisers afloat, and that the two governments might form an alliance against the emperor, produced a decree, dated April 28, 1811, directing that, in consideration of the resistance of the United States "to the arbitrary pretensions advanced by the British orders in Council, and a formal refusal to sanction a system hostile to the independ-

¹ A *History of the War between Great Britain and the United States of America during the Years 1812, 1813, and 1814*, by G. Auchinleck, pages 46-48 inclusive.

² Mr. Foster sailed from New York for Halifax in the brig *Colibri*, on Sunday, July 12, accompanied by Mr. Barclay, the British consul at New York.

ence of neutral powers, the Berlin and Milan Decrees were to be considered as not having existed, as to American vessels, since November 1, 1810.¹ Barlow perceived, by the date of this document, that there was dissimulation and lack of candor in the whole matter, and, by pressing the duke with questions, caused that minister to utter what were doubtless absolute falsehoods.² In truth, the French had, throughout this whole matter of decrees, and the enforcement of the Continental System, been guilty of deception and injustice to a degree that would have justified an honest nation in suspending all diplomatic relations with them.

On receiving a copy of this decree Barlow dispatched it to London by the *Wasp*, for Mr. Russell's use. It reached there just in time to co-operate with the British manufacturers, who had procured the appointment of a committee of the House of Commons to inquire into the effects of the orders in Council on the commercial interests of the nation.³ Castlereagh, to whom Russell presented the decree, considered it too limited to induce the British government to make any change in its policy. But he and his colleagues were compelled to yield. The new ministry, who came in after Mr. Perceval's death,⁴ were very strongly pressed by Brougham, Baring, and others, and menaced with the desertion of their supporters in the manufacturing districts.

Finally, on the 16th of June,⁵ Brougham, after a minute statement of

^a 1812. facts brought out by the inquiry of the Commons' committee, and an eloquent exposition of the absurd policy pursued by the government,⁵ moved an address to the Prince Regent, beseeching him to recall or suspend the orders in Council, and to adopt such other measures as might tend to conciliate neutral powers, without sacrificing the rights and dignity of his majesty's crown. Castlereagh deprecated this "hasty action," as he called it, and stated that it was the intention of the government to make a conciliatory proposition to the Cabinet at Washington. On an intimation that this definite proposition was decided upon in the Cabinet, and would appear in

the next *Gazette*, Brougham withdrew his motion. On the 23d^b a declaration ^b June. from the Prince Regent in Council was published, absolutely revoking all orders as far as they regarded America. It was accompanied by a proviso that the present order should have no effect unless the United States should revoke their Non-intercourse Act, and place Great Britain on the same relative footing as France. The order also provided that the Prince Regent should not be precluded, if circumstances should require it, from restoring the orders in Council, or from taking such other measures of retaliation against the French as might appear to his royal highness just and necessary.⁶

Intelligence of this conditional revocation of the orders in Council reached Mr. Foster before he sailed from Halifax, and he obtained from the naval commander on that station (Admiral Sir John Borlase Warren) consent to a mutual suspension of pro-

¹ The new decree was dated "Palace of St. Cloud, April 28, 1811," and signed by Napoleon as "Emperor of the French, King of Italy, Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, and Mediator of the Swiss Confederacy."

² Barlow asked Bassano if the decree, apparently a year old, had ever been published. He was answered no, adding that it had been shown to Mr. Russell, when Chargé d'Affaires at Paris, and had been sent to Serrurier, at Washington, to be communicated to the American government. The records on both sides of the Atlantic proved this statement to be untrue. The decree was a fresh one, antedated for diplomatic effect.

³ The examination of this committee, who were authorized to summon persons and papers, commenced on the 29th of April, and continued until the 13th of June. Witnesses from almost every part of Great Britain were examined, and in every case the transcendent importance of American commerce to the welfare of England was made manifest by testimony. The folly, wickedness, and stupidity of the orders in Council were fully exposed; and in the volume of almost seven hundred pages, filled with the minutes of that examination, an awful picture is given of the calamities to trade which those orders had produced. ⁴ See page 233.

⁵ He decried the sort of half-piratical commerce which England was then pursuing in unmeasured terms. "It is this miserable, shifting, doubtful, hateful traffic that we prefer to the sure, regular, increasing, honest gains of American commerce—to a trade which is placed beyond the enemy's reach; which, besides enriching ourselves in peace and honor, only benefits those who are our natural friends, over whom he has no control; which supports at once all that remains of liberty beyond the seas, and gives life and vigor to its main pillar within the nation—the manufactures and commerce of England. . . . That commerce is the whole American market, a branch of trade in comparison of which, whether you regard its extent, its certainty, or its progressive increase, every other sinks into insignificance. It is a market which in ordinary times may take off about thirteen millions [\$365,000,000] worth of our manufactures, and in steadiness and regularity it is unrivaled."

⁶ *American State Papers*, ix. 83.

An Armistice. The haughty Assumptions of the British Government. Number of impressed American Seamen.

ceedings against captured vessels. This fact was communicated to Mr. Boker, the British secretary of legation left at Washington, to be laid before the President. Foster also stated that he had advised Sir George Prevost, Governor General of Canada, to propose a suspension of hostilities on land. This was done, and General Dearborn, the commander of the American forces on the Northern frontier, provisionally agreed to an armistice.¹ Joy filled many hearts at these promises of peace and returning prosperity; but it was of short duration. The United States government refused to ratify this armistice, or to accept the other propositions of the ex-minister, because the President doubted his authority to suspend the proceedings of prize courts; was uncertain how far these arrangements would be respected by the British officers themselves; saw no security against the Indian allies of the English, then hovering like a dark cloud on the Northwestern frontier; and considered the arrangement unequal, as it would afford an opportunity to re-enforce Canada during the armistice. The President was also apprehensive that a suspension of hostilities previous to receiving an answer from the British government on the subject of impressment might appear like waiving that point.

When Mr. Russell presented his instructions^a to Castlereagh on the subject of an armistice, that minister replied^b that the orders in Council had been already provisionally repealed, and that instructions had been sent to Admiral Warren, on the Halifax station, to propose a suspension of hostilities on that basis. At the same time the British minister declined any discussion of the vital subject of impressment, and the release of impressed seamen. He even expressed surprise that, "as a condition preliminary even to a suspension of hostilities, the government of the United States should have thought fit to demand that the British government should desist from its *ancient and accustomed practice of impressing British seamen from the merchant ships of a foreign state*, simply on the assurance that a law shall hereafter be passed to prohibit the employment of British seamen in the public or commercial service of that state." He said that his government was willing to discuss any proposition concerning abuses in the practice of impressment, or the substitution of some method of accomplishing the same object with less vexation in practice; "but they can not consent," he said, "to suspend the exercise of a *right upon which the naval strength of the empire mainly depends*," unless assured that the object might be attained in some other way.²

Of all the grievances complained of by the Americans, that of impressment was the most serious. It was a practical violation of the sovereignty and independence of the United States, and was of more consequence to the character of the nation than all blockades or other obstructions to commerce. It offended, in the highest degree, the patriotism of every true American; and it touched not only the political sensibilities of a free people at a most tender point, but it impressed them keenly with a sense of social wrong. At that very time there were upward of six thousand cases of impressment of American seamen on the records of the State Department, and it was believed that as many more, never reported to the government, had occurred. Castlereagh admitted, on the floor of the British Parliament, that there were three thousand five hundred impressed servants in the British navy, claiming to be American seamen, but said that they might be discharged on proving their citizenship. American citizens, kidnapped from the decks of American vessels by British cruisers, and made slaves in British ships, were offered freedom only on condition of proving

¹ General Dearborn's head-quarters at this time were at Greenbush, opposite Albany, in New York. Thither Sir George Prevost sent his adjutant general, Baynes, to propose an armistice, and clothed with power to conclude one. Dearborn and Baynes signed it on the 9th of August. The agreement was to affect only Dearborn and the frontiers of New York, and the armies of the British along the opposite and corresponding line.

Edward Baynes

² *American State Papers*, ix., 73.

themselves to be American citizens! Ay, more, subjected, at the same time, as we have seen, to the liability of receiving degrading punishment for attempting to secure that freedom!

Perceiving no hope of an adjustment of difficulties with the rulers of England, Mr. Russell obtained his passports,¹ and, leaving Mr. Reuben Guant Beaseley as agent for prisoners of war in London, he returned home, intimating by his departure that diplomacy between the two governments had ended, and that the war, already begun on land and sea, must proceed. On the 12th of October the English government issued letters of marque and reprisal against the Americans.² The armistice on the Canada frontier had been ended for some weeks, and the war went on.

History has no record of a people more righteous in persisting in war than were the Americans at this time, when their plea for simple justice was so insolently spurned by the men who then unfortunately governed the British nation. They had tried every peaceful measure consistent with national honor for obtaining a redress of grievances, as they did for ten long and weary years, exposed to insult and oppression from the same government, before the Revolution. They were now determined to secure fully and forever that dignity and independence in the family of nations to which their strength and importance entitled them. "It was a war," says a late historian³ (whose sympathies with the Federalists is manifested on every page of his narrative), "for the rights of personal freedom—the freedom, suppose, of Britons and other foreigners, as well as Americans,⁴ from the domineering insolence of British press-gangs—an idea congenial to every manly soul, and giving to the contest a strong hold on the hearts of the masses; in fact, a just title to the character of a democratic war, in the best sense of that very ambiguous epithet, and even to be called a second war for independence, as its advocates delighted to describe it."

With these facts before them, writers and speakers of American birth, at that time, for party purposes, magnified the generosity of Great Britain, its Christian desire for peace, its magnanimous offers of reconciliation; and declaimed most piteously about the cruelty of waging war against a nation kindred in blood, language, and religion, in the hour of its great extremity, when a desperate adventurer was seeking to destroy it. Even at this late day, a Scotch Canadian writer, with all the facts of history in his possession, has ungenerously declared that "the war—the grand provocation having been thus [by conditional repeal of the orders in Council] removed—was persisted in, for want of a better excuse, on the ground of the 'impressment question,'" and adds, "The government of the United States stand, then, self-condemned of wanton aggression on the North American colonies of Great Britain, and of prosecuting the war on grounds different from those which they were accustomed to assign."⁵

Thus it has ever been with British writers and statesmen of a certain class, who represent the great leading idea of the boasted Mistress of the Seas when she was less enlightened than now. We have already quoted the following words of Montesquieu concerning English politics a hundred years ago—"The English have ever made their political interests give way to those of commerce."⁶ These words bear

¹ See note, page 144.

² Subsequently to this act, the British government, pressed by the necessities of their army in Spain, freely granted licenses or protections to American vessels engaged in carrying flour to the ports of that country. This traffic was subjected to heavy penalties by Congress, yet it was largely indulged in, because it afforded immense profits—profits more than equal to the risks. These licenses were cited by the opponents of the war then, and by British writers since, as evidences of the great forbearance of the British government, for which the Americans should have been profoundly thankful!

³ Hildreth's *History of the United States*, Second Series, iii., 352.

⁴ The Americans justly contended that the flag should protect every man who was innocent of crime, who sought security under its folds, wherever his birth-place might have been. It represented the sovereignty of the nation, and, as such, claimed full respect.

⁵ Auchinleck's *History of the War of 1812*, page 88.

⁶ See sub-note *, page 138.

National Mischief-makers.

The Men to be chosen as Military Leaders.

The General-in-chief.

repetition in this connection. In estimating the character of other nations, men of the class alluded to are always governed by the *commercial* idea, and can not comprehend the fact, frequently illustrated in history (even slightly in their own), that a people may contend for something more noble than pounds, shillings, and pence. That class of writers and statesmen, who governed England about a century ago, believed that a slight remission of taxes on tea would purchase the allegiance and abject submission of the Americans. The same class of writers and statesmen, of the Stephen and Castlereagh stamp, who governed England in 1812, believed that a concession to American commerce would be an equivalent for national honor and independence; and the same class of writers and statesmen who governed England in 1861 could not comprehend the great fact that the American government was struggling for its life against household assassins, without counting the cost in pounds, shillings, and pence. They are a class who never learn, and are prominent only as national mischief-makers.

The door of reconciliation, as we have seen, was shut in the autumn of 1812. The war had been already commenced on sea and land. Provision had been made by Congress for the organization of an adequate army. One of the most important measures was the appointment of officers to command the troops. A greater portion of the most distinguished and meritorious officers of the Revolution had passed away, and there were none of experience left who had held a commission above colonel in the Continental army. A long season of peace, except during difficulties with the Indians, had deprived the younger army of officers in the service of the opportunity of real experience in the practical art of war.

Notwithstanding the surviving soldiers of the old war had advanced far in the journey of life, and most of them had been long enjoying the quietude of civil pursuits, it was thought to be most prudent to call them to the head of the new army, with their small experience of actual field duty, than to trust to those who had never been under fire. The collector of the port of Boston, Henry Dearborn, late Secretary of War, an active Democrat, and then sixty-
^{February,} ^{1812.} one years of age, was appointed^a first major general, or acting commander-in-chief, having the Northern Department under his immediate control.^b

^c March. Thomas Pinckney, of South Carolina, was appointed^b second major gen-



HENRY DEARBORN.

^a Henry Dearborn was born in Hampton, New Hampshire, in March, 1751. At Portsmouth he studied the science of medicine with Dr. Jackson Jackson, and commenced his practice there in 1772. When the old war for independence was impending, he took an active part in politics on the popular side, and gave as much attention as his engagements would allow to military matters. On the day after the skirmish at Lexington, in April, 1775, he marched toward Cambridge at the head of sixty men. He then returned to New Hampshire, was commissioned a captain in Colonel Stark's regiment, and by the middle of May was back to Cambridge with a full company. He was in the battle of Bunker's Hill, and accompanied General Arnold in his perilous expedition through the wilderness of Maine to Quebec in the autumn of that year. He suffered dreadfully from privations and a fever, but was sufficiently recovered to participate in the assault on Quebec at the close of the year, when he was made a prisoner. He was not exchanged until March, 1777, when he was appointed a major in Scammell's regiment. He was in the campaign opposed to Burgoyne, and behaved gallantly on the field of Saratoga, where he was promoted to lieutenant colonel. He was at Monmouth, in Sullivan's campaign, and in the siege of Yorktown. In 1784 he settled on the banks of the Kennebec as a farmer. Washington appointed him marshal of the District of Maine in 1788, and he was elected to Congress from that Territory. He was called to Jefferson's Cabinet, as Secretary of War, in 1801, which position he filled for eight years. Mr. Madison appointed him collector of the port of Boston in 1809; and in February, 1812, he was commissioned a major general in the United States army. Ill health compelled him to relinquish that position, and he assumed command of the military district of New York City. He retired to private life in 1815. In 1822 President Monroe appointed him minister to Portugal, where he

Names of the general Officers appointed.	Declaration of War announced to the Troops.	The first Prisoner.
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eral, and placed in command of the Southern Department. Joseph Bloomfield, Governor of New Jersey,¹ James Winchester, of Tennessee, J. P. Boyd, of Massachusetts, and William Hull, Governor of the Territory of Michigan, were commissioned brigadiers.² The same commission was given³ to Thomas Flounoy, of Georgia. John Armstrong, of New York, also received the commission⁴ of a brigadier, to fill the vacancy caused by the recent death⁵ of General Peter Gansevoort. This was soon followed by a like commission⁶ for John Chandler, of Maine. Morgan Lewis, of New York, was appointed quarter-master general,⁷ and Alexander Smyth, of Virginia, late Colonel of the Rifles, was appointed⁸ inspector general,⁹ each bearing the commission of brigadier. Thomas H. Cushing,² of Massachusetts, then Colonel of the Second Regiment, was appointed adjutant general, with the rank of brigadier. James Wilkinson, of Maryland, the senior brigadier in the army, was sent to New Orleans to relieve Wade Hampton, now a brigadier, and a meritorious subaltern officer in South Carolina during the Revolution. Alexander Macomb, of the Engineers, was promoted to colonel; and Winfield Scott and Edmund Pendleton Gaines, of Virginia, and Eleazer W. Ripley, of Maine, were commissioned colonels.



GENERAL BLOOMFIELD'S RESIDENCE.

is the inscription, *The Parting Stone, 1744, P. Dudley*; on another, *Dedham and Rhode Island*; and on a third, *Cambridge*. It appears to have been erected by Mr. Dudley, at the parting of the ways, as a sort of guide-post, and there it had remained for a hundred and sixteen years.

¹ General Bloomfield was in New York when war was declared. He had arrived on the 2d of June, to take charge of the fortifications there. He was the first to announce the declaration of war to troops in a formal manner. This he did in the following brief order, issued on the 20th of June:

"General Bloomfield announces to the troops that war is declared by the United States against Great Britain.
"By order, R. H. M'PHERSON, A. D. C."

Government expresses had passed through New York City for Albany and Boston with the news at ten o'clock that morning.

The first prisoner taken after the declaration of war was Captain Wilkinson, of the Royal Marines, who excited the suspicions of the people of Norfolk, Virginia, that he was about to communicate the fact that war was declared, to a British man-of-war known to be hovering on the coast. He was seen making his way rapidly from the house of the British consul through back streets to a mail-boat about to start for Hampton. He darted on board the boat, and attempted to conceal himself. A boat from the navy yard, and another from Fort Norfolk, were dispatched after the mail-boat. Captain Wilkinson was brought back, and conveyed to the navy yard as a prisoner.

² Thomas H. Cushing was appointed captain of infantry in 1791. He was in the Sub-legion in 1792. In 1797 he was appointed inspector of the army; and in April, 1802, he was made adjutant and inspector, with the rank of lieutenant colonel. He was promoted to colonel in 1806, and commissioned adjutant general in 1812, with the rank of brigadier. He was disbanded in 1816, and the following year was appointed collector of the port of New London. He died on the 19th of October, 1822.—*Gardner's Dictionary of the Army.*

remained two years. He died at the house of his son in Roxbury, Massachusetts, on the 6th of June, 1829, at the age of seventy-eight years. He had been living with his son some time. The house in which he died is yet (1867) standing on Washington Street, Roxbury. It is a fine old mansion, surrounded by trees, many of them rare. It was occupied, when I made the sketch in 1866, as a summer boarding-house by Mrs. Shepard. Not far from it, at the junction of Washington and Centre Streets, or of the Cambridge and the Dedham and Rhode Island Roads, was a rude stone, in which was inserted an iron shaft and fork for the support of a street lamp. It is called the Parting Stone. On one side



THE PARTING STONE.

CHAPTER XIII.

"Let Feds, Quids, and Demos together unite,
For our country, our laws, and our altars to fight;
While our tars guard the seaboard, our troops line the shore,
Let our enemies face us, we'll ask for no more.
While our hand grasps the sword well prepared for the fight,
On Washington's glory we dwell with delight;
His spirit our guide, we can feel no alarms,
While for Freedom we fight, we're victorious in arms!"



IN the plan of the first campaign there was very little complexity. The coast fortifications were to be well garrisoned by the local militia, when necessary, assisted by some regulars. The remainder of the troops, regulars, volunteers, and militia, were to be employed in invading Upper Canada at two points, namely, on the extreme west from Detroit, and on the Niagara frontier from the State of New York. It was believed, as we

have seen, that this might be successfully accomplished, and that Canadian sympathy would complete and make permanent the easy conquest. This achieved, a victorious army, in a friendly country, might go down the St. Lawrence to Montreal and Quebec, and liberate the Lower Province from British rule, while Nova Scotia and New Brunswick (according to the opinions of the more sanguine), sympathizing with the movement, would welcome the invaders, and British rule in North America would cease forever. The Americans, remunerated by their conquests for commercial spoliation, would soon find British statesmen in power ready to do justice to an injured nation. The originators of this campaign seem to have forgotten the costly and disastrous lessons of 1775-'76, when a similar attempt to invade, conquer, and liberate Canada was made, and similar expectations of welcome were indulged.

Governor Hull, of Michigan, was in Washington City during a part of the winter and spring of 1812, while legislative preparations for war were in progress. The invasion of Canada was freely spoken of in official circles, but his voice was heard against it. He knew that the British authorities in that country had sent messengers to all the principal Indian tribes in the Northwest, with arms and presents, exhorting them to become the allies of Great Britain in the event of war. He knew that his Territory was threatened with desolation by these savages, and that, without a fleet on Lake Erie, where the British had full sway, and with the inadequate preparations even for a defense of the Territory which then existed, the idea of a successful invasion of the neighboring province was preposterous. He therefore urged the President to increase the military force in his Territory simply for its defense; and, for the third time, he called attention to the positive necessity of a small American fleet on the lake.¹

President Madison listened to the advice of Hull to some extent. Commander Stewart was ordered to Washington to receive the appointment of agent on Lake Erie, and also orders concerning the building of a fleet on those waters. The Presi-

¹ Immediately after the battle of Tippecanoe, the principal inhabitants of Detroit, alarmed at the aspect of affairs around them, petitioned Congress to strengthen their defenses. The Territory was too sparsely populated to present much resistance to the savages. The whole white population of Michigan was only about four thousand eight hundred, and of this number four fifths were Canadian French. The remainder were chiefly Americans, with a few English and Scotch.—*LANMAN'S HISTORY OF MICHIGAN*, page 103.

dent made a requisition upon Governor Meigs, of Ohio, for twelve hundred militia, to be detached, drilled, and prepared to march to Detroit; and he requested Hull to accept the commission of a brigadier general, and take command of them. Hull declined the proposed honor and service, expressing a wish not to engage in military employment. He was finally persuaded to accept the appointment, but with no other object, he said, than to aid in the protection of the inhabitants of Michigan against the savages. He retained his office of governor of the Territory, and returned to the Northwest, prepared for any duty in that region, civil or military, to which his government might call him.

* April 6,
1812. Governor Meigs's call¹ for troops to assemble at Dayton, at the mouth of the Mal River, on the Great Miami,² was heartily responded to. At the close of April, the time appointed for the rendezvous, more than the required number had flocked to the camp. The Indian wars and depredations, which



Wm. Hull

had been instigated by British emissaries, had greatly exasperated the settlers north of the Ohio, and they were anxious to strike an avenging blow. Many of the best citizens sought this opportunity to serve their country, and these were found at the place of rendezvous, enduring all the privations of camp life, without tents or other conveniences, for more than a fortnight. It was the middle of May before blankets and camp equipage arrived from Pittsburg by way of Cincinnati. But the troops had not been idle. They had organized three regiments, and elected their field officers; and when General Hull arrived there on the 25th of May, and took formal command, they were nearly ready for a forward movement. Duncan McArthur was chosen colonel of the First Regiment, and James Denny and William Trimble were elected majors; James Findlay was chosen colonel, and Thomas Moore and Thomas Van Horn majors of the Second Regiment; and the late Lewis Cass, of Detroit, then thirty years of age, was chosen colonel of the Third Regiment, with Robert Morrison and J. R. Munson as majors. The veteran Fourth Regiment of regulars, stationed at Port Vincennes, and commanded by Lieutenant Colonel James Miller, since the promotion of Boyd, had been ordered to join the militia at Dayton.

* April 6. Governor Meigs, under the same date,³ ordered Major General Elijah Wadsworth, commanding the fourth division of the Ohio militia, to raise, without delay, three companies of men. Wadsworth obeyed with alacrity, and the requisite number were soon in the field, selected from the brigades of Generals Miller, Beale, Perkins, and Paine, which composed the fourth division.²

¹ The present fine city of Dayton, the county seat of Montgomery County, then contained about four hundred souls. It derives its name from General Jonathan Dayton, of New Jersey, who, with Generals St. Clair and Wilkinson, and Colonel Israel Ludlow, purchased a large tract of land in that section of the state.

² The following incident connected with the volunteering was communicated to the author by the late venerable Elisha Whittlesey, then (1862) First Auditor of the Treasury Department at Washington, who was one of General Wadsworth's aids: Colonel John Campbell, of Palm's brigade, called out his corps at Ravenna on the 23d of May. After some stirring music, he placed himself in front of his regiment, and requested all who were willing to volunteer to step forward. Many complied, but far too few to make the proper number for a company. Finally, Colonel Campbell was compelled to stimulate them by threatening to resort to a draft. Their colonel had volunteered. It was a bright, sunny day, and he saw, high in the heavens, a brilliant star. He told his men that it was a good omen. One, who had

The place of the early rendezvous of the Ohio Volunteers was on the north side of the Mad River, upon a beautiful plain about two miles above Dayton. I visited the spot late in September, 1860, just as the heavy clouds of a cold northeast storm were passing away. We reached the valley of the Great Miami at Hamilton, the site of Fort Hamilton, twenty-five miles above Cincinnati, at twilight, and then traversed that beautiful region, thirty-five miles farther to Dayton, where we arrived at a little past eight o'clock. At an early hour the next morning I started for the place of the gathering of Hull's army, but a storm, that had begun during the night, was too fierce to allow a comfortable ramble over the fields, so I rode to the pleasant mansion of Colonel Jefferson Patterson, a mile or more from the town, to visit the venerable Colonel John Johnston, who had been in that country as Indian agent, and in the performance of other government business, for more than half a century. I found him in the apparent enjoyment of all his faculties, mental and physical, although the number of his years was eighty-five. He was over six feet in height, and not at all bent by the burden of years. Under the hospitable roof of Colonel Patterson, his son-in-law, I spent nearly the whole day, and listened, with the greatest satisfaction and profit, to the narration of the venerable pioneer's long experience in frontier life. He had been well acquainted with most of the leading men in that region, white and red, since the beginning of the century. His residence as Indian agent was mostly with the Shawnoese. He knew Tecumtha and the Prophet well, and had entertained the Little Turtle at his table. He informed me that he was writing a memoir of his Life and Times, and hoped to be spared to complete it. He exhibited every promise of centenary honors in action and speech, but death has since borne him to the grave.¹

held back, declared that if he could see the star he would volunteer. He saw it and kept his promise. Others followed, and the company was soon filled. They all signed a volunteer roll. They then elected Colonel Campbell their captain.

¹The accompanying likeness of Colonel Johnston is from a plate published in Moore's *Masonic Review*. On the back of a daguerreotype of him, which he showed me at the time of my visit, was the following, in his own firm and plain hand-writing:

"Born near Ballyshannon, Ireland, March 25, 1775. Emigrated to the United States with his parents in 1786, and settled in Cumberland County, Pennsylvania. Was with Wayne's army on the Ohio, at Cincinnati, in the winter of 1792 and '93. A captain in Philadelphia in 1798; a clerk in the War Department; agent for Indian Affairs in the Northwest thirty-one years; a canal commissioner of Ohio eleven years; paymaster and quartermaster in the War of 1812; a commissioner for treating with the Indians in 1811-'12 (for their removal westward).



Presented to my beloved daughter, Julia Johnston Patterson, and her family, by her most affectionate father, JOHN JOHNSTON."

Colonel Johnston was an active member of the masonic fraternity. He was admitted to its mysteries at Bourbon Court-house (now Paris), Kentucky, in the winter of 1794-5. As secretary of a lodge in Philadelphia, he walked in the funeral procession in honor of the deceased Washington, in 1800, when General Lee pronounced his famous oration. A brother member from Ireland, who walked by his side, came to Cincinnati fifty years afterward, and was welcomed to a lodge there by Colonel Johnston. — Moore's *Masonic Review*, xvi., 1. When, in the summer of 1845, the remains of Daniel Boone and his wife were taken from Missouri and buried in the public cemetery

John Johnston

at Frankfort, Kentucky, Colonel Johnston was one of the pall-bearers. He was president of the Historical and Philological Society of Ohio, and member of several kindred societies in other parts of the Union. Colonel Johnston died at Washington City on the 19th of April, 1861, at the age of eighty-six years. He visited the national capital for the twofold purpose of settling some accounts with the government and soliciting the appointment of a grandson to a cadetship at West Point. He was disappointed in his efforts. The great rebellion was then menacing the existence of the republic he loved so well and had served so faithfully. Sumter had fallen before its fury, and the fratricidal

Visit to the Field of Rendezvous. Storm and Accident on the Railway. The Country between Dayton and Sandusky.



PLACE OF RENDEZVOUS, NEAR DAYTON, AS IT APPEARED IN 1830.

It was late in the afternoon when I left Colonel Johnston, and rode to the place of the gathering of the Ohio militia. We crossed the Mad River at Dayton, rode up the turnpike a short distance beyond the toll-gate, and, turning into a road on the right, found the place about half a mile farther in that direction. It is a low prairie, and when I visited it¹ it was

* September 30,
1860.

covered with Indian corn, some standing and some of it harvested. The distant trees in the little sketch show the line of the Mad River.

I returned to Dayton in time to take the cars for Sandusky at six o'clock. As we left the station, an immense deep blue-black cloud came rolling up from the west. In a few moments large drops of rain fell with the sound of hail on the car roof. Suddenly a flash of vivid lightning broke from the cloud, and a crashing thunder-peal rolled over the land. A shower of cold rain followed. Before it ceased the sun beamed out brilliantly in the west, and we seemed to be enveloped in a falling flood of glittering gold. Then from many lips in the car were heard the exclamations, "How beautiful! how glorious!" and all eyes were turned eagerly toward the east, where,

"In pomp transcendent, robed in heavenly dyes,
Arch'd the clear rainbow round the orient skies,"

Twilight soon followed, and while moving at a moderate speed, near Cross's Station, eighteen miles above Dayton, a "switch" in wrong position threw our train off the track, but with no other serious effect than producing a detention for three hours in a most dreary place. There was a hamlet of a few houses near, and some of us went out in the chilly night air to search for food and drink. In every house but one nearly all the inmates were sick with fever and ague, and only at the dwelling of a pleasant-spoken and kindly-acting German woman could any thing be procured. There I obtained some fresh bread and milk, and was offered coffee. I laid in stores sufficient for a night's campaign, hardly expecting to see Springfield, six miles beyond, before morning. We were agreeably disappointed. Through the exertions of the mail agent and others, we were in the enjoyment of comfortable quarters at the "Willis House," in Springfield, before midnight.

The morning dawned brilliantly. The sky was cloudless and the air was cool, and at about eleven o'clock I departed for Sandusky. From Springfield northward the poverty of the soil became more and more apparent, until we reached the high swampy land of the summit near Kenton. The road lay much of the way through forests or recent clearings. About a mile north of Hudsonville Station (six miles south of Kenton) we crossed diagonally the road made by Hull in his march from the Mad River to the Maumee. It was visible on each side, as far as the eye could comprehend it, as a broad avenue through the forest, running from southeast to northwest, now filled with a delicate second growth of timber.

From Kenton¹ to Tiffin,² on the Lake Erie slope, a distance of forty miles, the country was newly cleared of the woods most of the way. Few other than log houses

¹ assassin was at the doors of the capital. His clear and active mind comprehended the danger to the liberties of his country. He sickened, but it was believed, not seriously. He kept his room; and, in the absence of his attendant, laid down upon his bed and expired. His body was buried at Piqua, with the remains of his wife and eight children.

² Named in honor of Simon Kenton, a noted pioneer.

³ Named in honor of Edward Tiffin, who was president of the Convention that framed the Constitution of the State of Ohio, and first governor of that state.

Arrival at Sandusky.

Hull takes Command of Ohio Volunteers.

He Addresses the Troops.

were seen. Tiffin is the capital of Hardin County. It is quite a large town, spread over a considerable surface of a gentle eminence on the east bank of the Sandusky River. On the lower ground opposite is the little straggling village of Fort Ball, the site of a stockade of that name, which the Ohio Volunteers erected there during the early part of the war of 1812. It occupied about a third of an acre of ground, and was named in honor of Lieutenant Colonel James V. Ball, commander of a squadron of cavalry under General Harrison, whose exploits will be mentioned in connection with events at Lower Sandusky (now Fremont), nearer the lake. We passed Tiffin and Fort Ball at five o'clock, and reached Sandusky City, on Sandusky Bay, a little after sunset. There I sojourned two or three days at the house of an esteemed kinswoman.

The command of the little army of volunteers near Dayton was surrendered to General Hull by Governor Meigs¹ on the morning of the 25th of May.^a The governor made a stirring speech on the occasion, and congratulated the soldiers on their good fortune in being placed under the command of an experienced officer who then came forward, took formal command, and, in a patriotic speech of some length, he stirred the blood of the volunteers, and made them eager to meet the dusky foe on the distant frontier. "In marching through a wilderness," he said, "memorable for savage barbarity, you will remember the causes by which that barbarity has been heretofore excited. In viewing the ground stained with the blood of your fellow-citizens, it will be impossible to suppress the feelings of indignation. Passing by the ruins of a fortress,² erected in our territory by a foreign nation in times of profound peace, and for the express purpose of exciting the savages to hostility, and supplying them with the means of conducting a barbarous war, must remind you of that system of oppression and injustice which that nation has continually practiced, and which the spirit of an indignant people can no longer endure."³



had fought for free-¹⁸¹²dom in the War of the Revolution. Colonel Cass also addressed the troops with eloquent words, which were loudly applauded. General Hull

This speech touched sharply a tender chord of feeling in every bosom, and they gave their general their fullest confidence. Most of them had never seen him before. His manner was pleasing; his general deportment was familiar, yet not undignified; and his gray locks commanded reverence and respect. There were some, who professed to know him well, who doubted the wisdom of the government in choosing him to fill so important a station at a time so critical, yet they generally kept silent,

¹ Return Jonathan Meigs was born at Middletown, Connecticut, in 1765, and was graduated at Yale College. He chose the law as a profession, and commenced his practice in his native town. He was chosen chief justice of the Supreme Court of Connecticut in the winter of 1802-'3. In the following year President Jefferson appointed him commandant of United States troops and militia in Upper Louisiana, and soon afterward he became one of the judges of that Territory. He was commissioned a judge of Michigan Territory in 1807. He resigned the following year, and was elected governor of Ohio. His election was unconstitutional because of non-residence, not having lived four years in Ohio prior to the election. He was appointed United States senator for Ohio in 1808. That office he resigned, and was elected governor of that state in 1810. He was governor during the greater part of the War of 1812, and was one of the most energetic men of the West in the prosecution of that war. He was appointed postmaster general in March, 1814, and managed that important department of the government with great ability until 1823. He died at Marietta, Ohio, on the 29th of March, 1825. Governor Meigs was a tall and finely-formed man, and in deportment was dignified, yet urbane in the extreme.

The singular name of Governor Meigs suggests inquiry as to its origin. The answer may thus be briefly given: A bright-eyed Connecticut girl was disposed to coquette with her lover, Jonathan Meigs; and on one occasion, when he had pressed his suit with great earnestness, and asked for a positive answer, she feigned coolness, and would give him no satisfaction. The lover resolved to be trifled with no longer, and bade her farewell forever. She perceived her error, but he was allowed to go far down the lane before her pride would yield to the more tender emotions of her heart. Then she ran to the gate and cried, "Return, Jonathan! return, Jonathan!" He did return; they were joined in wedlock, and, in commemoration of these happy words, they named their first child Return Jonathan. He was born in 1740; was the heroic Colonel Meigs of which history says so much, and was the father of the governor of Ohio, who bore his name.

² Fort Miami, on the Lower Maumee, just below the Falls.

³ *History of the late War in the Western Country*, by Robert B. M'Affee, p. 51.

Hull's Troops joined by Regulars.

Honors paid to the latter.

The Army in the Wilderness.

wishing to give him every opportunity to disappoint their expectations, win success for his country, and honors for himself.

On the 1st of June^a the little army commenced its march up the Miami.^b General Hull had appointed his son, Captain A. F. Hull, and Robert Wallace, Jr., his aids-de-camp; Lieutenant Thomas S. Jesup, of Kentucky, his brigade major; Dr. Abraham Edwards his hospital surgeon; and General James Taylor, of Kentucky, his quartermaster general.¹ He proceeded to Staunton, a small village on the east bank of the Miami, and thence moved on to Urbana,² where the volunteers were joined by the Fourth Regiment of regulars under Lieutenant Colonel James Miller.³ They were met about a mile from the village by Colonels M'Arthur, Cass, and Findlay, at the head of their respective regiments, by whom they were escorted into camp. They were led under a triumphal arch of evergreens, decked with flowers, surmounted with an eagle, and inscribed with the words, in large letters, "TIPPECANOE—GLORY."⁴ On their arrival, General Hull issued an order complimentary to the regulars and congratulatory to the volunteers. "The general is persuaded," he said, "that there will be no other contention in this army but who will most excel in discipline and bravery. . . . The patriots of Ohio, who yield to none in spirit and patriotism, will not be willing to yield to any in discipline and valor."

The troops were now at a frontier town. Between them and Detroit, two hundred miles distant, lay an almost unbroken wilderness, a part of it the broad morasses of the watershed between the Ohio and the lakes, and beyond these the terrible Black Swamp in the present counties of Henry, Wood, and Sandusky. There was no pathway for the army, not even an Indian trail. They were compelled to cut a road, and for this purpose M'Arthur's regiment was detached. The difficulties and labors were very great, for heavy timber had to be felled, causeways to be laid across morasses, and bridges to be constructed over considerable streams. They also erected block-houses for the protection of the sick, and of provision trains moving forward with supplies for the army. Industry and perseverance overcame all obstacles, and, on the 16th of June, the road was opened to the scouts at a point in Hardin County, not far from Kenton. Two block-houses were built on the south bank of that stream, stockaded, and the whole work named Fort M'Arthur. The fortifications did not inclose more than half an acre. There were log huts for the garrison, and log corncribs for the food. It was a post of great danger. Hostile Indians, and especially the warlike Wyandots, filled the forest, and were watching every movement with vigilant eyes and malignant hearts.

The army halted at Fort M'Arthur on the 19th, and Colonel Findlay was detached with his regiment to continue the road to Blanchard's Fork of the Au Glaize, a tributary of the Maumec. Three days afterward the whole army followed, excepting a small garrison for Fort M'Arthur, under Captain Dill, left to keep the post and take care of the sick. Heavy rains now fell, and the little army was placed in a perilous position. They had reached the broad morasses of the summit, and had marched only sixteen miles, when the deep mud impelled them to halt. They could go no farther. The black flies and mosquitoes were becoming a terrible scourge. The cattle were placed on short allowance, and preparations were made to transport the bag-

¹ General Taylor was yet living, at the age of seventy-nine, in 1848, at Newport, Kentucky.

² Urbana is the capital of Champaign County, Ohio. It was laid out by Colonel William Ward, a Virginian, in 1806. The army of General Hull encamped in the eastern part of the village. This being a frontier town, it was afterward used as a place of rendezvous and departure for troops going to the frontier. The old court-house, built in 1807, was used as a hospital.

³ These troops came from Vincennes. They had come by the way of Louisville, through Kentucky, and had been every where received with honors. Their services at Tippecanoe were duly appreciated. At Cincinnati the shore was lined with the inhabitants waiting to receive them as they crossed the Ohio from Newport. A triumphal arch had been built, over which, in large letters, were the words, "THE HEROES OF TIPPECANOE." They were received with cheers and a salute of seventeen guns (the number of the states at that time), and they, only, passed under the arch. Food and liquor in great abundance were sent to their camp.—*Lieutenant Colonel Miller to his Wife, June 12, 1812—Autograph Letter.*

⁴ Lieutenant Colonel Miller to his Wife, June 12, 1812—Autograph Letter.

Hull's March toward Detroit.

Alarming Reports concerning the Indians.

gance and stores on pack-horses. They built a fort, which, in allusion to the circumstances, they called Fort Necessity.

Here Hull was met by two messengers from Detroit—General Robert Lucas and William Denny—whom he had sent from Dayton to that post with dispatches for acting Governor Atwater. Their report was disheartening. General Lucas had been present at a council of the chiefs of several tribes at Brownstown—Ottawas, Ojibwas or Chippewas, Wyandots, and others. All but Walk-in-the-Water, principal chief of the Wyandots, made peaceful professions. The latter spoke many bold and unfriendly words. The British, too, were making hostile manifestations. They had collected a considerable body of Indians at Malden, where they were fed, and armed, and well supplied with blankets and ammunition. Kind and generous treatment made them fast friends of the British, and eager to go out upon the war-path against the Americans. Tecumtha was also wielding his great influence in the same direction; and to Hull and his friends the situation of Detroit, with its weak defenses, seemed, as it really was, in great peril. The danger made him impatient to push forward. At length the rain ceased, the earth became more firm, the army marched under the guidance of Zane, M'Pherson, and Armstrong (three men well acquainted with wood-craft), and at the end of three days were on Blanchard's Fork, where Colonel Findlay had erected a stockade fort, which was called by his name. It was about fifty yards square, with a block-house at each corner, and a ditch in front. It was on the southwest side of the stream, where the village of Findlay now stands. The fort stood at the end of the present bridge.¹

At Fort Findlay General Hull received a dispatch^a from the War Department directing him to hasten to Detroit, and there await farther orders. It was dated on the morning of the day when war was declared, but contained not a word concerning that measure.² This will be mentioned again presently.

^a June 24,
1812.

Hull ordered all the camp equipage to be left at the fort, and made preparations for an immediate advance. Colonel Cass was sent forward with his regiment to open a road to the Rapids of the Maumee;³ and a few days afterward the whole army, excepting detachments left in the forts, were encamped upon a plain on the eastern bank of that stream, opposite Wayne's battle-ground of 1794. There the wearied troops had the first glimpse of civilization since they left Urbana. They were taken across the stream, and marched down its left bank, through a small village at the foot of the Rapids,⁴ to a level spot near the ruins of the old British fort Miami, where they encamped.

So wearied and worn were Hull's beasts of burden when he reached navigable waters connecting with his destination that he resolved to relieve them as much as possible. He accordingly dispatched, from the foot of the Rapids, the schooner *Cuyahoga* for Detroit with his own baggage and that of most of his officers; also all of the hospital stores, intrenching tools, and a trunk containing his commission, his instructions from the War Department, and complete muster-rolls of the whole army.⁵ The wives of three of the officers, Lieutenant Dent, and Lieutenant Goodwin, with thirty soldiers as protectors of the schooner, also embarked in her. A smaller vessel, under the charge of Surgeon's Mate James Reynolds, was dispatched with the *Cuyahoga* for the conveyance of the army invalids, and both sailed into Maumee

¹ Howe's *Historical Collections of Ohio*, page 238.

² Armstrong's *Notices of the War of 1812*, i., 48. Hull's *Memoir of the Campaign of the Northwestern Army*, page 36.

³ Miami and Maumee mean the same thing. The latter method of spelling more nearly indicates the pronunciation to an English ear than the former. The Indians pronounced it as if spelled Me-aw-me. So the French spelt it, according to their pronunciation of *i* and *a*, Mi-a-mi. To distinguish this stream from the two of the same name (Great and Little Miami) that empty into the Ohio, this was frequently called the Miami of the Lakes.

⁴ Now Maumee City, nearly opposite Perrysburg, the capital of Wyandotte County.

⁵ Robert Wallace, one of General Hull's aide-de-camp, in a letter published in a newspaper at Covington, Kentucky, in 1842, and quoted in the Appendix to General Hull's *Military and Civil Life*, page 443, says, "His son, Captain Hull (who was also an aid), in executing this order, unfortunately shipped a small trunk containing the papers and reports of the army, for which he was afterward severely reprimanded by his father."

Hull informed of the Declaration of War.

Capture of a Schooner with his Baggage and Papers.

Bay, where Toledo now stands, on the evening of the 1st of July. On the same day the army moved toward Detroit through the beautiful open country, by the way of Frenchtown, on the River Raisin, now the pleasant city of Monroe, in Michigan.

When approaching Frenchtown toward the evening of the 2d,^a Hull was overtaken by a courier, sent by the vigilant postmaster at Cleveland, with a dispatch from the War Department, which read as follows:

“**SIR,**—War is declared against Great Britain. You will be on your guard. Proceed to your post with all possible expedition; make such arrangements for the defense of the country as in your judgment may be necessary, and wait for farther orders.”

This dispatch was explicit and easily understood, but its date, and the time and manner of its reception, perplexed the general. It bore the same date as the one received a week earlier at Fort Findlay, in which there was no intimation of a declaration of war. *That* had been sent by a special courier from the seat of government; *this* had been sent by mail to Cleveland, to be there intrusted to such conveyance as “accident might supply,” through one hundred miles of wilderness.¹ The former contained an important order; the latter contained information more important. This fact was inexplicable to Hull, and remains unexplained to this day. The circumstance made him feel serious apprehensions for the safety of the schooner and her consort. The question pressed heavily upon his mind whether the British commander at Malden, past which the vessels must sail, might not already have heard of the declaration of war. In that event they might be seized, and valuable plunder as well as valuable information would fall into his hands. Moved by these considerations, he dispatched an officer with some men to the mouth of the Raisin to stop the schooner, but their arrival was too late. With a fair wind she had passed that point.

A few hours afterward Hull's apprehensions were justified by events, for he learned, on the morning after his arrival at Frenchtown, that the *Cuyahoga* had been captured. While sailing past Malden, unconscious of danger, at ten o'clock on the morning of the 2d, she was brought to by a gun from the shore. The British armed vessel *Hunter* went alongside of her, and schooner and cargo became a prize. The troops and crew were made prisoners of war. The vessel with the invalids, being behind the schooner, passed up the more shallow channel on the west side of Bois Blanc Island, and reached Detroit in the afternoon of the next day^b in safety.²

The British commander at Malden, and those of other posts, *had* been notified of the declaration of war through the vigilance of British subjects in New York. Sir George Prevost, the governor general of Canada, was informed of the fact on the 24th of June by an express from New York to the Northwest Fur Company, which left that city on the 20th, the day when intelligence of the declaration of war reached there. On the 25th, Sir George sent a courier with a letter to Sir Isaac Brock, the lieutenant governor at York (now Toronto), but it did not reach him until the 3d of

¹ I am indebted to the Hon. Ellsha Whittlesey, of Ohio, late First Auditor of the United States Treasury, for the following interesting account of the transmission of this dispatch from Cleveland to the camp. Mr. Walworth, the postmaster at Cleveland, was requested by the postmaster general to send the dispatch by express. Charles Shaler, Esq., a young lawyer, then in Cleveland (brother-in-law of Commodore M'Donough), was persuaded to become the bearer, certainly as far as the Rapids of the Maumee, and possibly to Detroit. The compensation agreed upon was thirty-five dollars. On searching the mail the dispatch could not be found. It was suggested to Mr. Walworth that it might be in the Detroit mail. Having been informed by letter of the declaration of war, and believing the dispatch to be of great importance, he considered it his duty to open the Detroit mail. He did so, but with reluctance, and found the dispatch. At about noon on the 28th of June Mr. Shaler started from Cleveland on horseback. He was obliged to swim all the streams excepting the Cuyahoga at Cleveland. No relays of horses could be obtained. He reached the Rapids on the night of the 1st of July. There he was informed that the army was moving rapidly toward Detroit. He pursued and overtook it not far from the Raisin, at two o'clock in the morning of the 2d, just as the moon was rising. After some formality he was ushered into the presence of Hull, who was dressing. He was requested to be silent in the presence of camp listeners. A council of officers was immediately summoned. The army was put in motion at dawn. He accompanied it to Detroit, where his horse died from the effects of the rapid journey through the wilderness. Mr. Shaler remained in Detroit until he saw the flag of his country raised over the soil of Canada. He returned to Cleveland partly on foot, and partly on hired and borrowed horses.

² Letter of Dr. Reynolds, dated at Detroit, July 7, 1812.

How British Officers in Canada were informed of the Declaration of War.

Hull's Army at Detroit.

July, when he was at Fort George, on the Niagara frontier. He had been informed of the event by express from New York as early as the 27th of June.¹ Colonel St. George, at Malden, was informed of it by letter on the 30th, two days before it reached Hull; and Captain Roberts, in command of the British post on the island of St. Joseph, at the head of Lake Huron, was notified by letter also on the 8th of July. The letters to the last two named commanders were in envelopes franked by the American Secretary of the Treasury.² How these were obtained remains a mystery, for no man believes that Mr. Gallatin would have lent such assistance to any known enemy of his country. The fact that he was opposed to the war gave currency to a report that he was willing to cast obstacles in the way of the invasion of Canada, a scheme which many even of the war-party regarded as unwise. Mr. Madison was also charged with having, under the influence of Virginia politicians and the wily Calhoun, withheld aid from Hull, that the conquest of Canada might not be effected, as it would, by annexation to the United States, materially increase the area and political influence of free-labor territory, and more speedily snatch the sceptre of dominion in the affairs of the government from the slave-labor states. Assertions of this kind were prevalent at that day, and have been revived in our time.³

Hull's army rested a day at Frenchtown, and spent the 4th of July in constructing a bridge across the Huron River, near Brownstown, twenty-five miles from Detroit. They had passed a hostile Wyandotte village, and observed a large vessel with troops on board at Malden. Expecting an attack by a combined force of British and Indians, Hull's troops slept upon their arms that night.⁴ They marched early the next morning; and at evening, having passed the Rivers Aux Ecorces and Rouge, encamped at Spring Wells,⁵ at the lower end of the Detroit settlement, opposite Sandwich in Canada, where a British force was stationed, and not far from which, up the river opposite Detroit, they were throwing up fortifications. The camp was upon a pleasant eminence, eligible for a commanding fortification. From its crown they hurled a few heavy shot across the river, "which cleared out a number of inhabitants

¹ The late Honorable William Hamilton Merritt, of St. Catharine's, Canada West, who was a member of the Canadian Parliament, was an active officer of dragoons during the early portion of the war on the Canadian Peninsula. He left a very valuable narrative of the events of the war in that section, in manuscript, which his family kindly placed in my hands. In that narrative I find the following statement: "We received intelligence of the declaration of war by the United States on the 27th of June, 1812, from a messenger sent by the late John Jacob Astor to Thomas Clark, Esq., of Niagara Falls. The express was immediately sent to President General Brock, who was at York."

² Letter of General Jesup to General Armstrong, cited in the latter's *Notices of the War of 1812*, 1., 195.

³ It is said that when (as we shall hereafter notice) General John Armstrong and President Madison quarreled, the former, in a pamphlet, boldly made the charge alluded to in the text. They became reconciled, and the pamphlet was withdrawn, and the whole issue, as far as practicable, was destroyed. One of these pamphlets was, it is said, in possession of the late Alvan Stewart. In a letter of that gentleman to "The Liberty Party" in 1846, he alluded to this matter as follows: After noticing the points on the frontier to which General Smyth, of Virginia, General Winder, of Maryland, Generals Wilkinson and Hampton, then of Louisiana, were stationed with their troops, he says, "Four slave-holding generals, with their four armies, were stretched out on our northern frontier, not to take Canada, but to prevent its being taken by the men of New England and New York, in 1812, '13, and '14, lest we should make some six or eight free states from Canada, if conquered. This was treason against Northern interests, Northern blood, and Northern honor. But the South furnished the President and the Cabinet. This revelation could have been proved by General John Armstrong, then Secretary of War, after he and Mr. Madison had quarreled."—*Writings and Speeches of Alvan Stewart on Slavery*, edited by his son-in-law, Luther R. Marsh, Esq., page 47.

We have seen that Commander Stewart (now the venerable admiral bearing the title of Old Ironsides) was called to Washington City on public business. At that time, while in conversation with Mr. Calhoun upon public matters, the latter declared to the former that whenever the control of the national government should pass out of the hands of the Southern politicians (he spoke for them, and not for the people), they would "resort to a dissolution of the Union."—See Letter of Commodore Stewart to G. W. Childs, May 24, 1861.

⁴ It was the intention of the British to attack Hull in the swamps of the Huron River. It was prevented by a deceptive communication to the commander at Malden by a resident there, and a friend of Hull's. He informed Colonel St. George that Hull had sent for cannon at Detroit, and intended to cross the river and attack Fort Malden. This caused the British commander to concentrate his troops for the defense of the fort. Meanwhile Hull moved on toward Detroit. Speaking of this event in the march, Robert Wallace, one of General Hull's aids, writing in 1842 to the *Licking Valley Register*, Covington, Kentucky, says, "During that day it was remarked to me by several officers that General Hull appeared to have no sense of personal danger, and that he would certainly be killed if a contest commenced. This was said to prepare me for taking orders from the next in rank."

⁵ This locality was sometimes called The Sand Hills. Out of these, on the river side, many springs of pure water formerly gushed out, and these gave the name by which the place was generally known. For the same reason the French called it Belle Fontaine. The sand-hills, three in number, were Indian burial-places.

Impatience to invade Canada.

Hull determines to do so.

Detroit in 1812.

very quick."¹ There, and near Fort Detroit, Hull allowed his troops to wash their clothes and have their arms repaired, while he was awaiting farther orders from his government.²

Officers and men, anxious to invade Canada, were impatient, and even a mutinous spirit was manifested by some of the Ohio Volunteers. They burned with a desire to cross the river and attack the foe. The sight of growing fortifications, that would endanger the town and fort of Detroit, and soon become too formidable to face in crossing the river, maddened them, and it was with great difficulty that their officers restrained them.³ To quiet their tumultuous impulses, Hull called a council of the field officers. He assured them that he had no authority to invade Canada. They insisted that it was expedient to do so immediately, and drive off the fort-builders. "While I have command," he said, firmly, "I will obey the orders of my government. I will not cross the Detroit until I hear from Washington." The young officers heard this announcement with compressed lips, and doubtless many a rebellious heart—rebellious toward the commander—beat quickly, with deep emotion, for hours after the council was dismissed. The general was perplexed; but, happily for all concerned, a letter came from the Secretary of War that evening, directing him to "commence operations immediately," and that, should the force under his command be equal to the enterprise, and "consistent with the safety of the American posts," he should take possession of Fort Malden at Amherstburg, and extend his conquests as circumstances might justify.⁴ He was also directed to give assurance to the inhabitants of the province about to be invaded, of protection to their persons and property. With such official warrant in his hands, Hull determined to cross into Canada at once, to the delight of his army, both officers and privates.⁵

Detroit at that time stretched along the river at a convenient distance back, and the present Jefferson Avenue was the principal street. It contained one hundred and sixty houses, and about eight hundred souls. The inhabitants were chiefly of French descent. Only seven years before, every building but one in the village was destroyed by fire.⁶ On the hill, in the rear, about two hundred and fifty yards from the river, stood Fort Detroit, built by the English after the conquest of Canada a hundred years ago. It was quadrangular in form, with bastions and barracks, and

¹ Lieutenant Colonel Miller to his Wife, July 7, 1812—Autograph Letter.

² Colonel William Stanley Hatch, of "River Home," near Cincinnati, kindly placed in my hands a chapter of his unpublished "*Memoirs of the War of 1812 in the Northwest*," containing a minute account of events which came under his own observation during the campaign of General Hull from May until the middle of August. Colonel Hatch was a volunteer in the Cincinnati Light Infantry, commanded by Captain John F. Mansfield of that city, and from the invasion of Canada to the surrender of the army he was acting assistant quartermaster general. To his narrative I am indebted for a number of facts given in this sketch not found recorded in history. He says that on Monday, the 6th of July, the fourth regiment of regulars marched to the fort, and that the next day the volunteers marched thither, and took up their position near the fort, south, west, and north of it.

³ General Hull had been subjected to much annoyance from the Ohio Volunteers from the beginning of the march. They were militia just called into the field, and had never been restricted by military discipline. They were frequently quite insubordinate. This fact was brought out on Hull's trial. "One evening," says Lieutenant Baron, of the Fourth Regiment, in his testimony at the trial of General Hull, "while at Urbana, I saw a multitude, and heard a noise, and was informed that a company of Ohio Volunteers were riding one of their officers on a rail. In saying that the Ohio Volunteers were insubordinate, witness means that they were only as much so as undisciplined militia generally are. Some thirty or forty of the Ohio militia refused to cross into Canada at one time, and thinks he saw one hundred who refused to cross when the troops were at Urbana."—*Forbes's Report of the Court-martial*, page 124. The same witness testified to the manifestation of a mutinous spirit at other times. On one occasion, he says, General Hull rode up and said to Colonel Miller, "Your regiment is a powerful argument: without them I could not march these men to Detroit."

⁴ Dispatch of William Eustis, Secretary of War, to General Hull, dated June 24, 1812.

⁵ On the morning of the 6th Colonel Cass was sent to Malden with a flag of truce, to demand the baggage and prisoners taken from the schooner. On his approach he was blindfolded, and in this condition was taken before Colonel St. George. He was treated courteously. The demand was unheeded, and, being again blindfolded, he was led out of the fort. He returned to camp with Captain Burbanks, of the British army.—*M' Afee*.

⁶ The city of Detroit is about nine miles below Lake St. Clair. The river, or strait, between St. Clair and Lake Erie gave it its name, *de troit* being the French name of a strait. The Indians called it *Wa-ua-o-te-wong*. It was a trading-post of the French as early as 1620, before any of the French missionaries had penetrated the distant wilderness from Quebec and Montreal. It was established as a settlement in 1701, when Antoine de la Motte Cadillac, lord of Bouquet, Moun Desert, having received a grant of fifteen miles square from Louis XIV., reached the site of Detroit with a Jesuit missionary and one hundred men, and planted the first settlement in Michigan.—*Charlevoix*. The name of the old Indian village on its site was called by the Ottawas *Techsa Grondic*.—*Colden*, cited by Lanman in his *History of Michigan*, page 61.

* July 12, 1812. pose their landing. At dawn^a the regular troops and the Ohio Volunteers crossed to the Canadian shore to a point opposite the lower end of Hog Island. They looked with suspicious eye upon a stone wind-mill on the shore, for it appeared like an excellent place for a concealed battery.¹ But there was no resistance,² and the little army first touched Canada just above the present town of Windsor. It was a bright and lovely Sabbath morning, with a gentle breeze from the southwest. The American flag was immediately hoisted by Colonel Cass and a subaltern³ over Canadian soil, and was greeted by cheers from the invaders, the spectators of the passage of the Detroit at Bloody Bridge, and from the fort and town. They were also cordially received by the French Canadians. The Americans encamped



COLONEL BABIE'S RESIDENCE.

on the farm of Colonel Francis Babie,⁴ a French Canadian and British officer, with his fine brick mansion (then unfinished, and yet standing in Windsor) in the centre of the camp. This was taken possession of by General Hull, and used as head-quarters for himself and principal officers. The little village of Sandwich, a short distance below, gave its name to this locality, and Hull's dispatches from his head-quarters were always dated at

"Sandwich."

* July 13. On the day of the invasion,⁵ the commanding general issued a stirring proclamation to the inhabitants of Canada, which was written by Colonel Lewis Cass. "After thirty years of peace and prosperity," he said, "the United States have been driven to arms. The injuries and aggressions, the insults and indignities of Great Britain, have once more left them no alternative but manly resistance or unconditional submission." He then declared that he came as a friend, and as their liberator from British tyranny, and not as an enemy or mere conquering invader. "I tender you," he said, "the invaluable blessings of civil, political, and religious liberty, and their necessary results, individual and general prosperity. . . . Remain at your homes; pursue your peaceful and accustomed avocations; raise not your hands against your brethren." He assured them that the persons and property of all peaceful citizens should be perfectly secure. He did not ask them to join his army. "I come prepared," he said, "for any contingency. I have a force which will look down all opposition, and that force is but the vanguard of a much greater." All that he asked of them was to remain peacefully at their homes. At the same time, knowing that the British had in their service hordes of merciless savages, whose mode of warfare was indiscriminate slaughter of men, women, and children, or the

¹ "Expecting, of course, that the enemy would contest our landing, we were thinking, as we left the shore, of the amusing fact that we should doubtless commence our active campaign by attacking a wind-mill."—*Colonel Hatch's Narrative*. The invasion proved to be about as ridiculous and bootless as Quixote's attack on the wind-mills. This building was yet standing when I visited the spot in the autumn of 1860.

² "As we were crossing the river we saw two British officers ride up very fast opposite where we intended landing, but they went back faster than they came. They were Colonel St. George, the commanding officer at Malden, and one of his captains."—Lieutenant Colonel Miller to his Wife, July 13, 1812—Autograph Letter.

³ "Tell our much-beloved Father Pilot that his son James had the honor and gratification, as commanding officer, to plant, with his own hands, assisted by Colonel Cass, the first United States standard on the pleasant bank of the Detroit River, in King George's province of Upper Canada."—Lieutenant Colonel Miller to his Wife, July 14, 1812—Autograph Letter.

⁴ Pronounced as if spelt Baw-bee. The house was about eight rods back from Sandwich Street, Windsor, with shops and mean buildings in front of it. It was a brick house, stuccoed in front, and made to represent blocks of stone. Behind it was a garden, the remnant of a more spacious and beautiful one, that extended to the river bank. The house belonged to a son of Colonel Babie. When Hull took possession of it the floors were laid and the windows were in, but the partitions were not built. These were immediately made of rough boards. The general and his aids, according to Colonel Hatch's narrative, occupied the north half of the house, or the portion seen over the heads of the two figures in the picture. The council of war were held in the second story, over the rooms occupied by the general. General James Taylor, of Kentucky, the quartermaster general, occupied a part of the house as his head-quarters, but, being unwell, he lodged in Detroit.

Effect of Hull's Proclamation.

A Reconnoissance toward Malden.

Foraging Expedition to the Thames.

torture of prisoners, he warned the inhabitants that no quarter would be shown to them if found fighting by the side of the Indians. "The first stroke of the tomahawk, the first attempt with the scalping-knife," he said, "will be the signal for an indiscriminate scene of desolation. No white man found fighting by the side of an Indian will be taken prisoner. Instant destruction will be his lot."

This proclamation, the presence of a considerable army, and the sight of the American flag flying on both sides of the Detroit, produced a powerful effect. Many of the Canadian militia deserted the British standard. Some joined the Americans, and others returned to their farms. A large number of families, terrified by the tales of British officers concerning the savagism of the invaders, had fled to the depths of the forests. These were soon assured, and most of them accepted Hull's promised protection, and returned to their homes.¹

On the morning of the 13th^a Hull sent a reconnoitring party toward Fort ^{July, 1812.} Malden, at the little village of Amherstburg, eighteen miles below his headquarters, a spot associated in the minds of the people of the West with every thing hideous in the annals of their sufferings from Indian depredations, for there the raids of the savages upon the frontier settlements had been arranged by Elliott, M'Kee, Girty, and others. The troops were anxious to break up that nest of vultures; and the reconnoitring party, under Captain Henry Ulery, of Colonel Findlay's regiment, went upon duty with great alacrity. They returned toward evening with intelligence that at Turkey Creek, nine miles below the camp, they had been informed that about two hundred Indians, under Tecumtha (then in the British service), had been lying in ambush at the southern end of the bridge over that stream, and that the forest was full of prowling savages. Hull immediately ordered his camp to be fortified on the land side, and what cannon he had to be placed in battery on the bank of the river, for vague rumors came that the British were about to send a small fleet up to co-operate with a land force in an attack upon the Americans. Rumors also came of Indians up the river, and a detachment of Sloan's cavalry were sent in that direction. They sent word back that they had discovered a party of savages. At eight o'clock the same evening, Colonel M'Arthur, with one hundred men, went in pursuit. The chase was vigorous, and at Ruscum River the pursuers fell upon the rear of the fugitives, who dispersed, fled to the woods, and escaped. M'Arthur was about to return, when Captain Smith, of the Detroit Dragoons, overtook him with orders to push forward to the settlements on the Thames in search of provisions. He instantly obeyed, penetrated as far as the Moravian towns, sixty miles from its mouth, near which the battle of the Thames occurred in 1813, and found many farm-houses and cultivated fields along the picturesque borders of the river. Among the homes near its mouth was that of Isaac Hull, a nephew of the general. The owner had fled. The house was guarded by a file of British soldiers. These were disarmed and paroled. Boats along the stream were seized, and loaded with the winnings of the expedition; and on the 17th M'Arthur returned to camp with about two hundred barrels of flour, four hundred blankets, and quite a large quantity of military stores. These were chiefly public property, collected for the British troops at Malden, and yet Hull gave a receipt for the whole, public and private.

Meanwhile small expeditions had been sent toward Malden. Colonel Cass, with

¹ Hull sent a copy of his proclamation to the Secretary of War, with a letter in which he expressed a hope that it would be "approved by the government." To this Secretary Eastis replied, on the 1st of August, saying, "Your letters of the 13th and 14th, together with your proclamation, have been received. Your operations are approved by the government." Such is the record; and yet, for more than fifty years, writers on the subject of this campaign have asserted that the proclamation was unauthorized and disapproved by the government. The American commissioners, at the treaty of Ghent, in the face of Secretary Eastis's letter to the contrary, made the same assertion; and this proclamation has been always cited as one of the sins of the unfortunate General Hull. The British complained of it as an attempt to seduce the Canadians from their loyalty, and the enemies of Hull have stigmatized it as a "pompous and vaporing proclamation." As Brackenridge remarks, "Had he been eventually successful, there is no doubt that it would have been regarded as an eloquent production."

two hundred and eighty men, accompanied by Lieutenant Colonel Miller, of the regulars, pushed forward to the Ta-ron-tee, as the Wyandots called it, or *Riviere Aux Canards*, as it was named by the French, a wide and deep stream that passes through



VIEW AT THE RIVIERE AUX CANARDS.

broad marshes into the Detroit River, about four miles above Malden. On the southern side of this stream, at the end of a bridge, was a British picket, composed of some of the Forty-first regiment, Canadian militia, and Indians under Tecumtha.¹ Leaving a rifle company of forty men in ambush, Cass marched three or four miles up the stream to a ford, came down on the south side, wading across streams armpit deep, and confronted the enemy at sunset. There he was checked by a deep tributary of the *Aux Canards*, and compelled to make a circuit of more than a mile to gain the shore next to the enemy. This was soon accomplished. Forming with his riflemen on each wing, Cass dashed upon the foe with great impetuosity, who fled at the first fire. He had been re-enforced; and three times he rallied, changed front, and fired upon the pursuers. Cass chased the fugitives about half a mile, the drums beating Yankee Doodle; when night fell, the pursuit was relinquished, and the attacking party returned to the bridge. A courier was sent to head-quarters to ask permission to hold the bridge, as it would be of great importance in the march of the army toward Malden. Hull refused to grant it. It was too near the enemy, he said, to be held with safety by a small detachment; and, not having received his heavy cannon from Detroit, he was not prepared to attack strong Fort Malden at Amherstburg.² The impatient officers and soldiers were irritated by the refusal, and murmured loudly, but Hull was unyielding. This was the first battle and victory in the second war for independence. It was hailed throughout the United States as an omen of success, and Colonel Cass was called the "Hero of Ta-ron-tee." He took two prisoners; and from deserters he learned that some of the enemy were killed, and nine or ten wounded, while he did not lose a man.

That the Americans might have taken Malden with the means at their command when they first crossed into Canada there can be no doubt. Why Hull did not attempt it is a question not easily answered to-day, unless we look for a solution in the fact that the Americans had no reliable information concerning the real strength of

¹ On the morning of the 17th a re-enforcement of troops arrived at the bridge, consisting of the remainder of the Fourth United States regiment, and a piece of artillery, under Captain Eastman. A council of officers was convened. A majority of them insisted on leaving the bridge, while Colonel Cass and Captain Snelling insisted on holding it, as it would be of the utmost importance in marching upon Malden. The overruling of their opinion, and the refusal of Hull to allow the bridge to be held, caused its abandonment. This was one of the most fatal of the delays of Hull in the early movements of this Canadian invasion.

² "This determination," says Wallace (*Licking Valley Register*, 1842), "occasioned a delay of nearly three weeks, which proved most fatal to the results of the campaign. Had we been prepared for an immediate attack on Malden, our campaign would have been as glorious as it was otherwise disastrous, and the name of General Hull would have been exalted to the skies."

Weakness of Fort Malden.

Effects of Delay.

Reconnoissances toward Malden.

the fort and garrison. The fort itself was weak, and the garrison was weaker. The militia and Indians were constantly deserting. The fort consisted of four bastions flanking a dry ditch, with a single interior defense of picketing, perforated with loopholes for musketry. All the buildings were of wood, roofed with shingles. A few shells would have destroyed the works. The garrison was composed of about two hundred men of the first battalion of the Forty-first Regiment, commanded by Captain Muir; a very weak detachment of the Royal Newfoundland Fencibles; and a subaltern command of artillery under Lieutenant Troughton.¹ The exact number of Indians there at that time is not known. Colonel St. George, the commander of the post, was so well convinced of his inability to hold it against a respectable force, that orders were given to the garrison to be ready at a moment's notice to leave the works. He preferred to risk a battle in the open field to incurring the dangers of a siege in a fortification so untenable.

But Hull did not advance upon Malden, and the post was saved and speedily strengthened. Little enterprises like that in which Colonel Cass was engaged (though none were so important in their actual or promised results) broke the monotony of camp life, while most precious time was passing away—"wasting," the young officers said. "I can scarcely restrain my indignation sufficiently while writing to describe the event in deliberate terms," said one of them in 1817.² "The officers," he says, "from this occurrence, began to distrust the views of the general, and their opinion of his abilities began to dwindle into contempt."

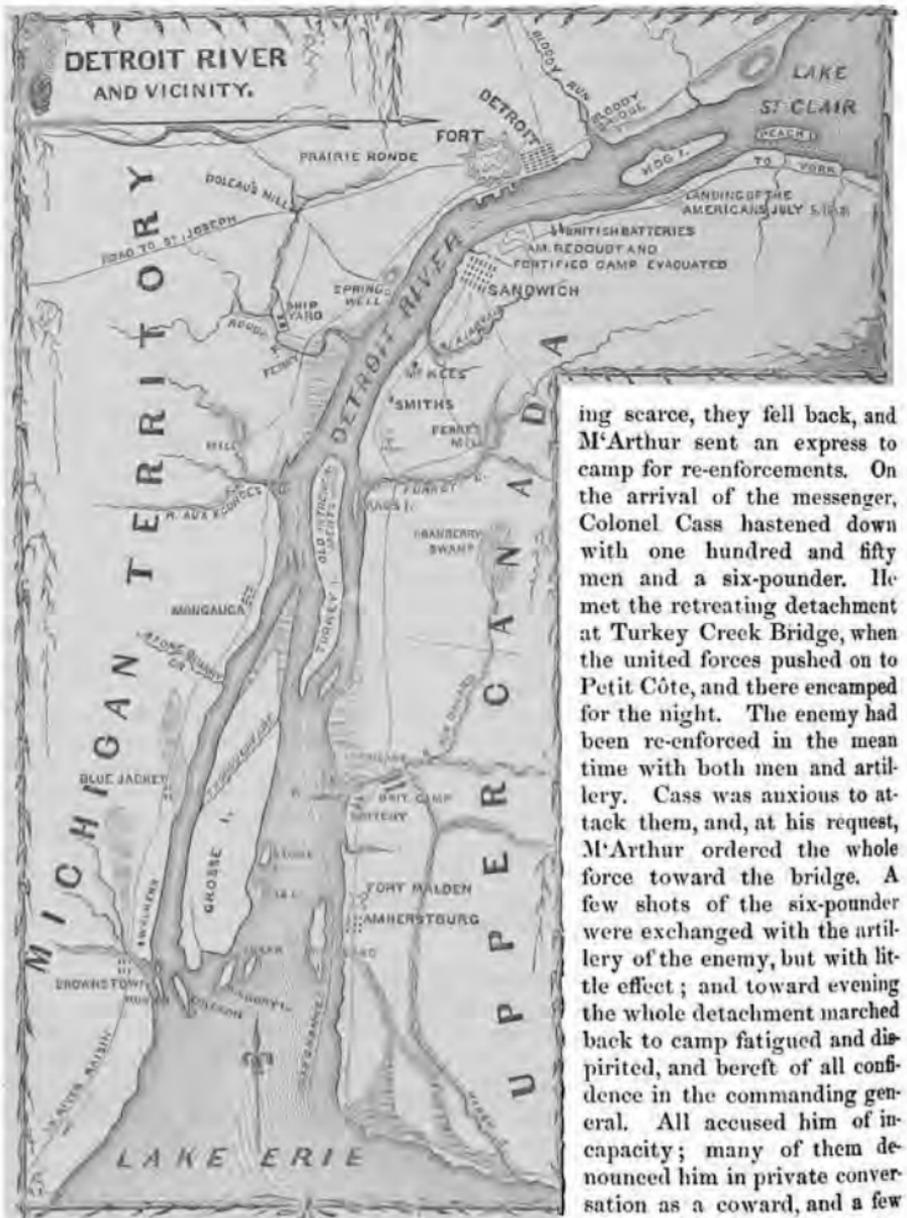
A report reached the camp, on the evening of the 17th,^a that the *Queen Charlotte*, a British armed vessel of eighteen guns, at Malden, was sailing up the river, and committing depredations on the American side. Colonel Findlay was immediately detached with a small reconnoitring party toward the Aux Canards. He found the planks of the bridge torn up, the timbers formed into a breast-work on the south side of the stream, and the *Queen Charlotte* lying at the mouth of the river within easy supporting distance.³ The great advantage acquired by Colonel Cass in taking possession of that bridge was utterly lost. On the following day, a small party, under Captain Snelling, went down as a corps of observation; and, to the delight of the whole army, Hull issued an order^b for its movement, which gave implied assurance of an immediate march on Malden. Under the direction of that order, Colonel M^rArthur, the senior officer, marched down the river, on the morning of the 19th, with a detachment of his regiment, one hundred and fifty strong, and joined Captain Snelling at the Petit Côte settlement, about a mile above the bridge.

M^rArthur was instructed to ascertain the situation of affairs at the Aux Canards, but not to go within reach of the guns of the *Queen Charlotte*. With his adjutant and a few riflemen he went to the top of a ridge, about three hundred yards from the river, to reconnoitre. He ascertained that the battery on the south side of the stream was supported by about sixty regulars, one hundred and fifty Canadian militia, twenty-five dragoons, and fifty Indians. Some little skirmishing ensued between the Indians, who had crossed on the timbers of the bridge, and the American riflemen; and Colonel M^rArthur was fired upon by a gun-boat, until then undiscovered, under the bank of the river, while he was reconnoitring the position of the *Queen Charlotte*. He also came near being cut off by the Indians. Soon after this the whole detachment engaged in two skirmishes with the Indians. In the last the latter were commanded by Tecumtha. The ammunition of the Americans becom-

¹ Auchincleck's *History of the War of 1812*, page 51.

² Robert B. M^rAfee.—*History of the late War in the Western Country*, page 65.

³ A short distance up the Ronge River, and not far from Detroit, was a ship-yard (see the map), where a small brig, called the *Adama*, was being fitted for service at this time, under the direction of H. H. Brevoort, of the navy, who was called "Commodore" in Hull's orders. From the 12th to the 20th of July great exertions were made to perfect her preparations.



ing scarce, they fell back, and M'Arthur sent an express to camp for re-enforcements. On the arrival of the messenger, Colonel Cass hastened down with one hundred and fifty men and a six-pounder. He met the retreating detachment at Turkey Creek Bridge, when the united forces pushed on to Petit Côte, and there encamped for the night. The enemy had been re-enforced in the mean time with both men and artillery. Cass was anxious to attack them, and, at his request, M'Arthur ordered the whole force toward the bridge. A few shots of the six-pounder were exchanged with the artillery of the enemy, but with little effect; and toward evening the whole detachment marched back to camp fatigued and dispirited, and bereft of all confidence in the commanding general. All accused him of incapacity; many of them denounced him in private conversation as a coward, and a few expressed the belief that he was

treacherous. These suspicions were confirmed to their minds by his leaving his army on the 21st of July, and remaining at Detroit four days, without, as they alleged, any but frivolous pretexts.¹

During the absence of Hull, the command of the troops in Canada devolved on Colonel M'Arthur,² who resolved to make an effort to attack Malden. He dispatched

¹ M'Artee, pages 66 to 68.
² A biographical sketch of M'Arthur will be found in another part of this work. See Index.

Skirmishes with the Indians.

First Blood shed in the War.

Michillimackinack.



Captain M'Cullough, with Rangers, to seek a passage for artillery across the Canards above the bridge, so as to avoid the guns of the battery and the *Queen Charlotte*. He found it impracticable, on account of the deep morasses that bordered the stream for several miles. Informed that the Indians had been seen between the Aux Canards and Turkey Creek, M'Arthur sent Major Denny and one hundred and seventeen men, all militia, to drive them back. The major marched on the night of the 24th, and early next morning found an Indian ambuscade in the Petit Côte settlement, where he captured a French captain of a militia company then at Malden. During the day he had skirmishes with the savages. In the last a part of his line gave way, and he was compelled to retreat in confusion, pursued for two miles and a half by the Indians.¹ Near Turkey Creek Bridge the major endeavored to rally his men, but in vain. They

Dun can M'Arthur

crossed the bridge, and met General Lucas with re-enforcements, when the whole party returned to camp.² Denny had lost six killed and two wounded. This was the **FIRST BLOOD SHED IN THE WAR.**³

While the little invading army were perplexed with doubts and fears, and startled by dreadful suspicions concerning their commander-in-chief, alarming intelligence came from the north—the far distant and mysterious region of the upper lakes, which was considered the great hive of the savages. In the bosom of the clear, cold, deep waters of the strait between Lakes Huron and Michigan—a strait forty miles in length and four in breadth — stands a limestone rock, about seven miles in circumference, rising in its centre to an altitude of nearly three hundred feet, and covered with a rough and generous soil, out of which springs heavy timber. The Indians, speaking the Algonquin tongue, impressed with its shape, called it Michillimackinack, which signifies The Great Turtle. On the opposite shore, which is the most north-



MACKINACK, FROM ROUND ISLAND.⁴

¹ British authorities say that there were only twenty-two Indians, of the Misoumin tribe, in this engagement.—See Auchinleck, page 52.
² Major Denny, at his own request, was subjected to the scrutiny of a court of inquiry, over which Colonel M'Arthur presided. He was acquitted of all blame.
³ The check given to the Americans at the Aux Canards was made the subject of congratulation in a general order issued by General Brock on the 6th of August.
⁴ On the right is seen the projecting crag called Robinson's Folly; on the left the Lover's Leap; and in the centre Fort Mackinack, with the village of Mackinack below it. Old Fort Holmes, now a ruin, is on the higher ground in the rear. This view is from a sketch by C. F. Davis, made in August in 1839 from Round Island, and is pronounced by those who have visited Mackinack to be faithful.

erly point of the peninsula of Michigan, the French Jesuit missionaries planted the symbol of Christianity as early as 1671, and called the Head-land Point of Ignatius. La Salle, the discoverer of the Mississippi, with Father Hennepin and others, were there in 1679; and by the side of the standard of the Prince of Peace they erected a strong-hold of war, and called it Fort Michillimackinack. The name was abbreviated to Mackinack (pronounced Mackinaw), and that orthography we will adopt.

When, on the conquest of Canada from the French, this post fell into the hands of the English, the savages that filled the country remained hostile to their new masters. "You have conquered the French," they said, "but you have not conquered us." The mighty Pontiac, the Ottawa chief, was then forming his giant confederacy in the Northwest for the extermination of the English westward of the Niagara. The principal tribes of that region were the Ottawas and Ojibwas, or Chippewas. The latter were the most powerful. Their most important village was upon the back of Michillimackinack, The Great Turtle, in the strait, where a hundred warriors resided.

On the morning of the king's birthday,* 1763, the forests and Fort Mackinack was filled with the Ojibwas. They professed warm friendship for the English, and invited the garrison out to see their great game of ball, the favorite amusement of the Indians. It was a gay and exciting scene. At length a ball went up from the midst of the players in a lofty curve, and fell near the pickets of the fort. It was a preconcerted signal. The warriors rushed toward the fort as if in quest of the ball. Their hands were soon filled with gleaming hatchets, which the squaws had concealed beneath their blankets. A bloody massacre ensued. After a saturnalia of several days, the Indians, alarmed by rumors of the approach of a strong English force, took refuge on the island—three hundred and fifty warriors, with their families and household effects—carrying with them Alexander Henry, an English trader, who had been saved from the massacre by the hands of friendly Indians. The following year Fort Mackinack was garrisoned by the English. The Indians had fled from the island, and settlements upon it immediately commenced. It is a most delightful spot. As seen from the water, it presents a most striking picture of white cliffs, contrasting beautifully with the green foliage that half covers them. In the centre the land rises in wooded heights, in some places three hundred feet above the lake. The rocks form fantastic shapes. Here may be seen a cave, there a towering

pinnacle, and in other places gorges are spanned by natural bridges. One of the most noted of these is the Arch Rock, second only in picturesqueness to the famous Natural Bridge in Virginia. The crown is over one hundred feet above the water, and almost forty above the ground. It was formed by the falling out of great masses of stone. The Rabbit's Peak, the Sugar-loaf, Plutonic Cave, Devil's Kitchen, Giant's Causeway, and the Lover's Leap, are all famous places, and clustered with stirring legends connected with the French and English occupation, or running back to the dim old traditions of the Children of the Forest. But I will not occupy more space in describing this now famous summer resort for tourists and sportsmen—a place I have never visited. I was about to



ARCH ROCK, MACKINAW.

take passage at Chicago for the strait in the autumn of 1860, when I heard that snows had fallen there, and that the sceptre of Boreas was omnipotent over all those north-



FORT MACKINACK.

ern waters. So I turned my face homeward, content to rely upon others for all needful information. At Detroit I found the sketch of a distant view of Mackinack Island, printed on page 267; and from Ballou's Drawing-room Companion I have copied the Arch Rock, and a near view of Mackinaw village and fort, sketched by an officer of the United States Army.

Mackinack came into the possession of the United States in 1796, when the Western military posts were finally surrendered by the

British; and in 1812, Fort Holmes,¹ on the high southwest bluff of the island overlooking the fine harbor, was garrisoned by fifty-seven men, rank and file, under the command of Lieutenant Porter Hancks, of the United States Artillery. The post was a very important one as a defense to the fur-traders, and a check upon the Indians. The fort stood upon a bluff overlooking the fine semicircular harbor, a mile in extent, with an uninterrupted view into Lake Huron to the northeast, and Lake Michigan on the west. It was entirely commanded by the higher ground in the rear, on which was a stockade defended by two block-houses, in each of which a brass six-pounder was mounted. On a battery in front were two long nine-pounders, two howitzers, and a brass three-pounder. These commanded the approach to the gate. The magazine was bomb-proof, but without much ammunition or many implements of war.²

Such was the American post in the far off wilderness, isolated from the haunts of civilized life more than one half of the year by ice and snow, surrounded by hordes of savages ready to raise the hatchet in the pay of those who might seem to be the stronger party, and liable, in the event of war, to assault by allied British and Indians from Fort St. Joseph, on an island of that name about forty miles northeast from Mackinack, in command of Captain Charles Roberts, and garrisoned with a detachment of the Tenth Royal Veteran Battalion, forty-six in number. This fort had been erected in the spring of 1812 by order of the vigilant General Brock, and that circumstance had given some uneasiness to Lieutenant Hancks. Rumors of expected hostilities had already been conveyed to him by traders, but the first knowledge that he received of the actual declaration of war was from Captain Roberts, who, on the morning of the 17th of July, appeared at Mackinack with his garrison of British regulars, two hundred and sixty Canadian militia, and seven hundred and fifteen Indians, chiefly of the tribes of the Sioux, Ottawas, Winnebagoes, and Ojibwas (Chippewas), and demanded the surrender of the post.

Captain Roberts was a vigilant and energetic officer. As soon as Sir Isaac Brock was apprised, at Fort George, on the Niagara frontier, of the declaration of war, he

¹ Named in honor of Lieutenant Holmes, of Rodgers's Rangers, so celebrated in the French and Indian war. He was in command of Fort Miami, on the Maumee River, in 1763. He was murdered there on the 27th of May, 1763, through the treachery of a young Indian girl who lived with him. She represented to him that a squaw lay dangerously ill in a wigwam not far off, and desired him to bleed her. He went out for the purpose, and was shot. The sergeant who went out to learn the cause was made a prisoner, and the fort was captured.

² *History of the Second War between the United States of America and Great Britain*, by Charles J. Ingersoll, i., 80.

Expedition against Mackinack.

First Intimation of Danger.

Demand for the Surrender of the Fort.

^a June 26, 1812. dispatched an express^a to Captain Roberts with the important intelligence. A letter from another hand, as we have observed, had already given that information to Roberts. Brock ordered him to attack Mackinack immediately, if practicable; or, in the event of his being attacked by the Americans, to defend his post to the last extremity. Another order, issued two days later,^b directed ^b June 28. him to summon to his assistance the neighboring Indian tribes, British and American, and to solicit the co-operation of the employes of the Northwest Fur Company in that vicinity. Still another was issued, giving Captain Roberts discretionary powers.

Mr. Pothier, the agent of the Northwest Company, was then at St. Joseph's, and Roberts laid before him his plan of operations. Pothier approved of them, and placed all the resources of the company at that point at his disposal; and he offered to command in person one hundred and fifty Canadian *voyageurs*, then employed in the company's service, and within call.

On the morning of the 16th of July—a bright and beautiful morning—the wind blowing gently from the northwest, Captain Roberts embarked with his whole force, civilized, semi-civilized, and savage, for Mackinack, in boats, bateaux, and canoes, accompanied by two six-pounders, and convoyed by the brig *Caledonia*, belonging to the Northwest Fur Company, which was laden with provisions and stores. Meanwhile the doomed garrison at Mackinack was ignorant of the declaration of war and the impending blow. Lieutenant Hancks had observed with some uneasiness the sudden coolness of Ottawa and Ojibwa chiefs, who had professed great friendship only a few days before; and on the morning when Roberts sailed from St. Joseph's, the Indian interpreter at Mackinack told Hancks that he had been assured that the Indians, who had just assembled in great numbers at St. Joseph's, were about to attack Fort Holmes. Hancks immediately summoned the American gentlemen on the island to a conference. It was thought by them expedient to send a confidential agent to St. Joseph's to ascertain, if possible, the temper of the commandant of the garrison, and to watch the movements of the Indians. Captain Daurman was sent ^c July. on that errand. He embarked at about sunset on the 16th.^c The moon was at its full, and when night fell upon the waters they were softly illuminated by its dim effulgence.

Captain Daurman had accomplished fifteen miles of his voyage when he met the hostile flotilla, and was made a prisoner. He was paroled on the condition that he should land on Mackinaw in advance of the invaders, summon the inhabitants to its west side to receive the protection of a British guard for their persons and property, and not to give any information to Hancks of the approach of the expedition. He was also instructed to warn the inhabitants that all who should go to the fort would be subject to a general massacre!

Daurman was landed just at dawn, and fulfilled the provisions of his parole to the very letter. But, while the inhabitants were flying from the village to seek British protection from the blood-thirsty savages, Dr. Day, an American gentleman, more courageous than the rest, hastened to the fort and gave the alarm. This was the first intimation that reached Hancks of the approach of an enemy. That enemy had already landed, and taken one of his two heavy guns, in the gray morning twilight of the 17th, to the crown of the island, in the rear of the fort, and placed it in battery so as to command the American works at their weakest point. It was too late for Hancks to prepare for defense. By nine o'clock in the morning Roberts had possession of the heights, and the woods back of the fort seemed to be swarming with painted savages. At half past eleven a summons was made for the immediate surrender of the fort, garrison, and island "to the forces of his Britannic majesty." "This," said Hancks, in his report to the government, "was the first intimation I had of the declaration of war." Hancks held a consultation with his officers and the

Surrender of Mackinaw.

The Consequences.

Employment of the Indians by the British.

American gentlemen in the fort, and it was agreed that the overwhelming force, and the character of the assailants, made it expedient to surrender.¹ Honorable terms were allowed by capitulation, and at meridian the American colors were taken down, and those of Great Britain were put in their place. The garrison marched out with the honors of war. The prisoners were all paroled, and those who decided to leave Mackinaw were conveyed in a British cartel to Detroit. An order was then issued warning all those upon Mackinack who would not take an oath of allegiance to the British government to leave the island within a month from the date of the capitulation. All private property was held sacred, and the Indians were thoroughly restrained. "It was a fortunate circumstance," wrote John Askin, Jr.,² of the British Store-keeper's Department, to Colonel William Claus at Fort George, July 15,
1812. "that the fort surrendered without firing a single gun, for had they done so I firmly believe not a soul of them would have been saved." This admission on the part of a British officer connected with the expedition, and who commanded two hundred and eighty of the savages, stains indelibly the character of the government that employed such instrumentalities—a practice which the great Earl of Chatham had vehemently denounced on the floor of the British Parliament more than thirty years before.³

The capture of Mackinack was of the highest importance to the British interests, immediate and prospective. Valuable stores and seven hundred packages of costly furs were among the spoils of victory. The key to the fur-trade of a vast region was placed in the possession of the enemies of the United States. The command of the Upper Lakes, with all its vast advantages, was transferred to that enemy. The prison bar that kept back the savages of that region and secured their neutrality was drawn, and Detroit was exposed to fearful raids by those fierce barbarians of the wilderness, whose numbers were unknown, and the dread of whom made all the frontier settlements shudder with horror.

Such was another result of the criminal remissness, willful neglect, or imbecility of the Secretary of War. Hancks might have been apprised of the declaration of hostilities nearly a week earlier than the information reached Roberts. American instead of British efforts might have been successful, and the captured fortress might have been a British instead of an American post.

¹ "Three American gentlemen, who were prisoners, were permitted to accompany the flag; from them I ascertained the strength of the enemy to be from nine hundred to one thousand strong. . . . The following particulars relating to the British force were obtained after the capitulation from a source that admits of no doubt: Regular troops, 46, including four officers; Canadian militia, 260. Total, 306. *Savages*—Stoux, 56; Winnebagoes, 48; Tallesawalus, 39; Chippewas and Ottawas, 673. Total, 1021. It may be remarked that one hundred and fifty Chippewas and Ottawas joined the British two days after the capitulation."—Lieutenant Hancke's Letter to the Secretary of War, August 4, 1812.

² In the course of a debate in 1777 concerning the employment of Indians, a member of the House of Lords justified their employment by saying that the British had a right to use the means "which God and Nature had given them." Pitt (Earl of Chatham) scornfully repeated these words. "God and Nature! Those abominable principles, and this most abominable avowal of them, demands most decisive indignation. I call upon that right reverend bench (pointing to the bishops), those holy ministers of the Gospel and pious pastors of the Church—I conjure them to join in the holy work, and to vindicate the religion of their God." His appeal to the bishops was vain. Every man of them voted for the employment of the savages in a war against their brethren in America, then struggling for their freedom.

³ During the war of 1812 British publicists continually insisted upon the necessity of conciliating the Indians, making them allies, and using them as terrible instruments of warfare. One of them, in the *British Quarterly Review*, No. 4, called piteously upon the British government to look after the interests of the savages. "The aboriginal natives," he said, "had been our faithful allies during the whole of the American rebellion, yet not a single stipulation was made in their favor. . . . We dare assert, and recent facts (the aid given by the Indians in the vicinity of Detroit) have gone far in establishing the truth of the proposition, that the Canadas can not be effectually and durably defended without the friendship of the Indians."



CHAPTER XIV.

"They who have nothing more to fear may well
Indulge a smile at that which once appall'd,
As children at discovered bugbears."

Brown: *Sardanapalus*.



DISASTROUS in the highest degree to the American cause was the fall of Mackinack, and the prospect which it presented to Hull was justly appalling. His uneasiness was increased by intelligence that came almost hourly of the web of extreme difficulties fast weaving around him. He had sent to the Governors of Ohio and Kentucky for re-enforcements and supplies, but he had, as yet, no positive tidings of their approach. From the north came sounds of dreadful import to a handful of isolated

soldiers. The savage chiefs in alliance with the British at Mackinack had sent couriers to all the villages south as far as the Maumee, informing their warriors of that alliance, of the fall of Mackinack, of the investment of Chicago, and of their active preparations to proceed to Malden in great force, to join other warriors there, and attack Detroit. From the east came a rumor that the Canadians and savages in that direction were also hastening toward Malden, and that a detachment of British soldiers, with artillery, under the command of Major Chambers, had landed at the west end of Lake Ontario, penetrated in the direction of Detroit as far as the River Trench, or Thames, and were receiving great accessions of militia and Indians on their march. The alarm created by these facts and rumors was immediately intensi-

fied by farther reports^a that Colonel Proctor, of the British army, had arrived at Malden from Fort Erie with re-enforcements.¹ Then came over from Sandwich an intercepted letter from a member of the Northwest Company at Fort William, dated two days after the fall of Mackinack, saying that, on the receipt of the declaration of war, their agents ordered a general muster of their forces, which amounted to twelve hundred men, exclusive of several hundreds of the natives. "We are equal, in all," he said, "to sixteen or seventeen hundred strong. One of our gentlemen started on the 17th with several light canoes for the interior country to rouse the natives to activity, which is not hard to do on the present occasion. We likewise dispatched messengers in all directions with the news. I have not the least doubt but our force two days hence will amount to five thousand effective men. Our young gentlemen and engagees offered most handsomely to march immediately for Michillimackinack. Our chief, Mr. Shaw, expressed his gratitude, and drafted one hundred. They are to proceed this evening for St. Joseph's. He takes about as many Indians. Could the vessel contain them, he might have had four thousand more. It now depends on what accounts we receive from St. Joseph's, whether these numerous tribes from the interior will proceed to St. Joseph's or not."²

In addition to these causes for alarm, Hull discovered a spirit of mutiny in his own camp which gave him more uneasiness still—a spirit, he said, "which before had manifested itself in whispers, increased and became more open. It was evident it was now fostered and encouraged by the principal officers of the militia, and was

¹ Hull's *Campaign of 1812*, page 68.

² Letter of Mr. McKenzie, of the Northwest Company, at Fort William, to Mr. McIntosh, of Sandwich, July 19, 1812, cited by Hull in his *Campaign of 1812*, page 67.

Energy and Vigilance of General Brock.

Inactivity of Governor Prevost.

The Car Brigade.

fast rising into an avowed conspiracy."¹ This mutinous spirit we shall consider presently.

Such was the situation of General Hull and his army at the middle of the first week in August, when the cheering intelligence reached them that Captain Henry Brush, of Chillicothe, Ohio, with two hundred and thirty volunteers, one hundred beef cattle and other provisions, and a mail, were at the crossing of the River Raisin, thirty-five miles distant.

The energy and vigilance of Major General Brock, and the lack of these qualities at this time in General Hull, saved Upper Canada from a disastrous invasion. The amiable Sir George Prevost, the governor general, was spending precious time at Quebec in absolute unbelief of impending war, while Brock, who, in October,^a 1811, had been made "president and administrator of the govern-^a October 9. ment of Upper Canada"—that is to say, lieutenant governor—perceived, from the moment of his arrival at his post, that war was inevitable, and made preparations accordingly. He was vigilant, active, sagacious, and brave, and made the most of his inadequate resources to repel the invasion of Hull. From the beginning he was opposed to the employment of the Indians, and discountenanced the attempts to arouse their resentment against the Americans before war was declared; but necessity compelled him to accept their services.² He endeavored to strengthen the remote military posts. When navigation opened in the spring of 1812, he sent a supply of ordnance and stores to St. Joseph's and to Amherstburg. He visited the latter post early in June, taking with him a re-enforcement of one hundred men of the Forty-first Regiment. But in all his movements he was restrained by his superior. As late as his departure for Amherstburg, Sir George Prevost, not believing hostilities to be near, recommended him to employ the most rigid economy in the public expenditure, and to avoid all expenses not absolutely necessary, because of the great difficulty of raising money.

When intelligence of the declaration of war reached Brock he was at York, now Toronto, the capital of his province. He had just been offered a company of farmers' sons, with their draught-horses, for the equipment of a car brigade, under Captain Holcroft, of the Royal Artillery. He was considering this generous offer of the yeomanry when the startling news arrived. It was immediately accepted. An extraordinary session of the Legislature was summoned; and with Evans, his brigade major, and his aid-de-camp, Captain Glegg, he hastened to Fort George, on the Niagara frontier, and there established his military head-quarters. His intention was to cross the Niagara River immediately and capture the American fort of that name, but he shrank from the responsibility of taking such an important step without instructions, at the same time assuring his superior that it might be "demolished, when found necessary, in half an hour."³ He contented himself with making preparations for offensive or defensive movements, as circumstances might require. The militia of the peninsula between Lakes Erie and Ontario being summoned to his standard, eight hundred men responded by their presence. Yielding to necessity, he called upon the Indians on the Grand River for aid, and a hundred came, under John Brant, bringing promise of the speedy appearance of the remainder.⁴

By the 3d of July the "car brigade" was completed, with horses belonging to gentlemen "who spared them free of expense." Meanwhile the Americans had gathered a considerable force on the east side of the river, scattered at different points

¹ Hull's *Campaign of 1812*, page 60. See note 3, page 260 of this work.

² In a letter to Sir George Prevost, written December 3, 1811, after hearing of the Tippecanoe affair, he said: "My first care, on my arrival in this province, was to direct the officers of the Indian Department at Amherstburg to exert their whole influence with the Indians to prevent the attack which I understood a few tribes meditated against the American frontier."

³ Letters to Sir George Prevost, July 3 and 25, 1812, cited by Tupper in his *Life of Brock*, pages 171 and 198.

⁴ Letter of Brock to Sir George Prevost, July 3, 1812.

Alarm caused by Hull's invasion.

Brock before the Canadian Legislature.

That Body despondent.



FORT NIAGARA, FROM FORT GEORGE.

along a line of thirty miles from Buffalo to Fort Niagara, and estimated by General Brock to be twelve hundred strong.¹

On the 20th of July Brock received intelligence of Hull's invasion; also a copy of his proclamation, with hints of its effect. Those hints, and a knowledge of the weakness of Fort Malden, alarmed him.² The Legislature, about to meet at York, would require his presence, and he could not leave for the field in the West, as he desired to do. Divided duties perplexed him. He instantly recalled a portion of the militia whom he had permitted to go home to gather in the grain harvest, and they murmured. He dispatched Colonel Proctor, of the Forty-first Regiment, with such reinforcements as he could spare, to assume command at Amherstburg, and the inhabitants of the Niagara border felt themselves abandoned. He issued a counter-proclamation³ to neutralize the effect of Hull's, and hope revived.

Leaving the military along the Niagara frontier in charge of Lieutenant Colonel Myers, Brock hastened to York, and, with much parade, opened the Legislature in person. His address was cordially responded to; but he soon found that the Legislature partook, in a large degree, of the despondency of a great portion of the people of Upper Canada, which Hull's menacing proclamation and actual invasion had produced. Five hundred militia in the Western District had already sought Hull's protection; the Norfolk militia, most of them connected by blood with the inhabitants of the United States, peremptorily refused to take up arms; and the Indians on the Grand River, in the heart of the province, after some of their chiefs returned from a visit to Hull, refused, with few exceptions, to join the British standard, declaring their intention to remain neutral. With such promises of failure and disaster before them if resistance should be made, a majority of the Assembly were more disposed to sub-

¹ Brock was very anxious to capture Fort Niagara, but was restrained by his superior. Sir George Prevost believed it to be a party war, and was unwilling to do that which might rouse the national spirit of the Americans, and unite both parties against the British. He believed that the war party could not carry on hostilities long. He therefore commanded Brock to act strictly on the defensive.

² Hull, as we have seen, invaded Canada and issued his proclamation on the 12th of July, but it was not until the 15th that Lieutenant Colonel St. George wrote to General Brock on the subject. "It is strange," said the latter, "that three days should be allowed to elapse before sending to acquaint me of this important fact. Hull's insidious proclamation," he continued, "herewith inclosed, has already been productive of considerable effect on the minds of the people. In fact, a general sentiment prevails that, with the present force, resistance is unavailing. I shall continue to exert myself to the utmost to overcome every difficulty."—Brock to Prevost, Fort George, July 20, 1812.

³ The editor of the *Life and Correspondence of Sir Isaac Brock*, speaking of the invasion, says, "Brigadier General Hull issued on that day the following insidious but able proclamation, which was doubtless written at Washington."—See *Life*, etc., page 155.

Symptoms of Disloyalty in Canada.	Brock's Influence.	His Proclamation.	Volunteer Militia.
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mit, and to court the favor of the invaders, than to stand up boldly in defense of their province. Mr. Wilcox, a prominent politician of York or Toronto, and editor of a leading newspaper, took strong ground in favor of the Americans, but he was finally overawed by the energy and influence of Brock, and induced to offer him the use of his pen and services. Wilcox was not a hearty supporter of the British, and afterward joined the American army, in the service of which he was killed at Fort Erie. Perceiving this alarming symptom of disloyalty, and apprehending more evil than good from the presence, in a body, at the capital of these timid representatives of the people, Brock prorogued the Assembly as soon as it had passed the necessary supply bills.¹ He had sought in vain for its leave to suspend the *Habeas Corpus Act* or to declare martial law when necessary; but, after consultation with his council, Brock resolved to do both, should certain exigencies occur.²

Brock's confident tone in his speech at the opening of the Legislature, and the spirit and power of his counter-proclamation, produced a marked change;³ and when, very speedily, the fall of Mackinack and the American reverses on the Detroit frontier became known, a reversal of public sentiment was so manifest that Brock was enabled to write to Sir George Prevost from York, saying, "The militia stationed here volunteered their services this morning^a to any part of the province without the least hesitation. I have selected one hundred, whom I have directed to proceed without delay to Long Point, where I propose collecting a force for the relief of Amherstburg. This example, I hope, will be followed by as many as may be required."⁴

We have observed that the Americans on the banks of the Detroit were cheered by the approach of Captain Brush to the Raisin with men, cattle, provisions, and a mail, all sent forward by the vigilant and untiring Governor Meigs, of Ohio. A messenger soon bore from him to General Hull the information that a party of Indians, under Tecumtha, and possibly some British regulars, had crossed the Detroit from Malden, and were lying near Brownstown, at the mouth of the Huron River, twenty-five miles below Fort Detroit, for the purpose of seizing the treasures in charge of

¹ Tupper's *Life and Correspondence of Brock*, page 203.

² Sir George Prevost seemed to have had similar difficulties in the lower province. On the 31st of July he wrote to General Brock, saying, "I believe you are authorized by the commission under which you administer the government of Upper Canada to declare martial law, in the event of invasion or insurrection; it is therefore for you to consider whether you can obtain any thing equivalent to that power from your Legislature. I have not succeeded in obtaining a modification of it in Lower Canada, and must, therefore, upon the occurrence of either of those calamities, declare the law martial unqualified, and, of course, shut the doors of the courts of civil law."

³ Brock's proclamation, issued from Fort George, was calculated to arouse both the pride and the resentment of those Canadians who were of the American refugee families. In allusion to Hull, he said, "He has thought proper to invite his majesty's subjects not only to a quiet and unresisting submission, but insults them with a call to seek voluntarily the protection of his government." Referring to Hull's assertion of the tyranny of the British government, Brock asked, "Where is the Canadian subject who can truly affirm to himself that he has been injured by the government in his person, his property, or his liberty? Where is to be found, in any part of the world, a growth so rapid in prosperity and wealth as this colony exhibits? Settled not thirty years, by a band of veterans exiled from their former possessions on account of their loyalty, not a descendant of these brave people is to be found who, under the fostering liberality of their sovereign, has not acquired a property and means of enjoyment superior to what were possessed by their ancestors." He then warned them of the immense advantages which they would lose by a separation from Great Britain, the greatest maritime nation on the globe, their exclusion from the ocean by being a Territory of the United States, and the danger of becoming reannexed to France when once estranged from the protection of Great Britain. "Are you prepared," he said, "inhabitants of Canada, to become willing subjects, or, rather, slaves to the despot who rules the nations of Continental Europe with a rod of iron? If not, arise in a body; exert your energies; cooperate cordially with the king's regular forces to repel the invader; and do not give cause to your children, when groaning under the oppression of a foreign master, to reproach you with having so easily parted with the richest inheritance of this earth—a participation in the name, character, and freedom of Britons!" He assured them that if, by this sudden war, and a lack of aid, his majesty's arms should be obliged to yield, the province would not be abandoned, and that no peace would be made with the United States of which the restoration of the Canadas to Great Britain should not make the most prominent condition. He then alluded to Hull's threat of "no quarter" for those who should be found fighting with the Indians. He pointed to the aborigines, whose property, like that of the white people, was in danger. "By what new principle," he said, "are they to be prohibited from defending their property? If their warfare, from being different from that of the white people, be more terrific than the enemy, let him retrace his steps. They seek him not, and can not expect to find women and children in an invading army." Hull's threat was denounced as inhuman; and assurance was given that its execution would be considered "as deliberate murder, for which every subject of the offending power must make expiation."

⁴ Tupper's *Life and Correspondence of Brock*, page 207.

Brush, so precious to the little army. Brush was unwilling to risk those treasures and his small force without an escort, and he appealed to Hull to send him a detachment of men for that purpose. The general hesitated, and, when the Ohio colonels joined in a request that an escort should be sent, he flatly refused compliance. At length better counsels prevailed, and, after much persuasion, he ordered Major Thomas B. Van Horne, of Colonel Findlay's Ohio regiment, to proceed to the Raisin with a detachment of two hundred men from that corps, to join Brush, and afford a safe convoy for the cattle, provisions, and mail. The major obeyed with alacrity. He crossed the Detroit with his command on the 4th of August, and encamped that night on the banks of the Ecorces River, where the soldiers slept on their arms. They resumed their march early on the following morning. A light fog veiled the flat country along the borders of the river. The air was still and sultry. Four spies, under Captain William McCullough, preceded the troops, to watch for the enemy. They lost their way, and, while passing around a corn-field in bloom, they were fired upon by a dozen Indians who lay in ambush there. McCullough fell from his horse severely wounded, and, before the detachment could reach the spot, the savages had scalped him and bore away his shining locks in triumph. His country was thus bereaved of one of the bravest and most devoted of its defenders, and the whole army sincerely mourned a real loss.

The detachment was moving very cautiously half an hour after this sad occurrence, when it was joined by some mounted militia, and a few gentlemen who had taken this opportunity to travel in safety to the Raisin. These, with Major Van Horne, stopped at the house of a Frenchman for water, and were informed by him that several hundred Indians and British soldiers were lying in ambush, near Brownstown, for the purpose of intercepting the party. Van Horne had become accustomed to alarmists, and did not credit the story. He marched on in fancied security, his

front guard of twenty-four men in two columns, each column preceded by three dragoons, and the main body in the same order. The mail, with a mounted escort, was placed in the centre. Where the ground would permit, the columns marched a hundred yards apart. As they approached Brownstown the road passed through a narrow prairie skirted with thick woods, and a creek on the right. The woods on the creek came to a point toward the town, through



THOMAS B. VAN HORNE.

which the road passed to the ford. On the left were corn-fields and thickets of thorn bushes; and near the creek the columns were compelled to approach each other on account of the narrowness of the way. Just as they reached its margin, and were entering upon the open ground around the village, near the house of Adam Brown, a heavy fire, at only fifty yards' distance, was opened upon them from both sides by a large body of Indians who lay in ambush in the thickets and the woods. The attack

was sudden, sharp, and deadly, and the troops were thrown into confusion. Apprehensive that he might be surrounded, Major Van Horne immediately ordered a retreat. This movement was conducted with much confusion. The Indians pursued, and a running fight was kept up for a considerable distance, the retreating Americans frequently turning upon the savage foe, and giving him deadly volleys. The retreat

Perils of a Supply-train. Loud Complaints against Hull. Cheering Orders. A grievous Disappointment.

continued to the Ecorces, but the Indians, restrained by the prudent Tecumtha, only followed about half that distance.¹ The mail was lost, and passed into the hands of the British authorities, by which most valuable information concerning the weakness and disaffection of Hull's army was made manifest, for the officers and soldiers had written freely to their friends at home on the subject.² The detachment also lost seventeen killed and several wounded, who were left behind.³

Hull was greatly disconcerted by the news of Van Horne's repulse and loss. His colonels urged the employment of immediate and efficient measures for retrieval, and begged him to send a sufficient force to overcome any obstacles likely to be met between Detroit and the Raisin. Brush was in danger, and the army would soon need the supplies in his charge. The way between the army and Ohio must be kept open, and no time was to be lost in securing these important ends. "Send five hundred men at once," they said, "to escort Brush to Detroit." "I can spare only one hundred men," was the general's disheartening reply. These were too few, and the enterprise was abandoned for the moment. Brush was left to the mercy of Tecumtha and his savage followers, and the needed supplies for the army were placed in imminent peril. Indignation and alarm stirred the blood of the officers.

The mutinous spirit, of which Hull afterward wrote, was now vehemently exhibited. There was plain and loud talk at head-quarters—talk which startled the general, and caused him to call a council of field officers,⁴ the result of which was an agreement to march immediately upon Malden. Orders were issued for the medical and surgical departments to prepare for active duties in the field; for the securing of boats at Detroit; for leaving the convalescents under an officer at Sandwich, with means for crossing the river, if desired; for a raft of timber and planks for a bridge to be floated down the river; for drawing, on the morning of the 8th, by the whole army, cooked rations for three days; and for the return of "all artificers, and all men on any kind of extra duty," to their regiments immediately.

This order diffused joy throughout the little army. They believed that the hour for energetic action had come. Every man was busy in preparation; and a long summer's day was drawing to a close, when another order from the commanding general cast a cloud of disappointment over the camp more sombre than the curtain of night that speedily fell upon it. It was an order for the army to *recross the river to Detroit!*—an order to abandon Canada, and leave to the vengeance of their own government the inhabitants who, confiding in Hull's promises of protection, had refused to take up arms in defense of their invaded territory. This order was in consequence of intelligence just received that a considerable force of British regulars, militia, and Indians were coming to attack the Americans in the rear, under General Brock.

But Canada was not to be wholly abandoned. Major Denny, with one hundred and thirty convalescents and a corps of artillerymen, under Lieutenant Anderson, was left "to hold possession of that part of Canada, and afford all possible protection to the well-disposed inhabitants." A strong house, belonging to one Gowris, had been stockaded, and called Fort Gowris. In this, and in a long stone building yet standing in Sandwich,⁴ which the American soldiers had used as barracks, the con-

¹ For his gallantry in this campaign, Major Van Horne, while a prisoner on parole, was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel in the Twenty-sixth Regular Infantry, and was transferred to the Nineteenth in 1814. He was disbanded in June, 1815.

² The battle-ground was about five miles below the present village of Trenton, in Michigan.

³ Among the killed were Captains William M'Cullough, Robert Glichrist, Henry Utery, and Jacob Boerstler; Lieutenant Jacob Pentz, and Surgeons Edward Roby and Andrew Allison.—M'Affee, page 74. Hull's Letter to the Secretary of War, dated Sandwich, August 7, 1812.

⁴ This building was erected for a school in 1807 or 1808. It was in a dilapidated state when I sketched it in the autumn of 1860. It occupies an open space in the village of Sandwich. Several poor families occupied it. The place known as Spring Wells is opposite, and indicated in our little sketch by the buildings with tall chimneys, from which columns of smoke are rising. These compose the copper smelting-works at Spring Wells. A long wharf on the Sand-



BARRACKS AT SANDSTONE.

valescents were placed, and Denny was ordered to defend the post to the last extremity against musketry, but to leave it in the event of artillery being brought against it so powerfully as to make it untenable.¹

Sullenly that humiliated army obeyed their overcautious commander, and during August, the night of the 7th and morning of the 8th² they crossed the deep, dark, rapidly-flowing river in sadness, and encamped upon the rolling plain behind Fort Detroit. Hull's reason for this mortifying termination of his invasion of Canada was the receipt of intelligence, as we have observed, that General Brock was hastening toward Amherstburg with re-enforcements, and the necessity of securing a permanent communication between his army and the sources of its supplies in the Ohio settlements. He accordingly dispatched six hundred men, under Lieutenant Colonel James Miller, on the afternoon of the 8th, to open a communication with the Raisin and escort Brush to Detroit. The detachment consisted of the Fourth Regiment of regulars; two small corps of the First Regiment, under Lieutenant Dixon Stansbury and Ensign Robert A. McCabe; detachments from the Ohio and Michigan volunteers—the latter, sixty in number, from the "Michigan Legion,"³ mostly French, under Captain Antoine Dequindre; a corps of Captain Dyson's artillerymen, then stationed at the fort with a six-pounder, under Lieutenant John L. Eastman (who was Miller's brigade major on this occasion), and a howitzer, under Lieutenant James Daliba; and a part of Captains Smith and Sloan's cavalry, under the latter. Majors Van Horne and Morrison were associated with Lieutenant Colonel Miller as field officers. "Commodore" Brevoort, who was a captain of infantry, and appointed commander of any government vessels that might be placed on the lakes, and Captain A. F. Hull, the general's son, who was afterward killed at the Battle of Niagara Falls, volunteered as aids to Lieutenant Colonel Miller.⁴

The troops paraded on the north side of Jefferson Avenue, in Detroit, nearly opposite where the Exchange now stands. When placed in marching order, Lieutenant Colonel Miller rode up in front of them, and in his clear, loud voice, said to the volunteers and militia, "Soldiers, we are now going to meet the enemy, and to *beat* them. The reverse of the 5th (Van Horne's) must be repaired. The blood of our brethren, spilt by the savages, must be avenged. I shall lead you. You shall not disgrace yourselves nor me. Every man who shall leave the ranks or fall back without orders will be instantly put to death. I charge the officers to execute this order." Then, turning to the veteran Fourth Regiment of regulars, he said, "My brave soldiers, you will add another victory to that of Tippecanoe—another laurel to that gained on the Wabash last fall. If there is now any man in the ranks of the detachment who fears to meet the enemy, let him fall out and stay behind." A loud

with side of the river is seen toward the right of the position. The British picketed this building, and used it for barracks in 1813.

¹ M'Artee, page 77.

² This "Legion" had been organized during the winter of 1811-'12, as a home guard against the Indians, who were then menacing the Michigan settlers. They were mustered into the volunteer service under the act of February 6, 1812. The "Legion" was composed of one company of dragoons, commanded by Captain Richard Smythe, and three companies of infantry, commanded respectively by Captains Antoine Dequindre, Stephen Mack, and Hubert la Croix.

³ Hull's letter to the Secretary of War, August 15, 1812; Judge Witherell's paper on the Battle of Munguagen, read before the Michigan Historical Society in the spring of 1869.

March toward the Raisin.	Indian Scouts.	British and Indian Force.	Walk-in-the-Water.
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huzza went up from the entire corps, and "I'll not stay! I'll not stay!" broke from every lip.¹

Miller led his detachment to the River Rouge that night, crossed it in two scows, and bivouacked on its southern shore. The march was resumed early in the morning. Major Thompson Maxwell,² with the spies, led the way, followed by a vanguard of forty-men, under the high-souled Captain Snelling, of the Fourth Regulars. The infantry marched in two columns, about two hundred yards apart. The cavalry kept the road in the centre in double file. The artillery followed, and flank-guards of riflemen marched at proper distances. In this order a line of battle might be instantly formed. The march was very slow, owing to the difficulty of moving cannon over marshy ground.

At about nine in the morning—a sultry Sabbath morning—the sky overcast with clouds, and not a leaf stirring upon the trees, it became evident that an enemy was near. Several Indians, fleet of foot, were seen flying in the distance. But nothing of much interest occurred until, in the afternoon, they approached the Indian village of Maguaga, fourteen miles below Detroit, where a man named White, who, with his young son, accompanied the expedition as an amateur soldier, and in his eagerness had outstripped the spies, was shot from his horse near the cabin of the chief Walk-in-the-Water, behind which some Indians were concealed.³ He was scalped before the advance-guard could reach the spot.

It was between three and four o'clock in the afternoon when Snelling and his men reached the Oak Woods, near Maguaga. They had just entered a clearing, surrounded with an oak forest and thick bushes, near the bank of the Detroit River, when they received a terrible volley from a line of British and Indians, the former under Major Muir, of the Forty-first Regiment, and the latter under Tecumtha. This was a detachment which Proctor had sent over from Fort Malden, at Amherstburg, to Brownstown, to repeat the tragedy of the 5th (Van Horne's defeat), cut off communication between the Raisin and Detroit, and capture the stores in charge of Captain Brush. The party consisted of about one hundred of the Forty-first Regiment, as many Canadian militia, and between two and three hundred Indians. Among the leaders of the latter were Tecumtha, Walk-in-the-Water, Lame-Hand, and Split-Log—all chiefs of note.

The flying savages, seen by the Americans in the morning, and who had been scouting for Muir, had entered the little British camp at Brownstown in hot haste, uttering the peculiar news-cry, and warning the soldiers that the enemy, strong in numbers, was advancing upon them. The camp was immediately broken up, and Muir and Tecumtha, with their followers, pressed forward to Maguaga, and formed an ambush in the Oak Woods. There they lay for several hours, awaiting the slowly-approaching Americans, and were joined by a fresh detachment from Malden, under Lieutenant Bullock, of the Forty-first Grenadiers, who had been sent by General

¹ Judge Witherell.

² Major Maxwell was well known in Detroit. He had been a soldier in the French and Indian War, and was one of the survivors of the battle at Bloody Bridge, just above Detroit, in "Pontiac's War." He was a brave soldier in the Revolution. He was with Wayne on his campaigns, and followed Miller upon the heights at the battle of Niagara Falls (Lundy's Lane) when he took the British battery on the crown. He died on the River Rouge about the year 1884.—Judge Witherell.

³ Walk-in-the-Water's residence at Maguaga was on the land afterward owned by Major Biddle, and on which he built his farm-houses. Judge Witherell says, "I knew him well in my boyhood. He was then a man past middle age, with a fine, commanding person, near six feet in height and well-proportioned, and as straight as an arrow. He was mild and pleasant in his deportment." The chief was friendly to the United States, and desired to join them at the beginning of the war; but the instructions of his government not to employ savages and his own humane impulses would not allow Hull to accept his services. They were soon exposed to the attacks of the British and their savage allies; and as the United States could give them no protection, Walk-in-the-Water and his band of Wyandots joined the British at Malden. Their hands were in that service, but the heart of the chief was not there. Walk-in-the-Water died about the year 1817. His *totem* or arms was a *turtle*.

Walk-in-the-Water was a Huron, of the Wyandot tribe. His Indian name was My-ee-rah, and he was among the most active of the chiefs with Tecumtha in the War of 1812. Far-her, or King Crane, the grand chief of the Wyandots, resided at Sandusky. We shall meet Walk-in-the-Water again, at the River Raisin and the Thames.

Battle of the Oak Woods, or Magonaga. The British and their savage Allies defeated. Appearance of the Savages.

Brock from Fort George.¹ He had reached Malden the previous day, and was sent over to assist Muir and his savage allies. He took with him twenty of his grenadiers, twenty light infantry, and twenty battalion-men. The Indians occupied the left of the line.²

A single shot on the left of the foe, then the terrible yells of scores of savages, and then a heavy volley of musketry from the whole British line, were the first intimations given to Snelling of the presence of the concealed enemy. He received and returned the fire gallantly, and maintained his position until joined by the main body. Miller's quick ear caught the first sound of battle, and, ordering his men forward at double quick, he rode at full speed toward the field of conflict. As his troops came up and formed in battle order, he waved his sword aloft, and cried, "Charge! boys, charge!"³ The order was instantly, gallantly, and effectually obeyed; and, at the same time, a six-pounder poured in a storm of grape-shot that made sad havoc. A body of Indians, that had been detached to the left of the foe, and near the river, was driven back by an impetuous charge by Major Dequindre and his Michigan and Ohio Volunteers,⁴ and fled. Their white auxiliaries, who performed but little fighting in this engagement, mistaking them for Indian allies of the Americans, fired upon them. The savages returned it with spirit, and for a few moments these friends in the same service seemed determined to annihilate each other.

The battle had now become general. This sudden blow upon the right wing, and the confusion produced by the mistake just mentioned, alarmed the centre, and the whole British line, civilized and savage, wavered. Closely pressed in front, and expecting an attack in the rear, the British regulars and Canadians broke and fled in confusion, leaving Tecumtha and his savages to bear the brunt of the battle, which they did with great obstinacy.⁵ Muir rallied his men, in a good position, a quarter of a mile in rear of the battle-ground, when, becoming alarmed by firing in the woods on the left, they retreated "at the double-quick," as Major Richardson said, gained their boats as speedily as possible, and sped across the river to Malden as fast as strong arms and stout oars could take them. The savages finally broke and fled, and Miller ordered Sloan to pursue them with his cavalry. That officer's courage seemed to

¹ The entire British force at Magonaga, including the Indians, has been differently estimated by different writers. It was probably about equal to that of the Americans.

² Major Richardson, of the Forty-first, gives the following description of the appearance of the Indian warriors on the march from Brownstown to Magonaga: "No other sound than the measured step of the troops interrupted the solitude of the scene, rendered more imposing by the wild appearance of the warriors, whose bodies, stained and painted in the most frightful manner for the occasion, glided by us with almost noiseless velocity, without order and without a chief; some painted white, some black, others half black and half red, half black and half white; all with their hair plastered in such a way as to resemble the bristling quills of the porcupine, with no other covering than a cloth around their loins, yet armed to the teeth with rifles, tomahawks, war-clubs, spears, bows and arrows, and scalping-knives. Uttering no sound, and intent on reaching the enemy unperceived, they might have passed for the spectres of those wild—the ruthless demons which war had unchained for the punishment and oppression of men." Major Richardson, perceiving the necessity of an apology for being found fighting Christian men side by side with these savage pagans as brethren in arms, says, but without warrant, "The natives must have been our friends or our foes. Had we not employed them the Americans would; and, although humanity must deplore the necessity imposed by the very invader himself of counting them among our allies, and combating at their sides, the law of self-preservation was our guide, and scrupulous, indeed, must be the power that would have hesitated at such a moment in its choice."—*War of 1813. First Series, containing a full and detailed Narrative of the Operation of the Right Division of the Canadian Army*, by Major Richardson, K. S. F.—Pamphlet, page 62.

Auchinleck, without the shadow of justification, says (page 65), that "every possible exertion was employed by agents of the United States government to detach the Indians from us, and to effect an alliance with them on the part of the States." Every honorable exertion was used by the United States to detach the Indians from the British interest and persuade them to remain neutral, but the government never consented to an alliance with the savages until the practice of the British made it necessary, as in the old struggle for independence, when Washington said "we must fight Indians with Indians."

³ Miller was thrown from his horse. He was supposed to be shot, and the savages rushed forward to scalp him. They were driven back, and in a few moments he was remounted.—Judge Witherell. M'Acfee says he remained on foot through the remainder of the battle, and that the most active part devolved upon Majors Van Horne and Morrison.

⁴ Among those who performed gallant service in this charge was Sergeant Nathan Champe, son of Sergeant Champe, famous in the Revolution as the one employed by Washington to seize Arnold in the city of New York. Lieutenant George Johnston, who died at Green Bay in 1850, commanded the Michigan Cavalry on this occasion, and was called the Murat of that corps.—Judge Witherell.

⁵ For his services on this occasion Tecumtha was rewarded by the British government with the commission of a brigadier general.

Rebuke of a hesitating Soldier.

MAGUAGA Battle-ground.

The Wounded saved from Capture.

have been paralyzed for the moment. He stood still. The impetuous Snelling perceived it, and, rushing up to him, peremptorily ordered him to dismount, leaped upon the horse himself, and, at the head of his troops, bareheaded (his hat having been shot away in the battle), his red hair streaming in the wind, he dashed after the fugitives, and pursued them more than two miles, when the danger of an ambuscade, the necessary care of the wounded, and the approach of night, induced Lieutenant Colonel Miller to order a suspension of the chase. The rout and victory were complete. According to the British account, the loss of their regulars was twenty-four, only one of whom was killed.² That of the militia and Indians were never reported. Our troops found forty of the latter dead on the field. The loss of the Americans was eighteen killed and fifty-seven wounded.³



MAGUAGA BATTLE-GROUND.¹

Miller was anxious to follow up his advantage gained, and push on to the Raisin; and at sunset he dispatched a messenger to Hull reporting his success, and asking for a supply of provisions. Hull ordered Colonel M'Arthur to take one hundred men of his regiment, and six hundred rations, and go down the river in boats for the relief of Miller. M'Arthur embarked at a little past two in the morning,⁴ in nine boats, and, under the cover of darkness and a drenching rain, he passed the *Queen Charlotte* and the *Hunter*, and reached his destination in safety. The wounded were immediately conveyed to the boats, but, in attempting to return by daylight, M'Arthur found himself intercepted by the British vessels. He hastened to the shore, left the boats, conveyed the wounded through the woods to the road, and sent them to Detroit in wagons, which, with proper forecast, he had ordered down, because he anticipated this very difficulty. Colonel Cass had come down in the mean time, and attempted to secure the boats, but before he reached the shore they were seized by the British and lost.

Miller was injured by the fall from his horse at the beginning of the battle, and was so ill that he could not proceed toward the Raisin immediately. He sent to Hull for more provisions. His messenger met Cass below the River Aux Ecorces, and

¹ This is from a pencil sketch made by an officer of the United States Army in 1816. Beyond the opening out of the Oak Woods, mentioned in the text, is seen the Detroit River, with *Grosse Isle* in the distance. The Indian village near which this battle was fought is spelled sometimes *Maguaga*, according to the orthography of the official dispatches; *Mogwaga*, according to Mellish's Military Atlas, from which our map on page 266 was copied; and *Mowwaga*, according to Judge Witherell and other local writers. I have adopted the orthography of the dispatches. The battle-ground was at or near the present village of Trenton, in Michigan.

² Hull's Letter to the Secretary of War, August 12, 1812; Major Richardson, quoted by Auchinleck, pages 63 and 64; M'Alfee, pages 78 and 79; Judge Witherell's Paper, read before the Michigan Historical Society in the Spring of 1857; Lieutenant Colonel Miller to his Wife, August 27, 1812—Autograph Letter.

³ Major Muir and Lieutenant Sutherland were the only British officers wounded. Tecumtha was also slightly wounded in the neck by a buck-shot.

acquainted him with the delay. Cass knew that time was precious, for Proctor, relieved of all apprehensions of an attack upon Malden, would doubtless send over a larger force of Europeans and savages to bar the way to the Raisin, and attack Brush there. He therefore sent this laconic dispatch to Hull: "SIR,—Colonel Miller is sick; may I relieve him?—L. Cass." Receiving no reply, he returned to Detroit, meeting on his way an express bearing to Miller positive orders for the whole detachment to return to head-quarters. Thus another favorable moment for achieving great good was lost by what seemed the timidity and instability of the commanding general. Miller was only twenty-two miles from the Raisin. Dispirited in the extreme, he and his troops left their camp at noon on the day after the battle, and made their way slowly back to Detroit.

Hull's shortcomings were freely spoken of, and the belief was inculcated among the troops that he was either traitorously inclined, or had become an imbecile. At times he would be shut up in his room¹ for hours, inaccessible to all but his son, who was his aid-de-camp; at others he appeared abstracted and confused—"sullen in deportment, and wavering in his orders."² His incompetency to meet the crisis at hand was felt by all, and his officers of every grade, after consultation, came to the conclusion that the salvation of the little army would only be found in depriving him of the command and giving it to another.³ Lieutenant Colonel Miller was invited to accept it. He declined, but expressed his willingness to unite with them in giving the command to M'Arthur, the senior officer of the volunteers, and one of the most vigilant and active soldiers in the army. It would be a bold step for subordinates to strip a commanding general of his sword and epaulets while at the head of his army, and, when they were ready to act, they naturally hesitated. Relief might speedily come from Ohio. Governor Meigs, it was suggested, might accompany it in person, and upon him the honor might properly be laid. Colonel Cass acted

^a August 12, 1812. promptly on this suggestion, and wrote^a an energetic letter to the governor, urging him to press forward with re-enforcements and supplies. He informed him that the army had been reduced to a critical situation "from causes not fit to be put on paper." He told him that the golden opportunity for success had passed by, and mildly remarked that, unfortunately, the general and the principal officers could not view the situation and prospect of affairs in the same light. "That Malden," he said, "might easily have been reduced, I have no doubt. . . . But instead of looking back, we must now look forward. . . . Our supplies must come from our state." He called for two thousand men at least, and added, "It is the unanimous wish of the army that you should accompany them."

Before this letter was shown to the other officers a change in affairs had taken place. The British were congregating in force at Sandwich, and, in view of this menace, the following postscript was added to the letter: "Since the other side of this letter was written, new circumstances have arisen. The British force is opposite, and our situation has nearly reached its crisis. Believe all the bearer will tell you. Believe it, however it may astonish you, as much as if told by one of us. Even a c**** is talked of by the *****. The bearer will supply the vacancy.⁴ On you we

¹ "In my boyhood," says Judge Witherell, "I knew him well. His appearance was venerable and dignified; his heart was the seat of kindness; he was unquestionably an honest man. The general had a most excellent family. Mrs. Hull, a portly, fine-looking woman, made it the principal business of her life to visit the sick and provide for the destitute poor."² M'Atfee, page 82.

³ Colonel Hatch says, "On a private consultation on the 12th of August with those known to be the most active of the subordinate officers and men of the volunteer regiments, it was decided to get up a Round Robin" (so called), addressed to the three colonels, requesting the arrest or displacement of the general from his command, and vesting, by common consent, the eldest colonel, M'Arthur, with all the powers incidental to chief command.

⁴ "The doubtful fate of this letter rendered it necessary to use circumspection in its details, and therefore the blanks were left. The word 'capitulation' will fill the first, and 'commanding general' the other."—Colonel Cass to the Secretary of War, Washington City, September 10, 1812.

^a A phrase (ronn ruban) originally derived from a custom of the French officers, who, on signing a remonstrance or petition to their superiors, wrote their names in a circular form, so that it might be impossible to ascertain who had headed the list.

Pecuniary Aid for Brock.

He proceeds to Fort Malden.

Conference with Indians.

depend." This was signed by Cass, Findlay, M'Arthur, Taylor, and Colonel Elijah Brush, of the Michigan militia.

General Brock joined Proctor at Amherstburg or Malden on the night of the 13th.* Relieved from civil duties on the 8th, he procured pecuniary aid[†] from an association of gentlemen, and, with two hundred volunteers, he sailed from York for Burlington Bay, at the west end of Lake Ontario. He had been called upon to repel a formidable invasion with few troops, and without a money-chest, provisions, blankets, or even shoes for the militia whom he expected to engage into the service. Those gentlemen known as "The Niagara and Queenston Association" supplied him with several thousand pounds sterling in the form of bank-notes, which were afterward redeemed with army bills. He had sent forty of the Forty-first Regiment to Long Point, on Lake Erie, to gather the militia there, and fifty more of the same regiment were sent to the Indians in the interior, to induce them to engage in the expedition. On his way across the country he held a council[‡] at the Mohawk settlement on the Grand River, and sixty warriors[§] promised to join him on the 10th.

With his few regulars and three hundred militia, Brock embarked in boats, batteaux, and canoes (supplied by the neighboring farmers) at Long Point,[¶] and, after a rough voyage of five days and nights, nearly two hundred miles in extent, he reached Amherstburg a little before midnight of the 13th. The patient endurance of his troops delighted him. He was welcomed by a *feu de joie* of musketry from Tecumtha and his band on Bois Blanc Island, before Amherstburg. Half an hour afterward that warrior was



TECUMTHA.

brought over by Colonel Elliot, the Indian agent whom we have already spoken of (who lived near Amherstburg), and Brock was introduced to the great chief of the Shawnoese.¹ It being late, the conference was short, and they parted with the understanding that a council would be called immediately.

Brock held a conference with the Indians on the morning of the 14th. About one thousand were present. The general opened the interview by informing

* Captain J. B. Glegg, Brock's aid-de-camp, has left on record the following description of Tecumtha at that interview: "Tecumseh's appearance was very prepossessing: his figure light, and finely proportioned; his age I imagined to be about five-and-thirty (he was about forty); in height, five feet nine or ten inches; his complexion light copper; countenance oval, with bright hazel eyes, bearing cheerfulness, energy, and decision. Three small silver crosses or coronets were suspended from the lower cartilage of his aquiline nose, and a large silver medallion of George the Third, which I believe his ancestor had received from Lord Dorchester when Governor General of Canada, was attached to a mixed-colored wampum string and hung round his neck. His dress consisted of a plain, neat uniform, tanned deer-skin jacket, with long trousers of the same material, the seams of both being covered with nestly-cut fringe, and he had on his feet leather moccasins, much ornamented with work made from the dyed quills of the porcupine."

† The portrait of Tecumtha above given is from a pencil sketch by Pierre le Dru, mentioned in note 1, page 160. In this I have given only the head by Le Dru. The cap was red, the band ornamented with colored porcupines' quills, and in front was a single eagle's feather, black, with a white tip. The sketch of his dress (and the medal above described), in which he appears as a brigadier general of the British army, is from a rough drawing which I saw in Montreal in the summer of 1865, made at Malden soon after the surrender of Detroit, where the Indians celebrated that event by a grand feast. It was only on gala occasions that Tecumtha was seen in full dress. The sketch did not pretend to give a true likeness of the chief, and was valuable only as a delineation of his costume. From the two we are enabled to give a pretty faithful picture of the great Shawnoese warrior and statesman as he appeared in his best mood. When in full dress he wore a cocked hat and plume, but would not give up his blue breech-cloth, red leggins fringed with buckskin, and buckskin moccasins.

Amnesty offered and accepted.

Preparations for attacking Detroit.

Its Surrender predetermined.

them that he had come to assist them in driving the Americans from Detroit and their rightful hunting-grounds north of the Ohio. His speech was highly applauded by Tecumtha, who replied in an eloquent and sagacious manner, and gave Brock a high opinion of his genius.¹ Not deeming it prudent to reveal too much of his plan of operations to the assembled savages, the latter invited Tecumtha, with a few old chiefs, to Colonel Elliott's quarters, and there he laid the whole matter before them. The chiefs listened with great attention, and assured Brock that he should have their cordial co-operation. In reply to his question whether the warriors could be restrained from drinking whisky, Tecumtha replied that, before leaving their country on the Wabash, they had promised him that they would not taste a drop of the fire-water until they had humbled the *big-knives*—the Americans—and that they might be relied on.²

Brock had issued a general order early in the morning of the 14th, in which he calmed the fears of those inhabitants who had deserted from the British army, or had taken protections from Hull, by expressing his willingness to believe that their conduct proceeded more from their anxiety to get in their harvests than from "any predilection for the principles and government of the United States." This ingenious offer of amnesty by implication was sent out upon the roads northward, and was accepted by the great body of the inhabitants, who were alarmed and exasperated by Hull's desertion of them; and when, on the same day, Brock marched from Malden to Sandwich, he passed through a country of friends.

Major Denny had already evacuated Fort Gowris,³ and, with the convalescents and troops under his command, had crossed the river to Detroit. The American camp at Sandwich and vicinity was immediately taken possession of by British troops, under Captain Dixon, of the Royal Engineers (whom we shall meet at Fort Stephenson), and a battery was planted so as to command Detroit. The American artillerists begged permission to open upon them from the fort with twenty-four pounders,³ but Hull would not grant it, and the enemy was allowed to complete his preparations for reducing the fort without molestation. The brave Captain Snelling asked permission to go over in the night and take the works, but Hull would listen to no propositions of the kind. He seemed unwilling to injure or exasperate the enemy.

That General Hull had determined to surrender Detroit, under certain contingencies, rather than risk an engagement with, or a protracted siege by the British and Indians, at least two or three days before that deed was accomplished, the careful student of the history of that affair can not doubt. All of his movements indicate this, according to the positive testimony given by M'Affee, and of Colonel Stanley Hatch's narrative, already cited. Hatch was Hull's assistant quartermaster general. Hull seemed convinced that, under all the circumstances, the post would be untenable against such a force as the enemy might bring to bear upon it, unless his communication with Ohio might be kept up. Dearborn had failed to make any diversions in his favor on the Niagara or at Kingston, as he had been directed to do.⁴ His communication with Ohio (his only source of supply), lying beyond a trackless wilder-

¹ Brock wrote of Tecumtha as follows: "A more sagacious or a more gallant warrior does not, I believe, exist. He was the admiration of every one who conversed with him. From a life of dissipation he has not only become, in every respect, abstemious, but he has likewise prevailed on all his native, and many of the other tribes, to follow his example."

² Tupper's Life of Brock, page 290.
³ The execution of heavy guns at long distances at that time was feeble when compared to that of the rifled cannon and conical balls used at the present day. In the year 1812, the late Ichabod Price, of New York (who died in that city on the 1st of March, 1862, at the age of eighty-one years), suggested to the War Department both rifled cannon and conical balls. He was then a sergeant of an artillery corps of the State of New York, who volunteered for the defense of the state. The department would not listen to Price's proposition; but his genius was so well attested in the presence of President Madison that he commissioned him a lieutenant in the regular army of the United States.

⁴ Letter of the Secretary of War to General Dearborn, August 1, 1812. Of the position of affairs on the Niagara frontier at this time much will be said hereafter. Suffice it to say now that General Dearborn agreed to a conditional armistice with Sir George Prevost, an arrangement which the government of the United States subsequently repudiated.

Hull deceived by false Reports and Appearances.

Escort sent for Brush.

Its Fate.

ness two hundred miles away, was cut off. His provisions, he thought, were becoming too scarce to warrant the risk of a protracted siege, and an intercepted letter from Proctor to Roberts at Mackinack threatened a descent of five thousand Indians from that region. Hemmed in on every side, and his force wasting with disease, disappointment, and death, his kindness of heart, and the growing caution incident to old age, made him timid and fearful. He did not know that the letter from Proctor at Malden had been sent for the purpose of interception to alarm him.¹ He did not know that a large portion of Brock's troops, reported to him as regulars, were only the militia of Long Point and vicinity, dressed in scarlet uniforms to deceive him.² He was too honest (whatever may be said of his military sagacity) to suspect deceptions of this kind, and he sincerely believed that his little army would be exterminated by the savages should he exasperate them by shedding their blood. "A man of another mould, full of resolution and resource," says Ingersoll, "might have triumphed over the time-serving negligence of his own government, and the bold resistance of an enemy who could not fail to perceive that he had a feeble and dismayed antagonist to deal with."³

On the 14th General Hull sent a message to Captain Brush informing him that a sufficient detachment to escort him to head-quarters could not then be spared, and directing him to remain where he was until farther orders, or, if he thought best, to attempt a forward movement by a circuitous and more inland route, after consulting with Colonel Anderson and Captain Jobard, the bearers of the letter.⁴ Toward the evening of the same day, he changed his mind, and concluded to send a detachment to escort Brush to Detroit. He communicated his plan to Colonels M'Arthur and Cass, who not only approved of it, but volunteered to perform the duty. They were permitted to choose three hundred and fifty men from their respective regiments. M'Arthur, as senior officer, took the command; and they left in haste in the evening without a sufficient supply of provisions for a protracted absence, or even of blankets for repose in resting, for they were assured that they would doubtless meet Brush between the Rouge and Huron, and not more than twelve miles distant. When they remonstrated because they were dispatched with a scanty supply of provisions, Hull promised to send more after them on pack-horses. But Brush's orders left it optional with him to remain or move forward. He was *not* found on the way, nor were provisions received from Hull as promised.

The detachment under M'Arthur and Cass crossed the Rouge that evening,⁵ and the next day pushed forward by a circuitous route toward the head waters of the Huron, twenty-four miles from Detroit, when they became entangled in a swamp, and could proceed no farther. Half famished and greatly fatigued by their march through the forest, they had prepared to bivouac for the night, when, just as the evening twilight was fading away, a courier arrived with a summons from Hull to return immediately to Detroit.⁵ The order was obeyed, and they

* August 14,
1812.

¹ I was informed by the venerable Robert Reynolds, of Amherstburg, who was a deputy assistant commissary general in the British army in Canada during the war, that Proctor sent a letter to Captain Roberts telling him that his force was considerable, and that he need not send down more than five thousand Indians. This letter, according to instructions, was intercepted, and placed in the hands of Hull, who had visions immediately of an overwhelming force coming down upon his rear, while a superior army should attack him in front.

² I visited the Long Point region at Norwichville in the autumn of 1860, where early settlers were yet living. There I was informed, from the lips of Adam Yeigh, of Burford, who was one of the volunteers, that all of the recruits from his neighborhood were dressed in scarlet uniform at the public expense. When they approached Sandwich he said these raw recruits were mixed with the regulars, each volunteer being placed between two regulars. By this stratagem Hull was deceived into the belief that a large British force was marching against him. Yeigh was an energetic young man, and soon won the confidence of Brock, who gave him the following directions on the day that they marched upon Sandwich from Amherstburg: If your lieutenant falls, take his place; if your captain falls, take his place; if your colonel falls, take his place. As no blood was shed on the occasion, and nobody fell, Yeigh failed of promotion. He cited this circumstance to show how nearly he came to being a British colonel.

³ *Historical Sketches of the Second War, etc.*, 1., 81.

⁴ Hull's *Memoir of the Campaign of 1812*, page 78.

⁵ Letter of Colonel Cass to the Secretary of War, September 10, 1812.

Demand for the Surrender of Detroit.

The Garrison threatened with Massacre.

The Demand refused.

approached head-quarters the next day at about ten o'clock in the morning. Meanwhile affairs at Detroit had reached a crisis.

On the morning of the 15th of August, General Hull pitched his marquee in the centre of his camp, near the fort. It was the first time since the 4th of July that it had made its appearance, and much attention and remark was elicited by it, especially because its top was ornamented with red and blue stripes, which made it conspicuous among the tents.¹ The British had been in considerable force on the opposite shore since the 13th, and had been permitted to throw up intrenchments, and to plant a battery for two eighteen-pounders and an eight-inch howitzer in a position to command the town and fort, notwithstanding the latter was armed with twenty-eight pieces of heavy ordnance, which the artillerists were anxious to use in driving the enemy from his works. When his preparations for attack were completed, General Brock, at little past meridian on the 15th, sent Lieutenant Colonel M'Donnell and Major Glegg from Sandwich, with a flag, to bear to General Hull a summons for the unconditional surrender of the post. "The force at my disposal," said Brock, "authorizes me to require of you the surrender of Detroit. It is far from my inclination to join in a war of extermination, but you must be aware that the numerous body of Indians who have attached themselves to my troops will be beyond my control the moment the contest commences."²

This covert threat of letting loose the blood-thirsty savages upon the town and garrison of Detroit deeply impressed the commanding general with contending emotions. His pride of character, and his patriotism, for which all venerated him, bade him fight; his fear of the consequences to the army and the inhabitants under his charge bade him surrender. His whole effective force then at his disposal did not exceed one thousand men,³ and the fort was thronged with trembling women, and children, and decrepit old men of the town and surrounding country, who had fled thither to escape the blow of the tomahawk and the keen blade of the scalping-knife. For full two hours he kept the flag waiting while revolving in his mind what to do. His troops were confident in their ability to successfully confront the enemy, and were eager to measure strength with him; and at length Hull mustered resolution sufficient to say to Brock, "I have no other reply to make than to inform you that I am ready to meet any force which may be at your disposal, and any consequences which may result from its execution in any way you may think proper to use it." He added, apologetically, that a certain flag of truce, sent to Malden at about the time Colonel Cass fell upon the British and Indians at the Aux Canards, proceeded contrary to his orders; and that the destruction of Gowris's house at Sandwich was also contrary to his orders.⁴

Hull's response to Brock, when made known, was welcomed by the troops with the most lively satisfaction; and when the flag touched the Canada shore, the bearers were startled by a loud huzza from the fort at Detroit and the adjacent camp. The time for trial, and, as Hull's little army believed, of victory for them, was at hand, and the most active preparations to meet the foe was seen on every side. Major Jesup rode down to Spring Wells to reconnoitre the enemy at Sandwich. He was satisfied, from the position which the *Queen Charlotte* had taken, that the British intended to land at that place under cover of her guns. Having selected a commanding point for a battery from which that vessel might possibly be driven away, he hastened back to head-quarters, and requested Hull to send down a twenty-pounder for the purpose. Hull refused. Jesup returned to Spring Wells, where he found Captain

¹ M'Afee, page 85.

² Brock to Hull, dated Sandwich, August 15, 1812.

³ Hull, in his report to the Secretary of War, August 26, 1812, said it "did not exceed eight hundred men." Colonel Cass, in a letter to the same Cabinet minister, on the 10th of September, said that the morning report of the 15th "made our effective men present fit for duty 1060." Major Jesup estimated them at 950.

⁴ When Major Denny evacuated Fort Gowris he set fire to the picket and other works used for strengthening it, when the flames accidentally seized the house and destroyed it.

Bombardment of Fort Detroit.

British and Indians cross the River.

They move against the Fort.

Snelling, with a few men and a six-pounder, occupying the place he had selected for his battery. They perceived that the greater part of the British forces were at Sandwich, and both hastened to head-quarters. Jesup now asked for one hundred and fifty men to go over and spike the enemy's guns opposite Detroit. Hull said he could not spare so many. "Give me one hundred, then," said the brave Jesup. "Only one hundred," said Snelling, imploringly. "I will think of it," was Hull's reply; and soon afterward he took refuge in the fort, for at four o'clock in the afternoon the British battery of five guns opposite, under the direction of Captain Dixon, of the Royal Engineers, opened upon the town, the fort, and the camp, with shot and shell. All the troops, except Findlay's regiment, which was stationed three hundred yards northwest of the fort, were ordered within the walls, crowding the work far beyond its capacity.¹

The British kept up their cannonade and bombardment until toward midnight.² The fire was returned with great spirit, and two of the enemy's guns were silenced and disabled.³ At evening twilight it was suggested to Hull that as the fort did not command the river, a strong battery might be placed near the margin of the stream, so as to destroy the enemy as fast as they should attempt to land. An eligible point for the purpose, in the direction of Spring Wells, was selected, but the general, whose mind seemed to have been benumbed from the moment the enemy's battery was opened, would listen to no suggestions of the kind; and when that enemy, in full force, crossed the river during the early morning of the 16th—a calm and beautiful Sabbath morning—completing the passage in the matin twilight, they were allowed to land without the least molestation from ball or bullet. Colonels Elliott and M'Kee, with Tecumtha, had crossed during the night two miles below, with six hundred Indians, and taken position in the woods to attack the Americans on flank and rear, should they attempt to dispute the debarkation of the regulars and militia, who numbered seven hundred and seventy men, with five pieces of light artillery.⁴ When all had breakfasted, the invaders moved toward the fort; the white troops in a single column, their left flank covered by the Indians, who kept in the woods a mile and a half distant. Their right rested on the Detroit River, and was covered by the guns of the *Queen Charlotte*.

Lieutenant Colonel Miller, with the 4th Regiment, was now in the fort; and the Ohio Volunteers and part of the Michigan militia were posted behind the town palisades, so as to annoy the enemy's whole left flank. The remainder of the militia were stationed in the upper part of the town, to resist the incursions of the Indians,

¹ *Historical Sketches of the late War*, by John Lewis Thomson, page 30.

² During the evening a large shell was thrown from a battery opposite where Woodward Avenue now is. It passed over the present Jefferson Avenue, then the principal street of the town, and fell upon the roof of Augustus Langdon, which stood on what is now the southerly corner of Woodward Avenue and Congress Street. Coming down through the house, which was two stories in height, it fell upon a table around which the family were seated, and went through to the cellar. The family had just time to flee from the house, when the shell exploded, almost wrecking the building.—*Judge Witherell*.

³ The battery that did the greatest execution was placed, according to Judge Witherell, in the rear of the spot where the United States Court-house now stands. It was commanded by Lieutenant Daliba, of Dyson's Artillery Corps. He was a brave soldier. During the cannonade he stood in the ramparts, and when he saw the smoke or flash of the enemy's cannon, he would call out to his men "Down!" when they would drop behind the parapet until the shot had struck. A large pear-tree stood near the battery and was somewhat in the way. Colonel Mack, of the Michigan militia, ordered a young volunteer named John Miller to cut it down. John obeyed with alacrity. Seizing an axe, he hewed away diligently until he had about half severed the trunk, when a cannon ball from the enemy cut away nearly all of the remainder. The young man coolly turned toward the enemy and called out, "Send us another, John Bull; you can cut faster than I can."

It is related that a negro was seen, on the morning of the 16th, when the shot were striking thick and fast around the fort, behind a chimney on the roof of one of the barracks in the fort. He watched the smoke of the cannon across the river, and would then dodge behind the chimney. At length an eight-pound ball struck the chimney just over his head, demolished it, and covered the skulker with brick and mortar. Clearing himself from the rubbish, and scratching his woolly head, he exclaimed, "What de debble you doin up dar!" He fled to a safer place.

⁴ According to Brock's official account, the number of troops which he marched against the fort was a little over three hundred, as follows: 30 artillery; 250 of the 41st Regiment; 50 Royal Newfoundland Regiment; 400 militia, and about 600 Indians. His artillery consisted of three 6-pounders and two 3-pounders.—*Tupper's Life of Brock*, page 250. The number of Indians was probably greater than here stated, as 1000 warriors attended a council a few days before.

whose chief motive in joining the British standard was plunder, and the free and safe indulgence of their ferocity. Two twenty-four-pounders had been placed in battery on an eminence from which they could sweep the advancing column.¹ The American force was considerably less than that of the British, white and red combined, but their position was much superior. They had four hundred rounds of twenty-four-pound shot fixed; about one hundred thousand cartridges prepared; ample provisions for fifteen days and more approaching, and no lack of arms and loose ammunition.²

The invaders advanced cautiously, and had reached a point within five hundred yards of the American line, near the site of Governor Woodbridge's residence, at the crossing of the Central Railroad, when General Hull sent a peremptory order for his soldiers to retreat into the fort. The troops were astounded and bewildered. Confident in their ability to repulse and probably capture the invaders, they were eager for the order to begin the contest. "Not a sign of discontent broke upon the ear; not a look of cowardice met the eye. Every man expected a proud day for his country, and each was anxious that his individual exertion should contribute to the general result."³ Like true soldiers they obeyed, but not without loud and fearless expression of their indignation, and their contempt for the commanding general. Many of them, high-spirited young men from the best families in Ohio, showed symptoms of positive mutiny at first; and the twenty-four-pounder would have poured a destructive storm of grape-shot upon the advancing column, notwithstanding the humiliating order, had not Lieutenant Anderson, who commanded the guns, acting under the general's direction, forcibly restrained them. He was anxious to reserve his fire until the approaching column should be in the best position to receive the most destructive volleys. The guns were heavily charged with grape-shot, and would have sent terrible messengers to many of the "red-coats," as the scarlet-dressed British were generally termed. The eager artillerymen were about to apply the match too soon, when Anderson sprang forward, with drawn sword, and threatened to cut down the first man who should disobey his orders.

The infuriated soldiers entered the already over-crowded fort, while the enemy, after reconnoitring the fort and discovering the weakness of the fortification on the land side, prepared to storm it. But, before they could form for the purpose, the occasion had ceased. The fire from the battery on the Canada shore, kept up slowly since dawn, had become very vigorous. Up to this time no casualty had resulted from it within the fort. Now a ball came bounding over the fort wall, dealing death in its passage. 'A group standing at the door of one of the officers' quarters were almost annihilated. Captain Hancks, of Mackinaw, Lieutenant Sibley, and Dr. Reynolds, who accompanied Hull's invalids from the Maumee to Detroit, were instantly killed, and Dr. Blood was severely wounded. Two other soldiers were killed almost immediately afterward by another ball; and still two others on the outside of the fort were slain.

Many women and children were in the house where the officers were slain. Among them were General Hull's daughter and her children. Some of the women were petrified with affright, and were carried senseless to the bomb-proof vault for safety. Several of them were bespattered with blood; and the general, who saw the effects of the ball from a distance, knew not whether his own child was slain or not. These casualties, the precursors of future calamities, almost unmanned him, and he paced the parade backward and forward in the most anxious frame of mind. At that moment an officer from the Michigan militia in the town, who had observed the steady approach of the enemy without a gun being fired from the fort or the twenty-four

¹ This was in Jefferson Avenue, in front of the Cass farm, before the hill was cut down. The elevation was then about the same as it is now at the intersection of Woodward Avenue. These guns were placed there by Lieutenant Anderson, of the United States Engineers. Although the landing-place of the enemy at Spring Wells was about three miles off, Anderson opened upon the foe while they were crossing, but without doing much damage.

² Colonel Cass to the Secretary of War, September 10th, 1812.

³ The same to the same.

Surrender of Detroit.

Indignation of the Troops.

Hull assumes all Responsibility.

-pounders outside, came in haste to inquire whether it was the intention of the general to allow that body alone to defend the place; also to inform him that the British and Indians were at the tan-yard, close upon the town. The general made no reply, but, stepping into a room in the barracks, he prepared a note hastily, handed it to his son, Captain Hull, and directed him to display a white flag immediately from the walls of the fort,¹ where it might be seen by Captain Dixon over the river.² This was done. The firing soon ceased, and in a few minutes Captain Hull was "unexpectedly seen emerging from the fort"³ with a flag of truce. At the same time, a boat, with a flag, was dispatched to the commander of the battery on the Canada shore.

Captain Hull bore proposals for an immediate capitulation. He soon returned with Lieutenant Colonel M'Donell and Major Glegg, who were authorized by Brock to negotiate the terms of surrender. The white flag upon the walls had awakened painful suspicions; the arrival of these officers announced the virtual betrayal of the garrison. Hull had asked no man's advice, nor suggested to any the possibility of a surrender.⁴ His act was quick, and as unexpected as a thunderbolt from a clear sky. Not a shot had been fired upon the enemy—not an effort to stay his course had been made. For a moment nothing but reverence for gray hairs, and veneration for a soldier of the Revolution, saved the commander from personal violence at the hands of his incensed people. Many of the soldiers, it is said, shed tears of mortification and disappointment.

The terms of capitulation were soon agreed to,⁵ and the American commander issued a general order saying that it was "with pain and anxiety" that he announced to the Northwest Army that he had been compelled, from a sense of duty, to agree to articles of capitulation which were appended to the averment. He then sent a

¹ "Leonard Harrison, of Dearborn, told me that soon after a white flag was hoisted at the fort he happened to be standing near Colonel Findlay, of the Ohio Volunteers, and Lieutenant Colonel Miller, of the Fourth Infantry. Colonel Findlay said, 'Colonel Miller, the general talks of a surrender; let us put him under arrest.' Miller replied, 'Colonel Findlay, I am a soldier; I shall obey my superior officer,' intimating that if Findlay would assume the command of the army he would obey him. Had the stern old M'Arthur, or the younger and more impetuous Cass been present, either of them would have taken the responsibility."—*Judge Withereff.*

Miller's true soldierly qualities of obedience and acquiescence is shown in the careful manner in which, to his wife, he wrote concerning the surrender, from his prison at Fort George, on the 27th day of August, 1812. "Only one week after I, with six hundred men, completely conquered almost the whole force which they then had, they came out and took Fort Detroit, and made nearly two thousand of us prisoners, on Sunday, the 16th instant. There being no operations going on below us [meaning Niagara frontier] gave them an opportunity to re-enforce. The number brought against us is yet unknown; but my humble opinion is we could have defeated them, without a doubt, had we attempted it. But General Hull thought differently, and surrendered without making any terms of capitulation. Colonel Brush and I made the best terms we could after the surrender, which were but poor."—*Manuscript Letter.*

² The white "flag" was a table-cloth. It was waved from one of the bastions by Captain Burton, of the Fourth Regiment, by order of General Hull.

³ Tupper's Life of Brock, page 232.

⁴ In his dispatch to the Secretary of War, dated at Fort George, August 26, 1812, General Hull generously said: "I well know the high responsibility of the measure, and take the whole of it on myself. It was dictated by a sense of duty, and a full conviction of its expediency. The bands of savages which had then joined the British force were numerous beyond any former example. Their numbers have since increased; and the history of the barbarians of the north of Europe does not furnish examples of more greedy violence than these savages have exhibited. A large portion of the brave and gallant officers and men I commanded would cheerfully have contested until the last cartridge had been expended and the bayonets worn to the sockets. I could not consent to the useless sacrifice of such brave men when I knew it was impossible for me to sustain my situation. It was impossible, in the nature of things, that an army could have been furnished with the necessary supplies of provisions, military stores, clothing, and comforts for the sick, on pack-horses, through a wilderness of two hundred miles, filled with hostile savages. It was impossible, sir, that this little army, worn down by fatigue, by sickness, by wounds, and deaths, could have supported itself not only against the collected force of all the Northern nations of Indians, but against the united strength of Upper Canada, whose population consists of more than twenty times the number contained in the Territory of Michigan, aided by the principal part of the regular forces of the province, and the wealth and influence of the Northwest and other trading establishments among the Indians, which have in their employment more than two thousand white men."

After alluding to Colonels M'Arthur, Findlay, Cass, and Miller in commendatory terms, he said: "If aught has taken place during the campaign which is honorable to the army, these officers are entitled to a large share of it. If the last act should be disapproved, no part of the censure belongs to them." He closed his dispatch by soliciting an early investigation of his conduct, and requesting the government not to be unmindful of his associates in captivity, and of the families of the brave men who had fallen in the contest.

⁵ It was stipulated that the fort at Detroit, with all its dependencies, and the troops there, excepting such of the militia of Michigan Territory who had not joined the army, should be surrendered, with all public property of every kind. The command of Captain Brush at the River Raisin, and M'Arthur's then away from Detroit, were, at the request of Hull, included in the capitulation, while the Ohio militia, who had not yet joined the army, were paroled on condition that they should return home, and not serve during the war.

Position of M'Arthur and Cass.	Escape of Captain Brush and his Command.	Result of the Surrender.
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messenger with a note to Colonel M'Arthur (who, with Colonel Cass and the detachment sent toward the Raisin, were, as we have seen, hastening back to Detroit) informing him of the surrender, and that he and his command were included in the capitulation as prisoners of war.¹ They had arrived in sight of Detroit at about the time when the American white flags had silenced the British cannon,² thoroughly exhausted by rapid and fatiguing marches and lack of food, for they had tasted nothing for more than forty-eight hours, excepting some green pumpkins and potatoes found in the fields. They had observed the enemy, and the ease with which, in connection with the army at Detroit, they might capture him by falling upon his rear. But all was silent. That fact was a sealed enigma. There were two armies within half cannon-shot of each other, and yet, to the ears of these listeners, they-both seemed as silent as the grave. Had there been firing, or any signs of resistance, M'Arthur would have fallen upon the rear of the invaders even without orders. But all was mystery until the arrival of Hull's courier with the unwelcome tidings.

M'Arthur attempted to communicate with Hull, but failed. He sent a message to Captain Brush with Hull's note, saying, "By the within letter you will see that the army under General Hull has been surrendered. By the articles you will see that provision has been made for the detachment under your command; you will therefore, I hope, return to Ohio with us."³

At sunset Colonel Elliott came to M'Arthur from the fort with the articles of capitulation, and with authority from Brock to receive tokens of the submission of the detachment. The dark, lustrous eyes of M'Arthur flashed with indignation at the demand. As they filled with tears of deepest mortification, he thrust his sword into the ground, and broke it in pieces, and then tore his epaulettes from his shoulders. This paroxysm of feeling was soon succeeded by dignified calmness; and in the dim twilight M'Arthur and Cass, with their whole detachment, were marched into the fort, where the arms of the soldiers were stacked. Before the curtain of night had been fairly drawn over the humiliating scene the act of capitulation and surrender was completed—an act which produced universal mortification and intense indignation throughout the country.⁴ In less than two months after war was declared, and the favorite scheme of an invasion of the enemy's provinces had been set in motion, a strong military post, a spirited army, and a magnificent territory, with all its inhabitants,⁵ had been given up without an effort to save them, or a moment's waiting for the arrival of powerful re-enforcements and ample supplies, then on their way from the southward. About two thousand men in all⁶ became prisoners of war.

¹ "Such part of the Ohio militia," he said, "as have not joined the army [meaning Brush's detachment at the Raisin] will be permitted to return to their homes, on condition that they will not serve during the war. Their arms, however, will be delivered up, if belonging to the public."

² They had been discovered by Brock's scouts, and their presence in the rear caused the British general to move to the attack sooner than he intended to. "Hearing," says Brock, in his official dispatch, "that his [M'Arthur's] cavalry had been seen that morning three miles in our rear, I decided on an immediate attack."

³ On the evening of the 17th, Captain Elliott, son of Colonel Elliott, with a Frenchman and Wyandot Indian, approached Brush's encampment at the Raisin bearing a flag of truce, a copy of the capitulation at Detroit, and authority to receive the surrender of Brush and his command. Lieutenant Couthier, of the Raisin, the officer of the day, blindfolded Elliott, and led him to the block-house. Brush was not satisfied that his visit was by authority, or that the document was genuine, so he ordered Elliott's arrest and confinement. M'Arthur's letter testified to the genuineness of Elliott's document and authority, when Brush hastily packed up the public property at the Raisin, and, with his whole command and his cattle, started for Ohio, directing Elliott to be released the next day. The angry Elliott sent for Tecumtha to pursue Brush. It was too late.—Statement of Peter Navarre (who was an eye-witness) to the Author in September, 1860; Letter to the Author from the Hon. Elisha Whittlesey, of Ohio.

⁴ Among other demonstrations in different parts of the country, the newspapers of the day noticed that at Greensborough, North Carolina, General Hull was hung and burnt in effigy, "in accordance with the prescription of a public meeting."

⁵ The whole white population of Michigan at that time was between four and five thousand. The greater part were Canadians. Their settlements were chiefly on the Maumee, Raisin, Ecorse, Rouge, Detroit River, Lake St. Clair, and the island of Mackinack. They paid very little attention to agriculture, being engaged chiefly in hunting, fishing, and trading with the Indians. They did not produce sufficient from the earth to give themselves sustenance; and their beef, pork, corn, and flour were brought from a distance.

⁶ Estimates of the number actually included in the capitulation vary from 1800 to 2500. I have examined all, and think the number was not far from 2000.

Effect of the Surrender.	Incidents.	Disposal of the Prisoners.
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These consisted of two squadrons of cavalry, one company of artillery, the 4th United States Regiment, and detachments from the 1st and 3d; three regiments of Ohio Volunteers, and one regiment of the Michigan militia. The British obtained by this capitulation (for it was not a victory) a large amount of arms, ammunition, and stores, all of which, especially arms, were greatly needed in Upper Canada.¹ It was a godsend to the provinces in every aspect. The surrender caused months of delay before another invading army could be brought into the field, and thus gave the British time for preparation; and it secured the friendship and alliance of savage tribes, who, as usual, were ready to join whatever side seemed to be the stronger party, and safest as an ally.

The formal surrender of the fort and garrison took place at meridian, on the 16th.² At the same hour the next day (Monday, the 17th) General Brock and his staff, with other officers, appeared in full uniform, and in their presence a salute was fired from the esplanade in front of the fort, with one of the brass cannon included in the capitulation. It bore the following inscription: "TAKEN AT SARATOGA ON THE 17TH OF OCTOBER, 1777." When the British officers saw this, they were so delighted that some of them greeted the old British captive, now released, with kisses; and one of them remarked to Colonel Hatch, from whose manuscript narrative I have gained the facts, "we must have an addition put to that inscription, namely, 'RETAKEN AT DETROIT AUGUST 16, 1812.'"³ The salute was answered by Dixon's battery on the Canada shore, and by the *Queen Charlotte*, which came sweeping up the middle of the river from the waters between Spring Wells and Sandwich, and took position directly in front of the town.⁴

It was on this occasion that General Brock paid marked respect to Tecumtha. He took off his own rich crimson silk sash and publicly placed it round the waist of the chief. Tecumtha received it with dignity and great satisfaction; but the following day he appeared without the badge of honor. Brock apprehended that some offense had been given to the chief, but, on inquiry, he found that Tecumtha, with great modesty and with the most delicate exhibition of praise, had placed the sash upon the body of Round Head, a celebrated and remarkable Wyandot warrior, saying, "I do not want to wear such a mark of distinction, when an older and abler warrior than myself is present."

The volunteers and militia who were made prisoners, and some minor regular officers, were permitted to return home on parole. Those of Michigan were discharged at Detroit, and the Ohio Volunteers were borne in vessels to Cleveland, from which point they made their way home. General Hull and the regulars were held as prisoners of war, and sent to Montreal. They were taken to Malden, and there embarked on board the *Queen Charlotte*, *Hunter*, and other public vessels, and conveyed to Fort Erie, opposite Buffalo. From that point they were marched to Fort George, where they were again placed in vessels and sent to Kingston. From that post they were escorted by land to Montreal.

General Hull and his fellow-prisoners reached Fort George, on the Niagara, on the 26th of August, when the commander immediately wrote a lengthy report of the surrender and attendant events, but was not permitted to forward it, until his arrival at Montreal.⁵ Information of the disaster had already reached General Van

¹ The spoils were 2500 stand of arms; twenty-five iron, and eight brass pieces of ordnance; forty barrels of gunpowder, a stand of colors, and a great quantity and variety of military stores. The armed brig *Adams* also became a prize. She was immediately put in complete order, and her name changed to *Detroit*, under which title we shall meet her hereafter, in the British service.

² The garrison flag surrendered on that occasion was taken to Montreal by Captain Glegg, Brock's aid-de-camp.

³ This cannon was retaken from the British at the battle of the Thames, in October, 1813. I saw it in the state arsenal at Frankfort, Kentucky, when I visited that city in April, 1861. It is a small three-pounder, three feet four inches in length. It has the British mark of the broad arrow upon it, and the date of "1776."

⁴ After the surrender, General Hull returned to his own house, where he had resided as Governor of Michigan. It was then occupied by Mr. Hickman, his son-in-law. A British guard attended him.—*Wallace*.

⁵ It was Hull's intention to forward his dispatch from Fort George by Major Witherell, of the Michigan Volunteers;



D. Noon

Rensselaer, at Lewiston, and he promptly sent the news by express to General Dearborn, the senior commander in the army, whose head-quarters at that time were at Greenbush, opposite Albany, on the Hudson River. For this important errand Van Rensselaer employed Captain Darby Noon, the leader of a fine company of Albany Volunteers, who were then stationed at or near Fort Niagara. Captain Noon was a man of great energy, and he performed the service in an incredibly short space of time. He rode express all the way, changing his horses by impressing them when necessary, assuring the owners of remuneration from the government. He neither slept on the way, nor tasted food, excepting what he ate on horseback. When he arrived at Greenbush, he was so much exhausted that he had to be lifted from his horse, and he was compelled to remain in his bed for several days.¹

On the day of the surrender,^a General Brock issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of Michigan, in which they were assured of protection in life, property, and religious observances, and were called upon to give up all public property in the Territory. Having made arrangements for the civil and military occupation of the Territory, and leaving Colonel Proctor in command of a garrison of two hundred and fifty men at Detroit, he hastened back to York, where he arrived on the 27th,^b and was received with the greatest enthusiasm by the people, who regarded him as the savior of the province. In the short space of nineteen days he had met the Legislature, arranged the public affairs of the province, traveled about three hundred miles to confront an invader, and returned the possessor of that invader's whole army and a vast territory, about equal in area to Upper Canada. Henceforth, during his brief career, he was the idol of the Canadians, and the Prince Regent, representing the majesty of Great Britain, created him a baronet.^{c2}

While General Hull was on his way toward Montreal, Colonel Cass, at the request of Colonel M'Arthur, was hastening to Washington City, "for the purpose," as he said, "of communicating to the government such particulars respecting the expedition lately commanded by Brigadier General Hull, and its disastrous results, as might enable them correctly to appreciate the conduct of the officers and men, and to develop the causes which produced so foul a stain upon the national character."² This com-

but Brock having gone directly to York, the commander of the post would not take the responsibility of allowing his prisoner to correspond with his government. From Montreal he sent his dispatch, dated August 26th, by Lieutenant Anderson, of the Artillery, to the Secretary of War.—Hull's *Letter to the Secretary of War*, Montreal, September 8, 1813.

¹ Darby Noon was a native of Ireland, and a man of great personal worth. He raised and equipped a volunteer company at Albany, almost entirely at his own expense, and in 1813 was commissioned a major in the 41st Regiment of New York State Militia. His wife was Caroline Broome, daughter of Lieutenant Governor Broome, of New York. Major Noon survived the war only eight years, dying in September, 1823. From his widow, who died in 1841, I received the above portrait of the gallant officer.

² General Brock's dispatches and the colors of the United States 4th Regiment reached London on the 6th of October, the anniversary of his birth, where, in honor of his achievement at Detroit, the Park and Town guns were fired. Only a week later, and the gallant general was no more.

³ Ex-Governor Samuel Huntington was at Cleveland, a volunteer, when Colonel Cass arrived there on his way to the

Colonel Case's Statement about the Surrender of Detroit.

Public Indignation.

A mischievous Armistice.

munication was made in writing on the 10th of September, in which was given an outline history of events near Detroit, from the landing in Canada until the surrender. It exhibited much warmth of feeling, and its circulation in print prejudiced the public mind against Hull, and intensified the indignant reproaches which the first intelligence of the surrender had caused to be hurled at the head of the unfortunate general. It also diverted public attention for the moment from the palpable inefficiency of the War Department,¹ the effects of the armistice, and the injurious delays of General Dearborn,² to which much of the disaster should properly be charged. Colonel Cass's *opinions*, as well as *facts*, were eagerly accepted by the excited public as veritable history, and few had words of palliation to offer for the captive veteran when they read the following glowing, dogmatic words at the conclusion of the young colonel's letter: "To see the whole of our men, flushed with the hope of victory, eagerly awaiting the approaching contest—to see them afterward dispirited, hopeless, and desponding, at least five hundred shedding tears, because they were not allowed to meet their country's foe and to fight their country's battles, excited sensations which no American has ever before had cause to feel, and which, I trust in God, will never again be felt while our men remain to defend the standard of the Union. . . . Confident I am that, had the courage and conduct of the general been equal to the spirit and zeal of the troops, the event would have been as brilliant and successful as it is disastrous and dishonorable."³

General Hull and his fellow-captives arrived at Montreal on Sunday afternoon, the 6th of September, and attracted much attention. The prisoners numbered, rank and file, three hundred and fifty. They were escorted from Kingston by one hundred and thirty men, under Major Heathcote, of the Newfoundland Regiment. At Cornwall, opposite St. Regis, they were met by Captain Gray, of the Quarter-master's department, who took formal charge of the prisoners. They had other escorts of troops until

seat of government. Huntington accompanied him to Washington, at the request of General Wadsworth. When within two days ride of the national capital, Cass was prostrated by sickness. Huntington pressed forward, and was the first to give positive information of Hull's surrender, to the Secretary of War. This made Dr. Eustis impatient for the arrival of Cass. "The Secretary at War," wrote Huntington, "was very desirous to see him, and requested me to go after him in a carriage. I met him the first day, about thirty-five miles from this. He had recovered sufficiently to pursue the journey."—Autograph Letter of Governor Huntington to General Meigs, Washington City, September 12, 1812.

¹ Secretary Eustis seems to have been so conscious of his fatal mistake in not sending his letter to Hull, announcing the declaration of war, by which his vessel and its precious contents, captured at Malden at the beginning of July, might have been saved, that, as late as the 18th of December, four months after the surrender of Detroit, he gave evidence of his belief that public opinion would lay the responsibility of the disaster upon him. In a letter to General Dearborn of that date, he said: "Fortunately for you, the want of success which has attended the campaign will be attributed to the Secretary of War. So long as you enjoy the confidence of the government, the clamor of the discontented should not be regarded." Governor Huntington, in his letter to Governor Meigs, mentioned in the preceding note, said: "The whole blame is laid at the door of the present administration, and we are told that if De Witt Clinton had been our president, the campaign would have been short and glorious—it would have been short, no doubt, and terminated by an inglorious peace."—Autograph Letter, Washington City, September 12, 1812.

² General Dearborn, early in August, signed an armistice, entered into between himself and Sir George Prevost, for a cessation of hostilities until the will of the United States government should be known, there then being, it was supposed, propositions for peace on the part of Great Britain before the Cabinet at Washington. On this account Sir George had issued positive instructions for a cessation of hostilities. Dearborn signed the armistice on the 9th of August. Had he sent a notice of it by express to Hull, as that officer did of his surrender to Dearborn, Detroit might have been saved, for it would have reached Hull before the 16th of August, and the imperative commands of Prevost would have prevented Brock's acting on the offensive. Meanwhile Hull's supplies and re-enforcements would have arrived from Ohio, and made him strong enough to invade Canada again at the conclusion of the armistice. But instead of sending a notice of the armistice to Hull by express, Dearborn, like the Secretary of War with his more important dispatches, intrusted his letter to the irregular mails, and it was actually *nine days* going from Albany to Buffalo! The first intimation of an armistice which Hull received was while on his way toward the Niagara as a prisoner of war.

³ Lewis Cass was born at Exeter, New Hampshire, on the 9th of October, 1782. At the age of seventeen years he crossed the Alleghany Mountains on foot, and settled in Marietta, Ohio, where he studied law, and was active in proceedings against Aaron Burr. Jefferson appointed him Marshal of Ohio in 1807. He took an active part in the war of 1812 in the West, and, late in 1813, President Madison appointed him Governor of the Territory of Michigan. He held that position till 1831, when he was called to the Cabinet of President Jackson as Secretary of War. In 1836 he went to France as American Minister at the Court of St. Cloud. He returned home in 1842. He was elected United States Senator by the Legislature of Michigan in 1845, and he held that position until called to Buchanan's Cabinet in 1857. He resigned that position at near the close of 1860, because he could not remain associated with the President's confidential advisers, who, he was satisfied, were plotting treason against his country. He retired from public life, and died at Detroit on the 17th of June, 1866, at the age of eighty-four years.



SewPaps

they reached the vicinity of Montreal, when they were left in charge of the militia until preparations could be made for the formal entrance into the city. This was not accomplished until quite late in the evening, when they were marched in in the presence of a great concourse of rejoicing people, who had illuminated the streets through which the triumphal procession passed. General Hull was received with great politeness by Sir George Prevost, the Governor General and Commander-in-chief, and invited to make his residence at his mansion during his stay in Montreal. On Thursday following,^a * September 16,
1812. General Hull and eight of his officers set out for the United States on their parole.

General Hull retired to his farm at Newton, Massachusetts, from which he was summoned to appear before a court-martial at Philadelphia on the 25th of February, 1813, of which General Wade

Hampton was appointed president. The members appointed consisted of three brigadier generals, nine colonels, and three lieutenant colonels; and the eminent A. J. Dallas, of Pennsylvania, was judge advocate. This court was dissolved by the President without giving a reason for the act; and, almost a year afterward, Hull was summoned to appear before another, to convene at Albany, New York. It met on the 3d of January, 1814. General Dearborn was the president, and he was assisted by three brigadier generals, four colonels, and five lieutenant colonels.¹ Again Mr. Dallas was judge advocate. As Hull blamed Dearborn for his negligence, and as his own acquittal would condemn that officer, he might very properly have objected to the appointed president of the court; but he was anxious for a trial, and he waived all feeling. He was charged with treason, cowardice, and neglect of duty and unofficer-like conduct from the 9th of April to the 16th of August, 1812.² General Hull objected to the jurisdiction of the court on the first charge—*treason*—as a matter of civil cognizance only. The court concurred in this view, and he was tried only on

^a March 26.

the other charges. After a session of eighty days, the court decided³ that he was not guilty of treason,³ but found him guilty of the second and third charges, namely, cowardice, and neglect of duty and unofficer-like conduct. He was sentenced to be shot dead, and his name to be struck from the rolls of the army.⁴

¹ Generals Bloomfield, Parker, and Covington; Colonels Fenwick, Carberry, Little, and Irvine; and Lieutenant Colonels Dennis, Connor, Davis, Scott, and Stewart.

² The specifications under the charge of *Treason* were, 1st. "Hiring the vessel to transport his sick men and baggage from the Miami to Detroit." 2d. "Not attacking the enemy's fort at Malden, and retreating to Detroit." 3d. "Not strengthening the fort of Detroit, and surrendering."

The specifications under the charge of *Cowardice* were, 1st. "Not attacking Malden, and retreating to Detroit." 2d. "Appearances of alarm during the cannonade." 3d. "Appearances of alarm on the day of the surrender." 4th. "Surrendering of Detroit." The specifications under the third charge were similar to those under the second.

³ It is perhaps not technically true that the court decided that he was not guilty of treason. They determined that they could not try him on that charge, but said "the evidence on the subject having been publicly given, the court deem it proper, in justice to the accused, to say that they do not believe, from any thing that has appeared before them, that General William Hull has committed treason against the United States."

⁴ The President approved the sentence on the 26th of April, and on the same day the following general order was issued:

Hull pardoned by the President.

A Consideration of Hull's public Character.

His own Defense.

The court strongly recommended him to the mercy of the President, on account of his age and his revolutionary services. Mr. Madison pardoned him, and he retired to his farm, to live in comparative obscurity, under a cloud of almost universal reproach, for about twelve years. He wrote a vindication of his conduct in the campaign of 1812, in a series of letters, published in the *American Statesman* newspaper in Boston,¹ and on his dying bed he declared his belief that he was right, as a soldier and a man, in surrendering Detroit. He had the consolation of feeling, before his death, a growing sympathy for him in the partially disabused public mind, which prophesied of future vindication and just appreciation.²

I have given, in this and the preceding chapter, as faithful a general history of Hull's campaign as a careful and dispassionate study of documentary and other contemporaneous narratives, written and verbal, have enabled me to do. I have recorded what I believe to be undoubted facts. As they stand in the narrative, unattended by analysis, comparison, or argument, they present General Hull in his conduct of the campaign in some instances in an unfavorable light: not as a traitor—not as an actual coward, but as bearing to the superficial reader the semblance of both. But, after weighing and estimating the value of these facts in connection with current circumstances to which they bore positive relationship—after observing the composition of the court-martial, the peculiar relations of the court and the witnesses to the accused, and the testimony in detail, the writer is constrained to believe that General Hull was actuated throughout the campaign by the purest impulses of patriotism and humanity. That he was *weak*, we may allow; that he was *wicked*, we can not believe. His weakness, evinced at times by vacillation, was not the child of cowardice, but of excessive prudence and caution, born of the noblest sentiments of the human heart. These, in his case, were doubtless enhanced by the disabilities of waning physical vigor.³ He was thus far down the western slope of life, when men *counsel* more than *act*. The perils and fatigues of the journey from Dayton to Detroit had affected him, and the anxieties arising from his responsibilities bore heavily upon his judgment. These difficulties his young, vigorous, ambitious, daring officers could not understand; and while they were cursing him, they should have been kindly cherishing him. When he could perceive no alternative but surrender or destruction, he bravely determined to choose the most courageous and humane course; so he faced the taunts of his soldiers, and the expected scorn of his countrymen, rather than fill the beautiful land of the Ohio, and the settlements of Michigan, with mourning.

Hull had warned the government of the folly of attempting the conquest of Can-

"Washington City, April 25, 1814.

"The rolls of the army are to be no longer disgraced by having upon them the name of Brigadier General William Hull. The general court-martial, of which General Dearborn is president, is hereby dissolved.

"By order,

"J. B. WALBACH, Adjutant General."

¹ These were published in a volume of three hundred and ten pages, entitled, *Memoirs of the Campaign of the Northwestern Army of the United States. A. D. 1812*. General Hull's long silence was owing to the fact that his papers were burnt in the vessel in which they were sent from Detroit to Buffalo, after the surrender, and that during two administrations he vainly applied to the War Department at Washington for copies of papers necessary for his defense. It was not until John C. Calhoun became Secretary of War that any notice was taken of his application. That officer promptly caused copies to be made of all papers that General Hull desired, when he commenced his vindication in his memoir just mentioned.

² He was always calm, tranquil, and happy. He knew that his country would one day also understand him, and that history would at last do him justice. He was asked, on his death-bed, whether he still believed he had done right in the surrender of Detroit, and he replied that he did, and was thankful that he had been enabled to do it.—*History of the Campaign of 1812*, by his grandson, James Freeman Clark, page 365. Mr. Wallace, one of his aids, says that when he parted with the general at Detroit to return home, the white-haired veteran said, "God bless you, my young friend! You return to your family without a stain; as for myself, I have sacrificed a reputation dearer to me than life, but I have saved the inhabitants of Detroit, and my heart approves the act."

³ Mr. Wallace, one of Hull's aids, whose testimony we have before alluded to, says: "General Cass has since declared to me that he thought the main defect of General Hull was the 'imbecility of age,' and it was the defect of all the old veterans who took the field in the late war. A peaceful government like ours must always labor under similar disadvantages. Our superannuated officers must be called into service, or men without experience must command our armies."

ada without better preparation. But the young hot-bloods of the administration—Clay, and others—could not wait; and the President and his Cabinet, lacking all the essential knowledge for planning a campaign, had sent him on an errand of vast importance and difficulty without seeming to comprehend its vastness, or estimating the means necessary for its accomplishment. The conception of the campaign was a huge blunder, and Hull saw it; and the failure to put in vigorous motion for his support auxiliary and co-operative forces, was criminal neglect. When the result was found to be failure and humiliation, the administration perceived this, and sought a refuge. Public indignation must be appeased—the lightning of the public wrath must be averted. General Hull was made the chosen victim for the peace-offering—the sin-bearing scape-goat; and on his head the fiery thunderbolts were hurled. The grass has grown greenly upon his grave for more than forty years. Let his faults (for, like all men, he was not immaculate) also be covered with the verdure of blind Charity.¹ Two generations have passed away since the dark cloud first brooded over his fair fame. We may all see, if we will, with eyes unfiled by prejudice, the silver edging which tells of the brightness of good intentions behind it, and prophesies of evanishment and a clear sky. Let History be just, in spite of the clamors of hoary Error.

“’Tis strange how many unimagined charges
Can swarm upon a man, when once the lid
Of the Pandora-box of contumely
Is open’d o’er his head.”—SHAKESPEARE.

¹ William Hull was born in Derby, Connecticut, on the 24th of June, 1753. He was graduated with honor at Yale College when he was nineteen years of age. He first studied divinity, but left it for the law. He was a meritorious soldier and officer throughout the Revolution, and participated in nine battles. He went to Canada on an Indian commission in 1792. He held judicial and representative offices in Massachusetts, and, as we have seen, was placed in a responsible military and civil station at the beginning of the War of 1812. He died at Newton, Massachusetts, in November, 1825. I am indebted to General Hull's granddaughter, Miss Sarah A. Clarke, of Newport, Rhode Island, for a copy of his portrait, painted by Stuart, from which our engraving was made. The signature is copied from a letter in my possession, written at White Plains, New York, in the autumn of 1775.



CHAPTER XV.

"And who supplies the murderous steel?
And who prepares the base reward
That wakes to deeds of desperate zeal
The fury of each slumbering horde?
From Britain comes each fatal blow;
From Britain, still our deadliest foe."

THE KENTUCKY VOLUNTEER; BY A LADY.



It was a beautiful, clear, breezy morning, early in October, 1860, when the writer left Chicago, with his family, to visit the theatre of events described in the two preceding chapters. We took the Michigan Central train for Detroit, and soon lost sight of the marvelous metropolis of Illinois, and Lake Michigan, on which it stands.¹ We swept rapidly around the magnificent curve of the head of the lake, and after leaving the sand dunes of Michigan City, and the withered bud of a prospective great mart of commerce at New Buffalo, traversed a beautiful and fertile country in the western half of the lower part of the peninsula and State of Michigan. Large streams of water, mills, neat villages, broad fields covered with ripe corn, spacious barns, and hardy people, seen all along the way to Marshall, where we dined, and beyond, proclaimed general prosperity. Among the most considerable streams crossed during the day were the St. Joseph, Kalamazoo, Battle Creek, and Huron. Over the latter, in its crooked course, we passed several times when approaching the metropolis (Lansing is the capital) of Michigan. It was the dusk of mere starlight when we traveled over that section of the route, and it was late in the evening when we reached Detroit, and found a pleasant home at the Russell House for the few days of our sojourn in that neighborhood.

The following day was the Sabbath. The air was as warm as in early June. A drizzling rain moistened all the streets and caused small congregations in the churches. We listened to the full, powerful voice of Bishop McCoskry in the morning, and in the afternoon strolled with a friend far down beautiful Fort Street,² and enjoyed the prospect of fine residences and ornamental gardens. The sun shone brightly all the afternoon, but in the evening heavy clouds came rolling up from the southwest. At nine o'clock a thunder-storm burst over the city, which sent down lightning and rain until past midnight. No traces of this elemental tumult were seen above in the morning—

"The thunder, tramping deep and loud,
Had left no foot-marks there."

The sky was cloudless, and a cool breeze from the northwest—cooler than any we had felt since the dog-days—reminded us that autumn had succeeded summer. It came from the far-off region beyond Mackinack, where snow had already whitened the hills.

At an early hour I started for Monroe, on the site of old Frenchtown, on the river

¹ This is the largest of the lakes that lie wholly within the United States. It is 360 miles long, and has an average width of 60 miles. It contains 16,981 square miles, or 10,868,000 acres. Its average depth is about 300 feet, and its elevation above tide water is about 200 feet.

² The residence of the late General Cass was on this street. It was a spacious but very modest wooden building, on the corner of Fort and Cass Streets, a little westward of the site of the old fort. His former residence—a small, low, one-storied building, with four dormer windows—was yet standing, on the west side of Larned Street, near the corner of Second Street.

Raisin, to visit the places of historic interest in that vicinity, where I spent the day pleasantly and profitably. Of the events of that day I shall write hereafter. On the following morning^a I procured a horse and light wagon, crossed the ferry to the Canada shore at Windsor, and started for Amherstburg, eighteen miles down the stream toward Lake Erie. In the lower part of Windsor I sketched Colonel Babie's house, delineated on page 262, and then rode on to Sandwich, two miles below, where I met one of that famous class known as "the oldest inhabitants" in the person of Mr. John B. Laughton, who was born in Detroit, but who has been a British subject from his early years. When, in 1796, the post of Detroit was evacuated by the British, according to the provisions of the treaty of 1783, many residents

John B. Laughton

of English, Irish, and Scottish lineage, preferring "not to be Yankees," as Mr. Laughton said, crossed the river and settled along its Canada shore. Mr. Laughton was a member of the Kent militia in 1812; and from Sandwich he saw the white flag that proclaimed the surrender of Detroit. He was then a young man twenty-two years of age. He was afterward in the affair known as the battle of the Long Woods, in Canada; also at the battle of Chippewa, where he lost a brother killed; and at that of Niagara, where he lost his own liberty, and was sent a prisoner to Greenbush, opposite Albany. He related many interesting circumstances connected with the surrender. He spoke of the Canadian Volunteers in the uniforms of regulars, by which Hull was deceived; and said that among the Indians who followed Brock into the fort at Detroit were several Canadians, painted and dressed like the savages, who each held up a white arm to show Hull that they had defied the menace in his proclamation respecting the treatment of such offenders.

Sandwich was an exceedingly pleasant village. Around it were orchards of pear and apple trees of great size, which attested the fact that it is one of the oldest settlements in Canada. Here the disbanded French soldiers settled after the peace of Paris in 1763. The houses had pleasant gardens attached to them; and as the town was the capital of Essex County, it contained a jail and court-house, and the residence of the county officers.

I left Sandwich toward noon, and a little past meridian crossed Turkey Creek. For several miles below Sandwich the banks of Detroit are low and sandy. The road, lying much of the way in sight of the river, was in excellent condition, and with the picturesque and interesting scenery forms a most attractive drive in pleasant weather. Passing through the Petit Côte settlement, I arrived at a neat little tavern near the northern bank of the *Aux Canards*, where I met an old French Canadian who was present when Cass, and Findlay, and M^rArthur, and Snelling made their military visits there in 1812. He was loyal then, but quiet; and when it was safe to do so, in the absence of the Americans, he furnished the *Queen Charlotte* with vegetables. He pointed out the ridge from which M^rArthur reconnoitred the whole position, and also the spot where Colonel Cass planted his six-pounder, and "blazed away" at the enemy on the southern shore of the stream. The bridge seen in the centre of the picture on page 264 was upon the site of the old one, and, like it, was reached by a causeway at both ends. I sketched the scene, then crossed the *Aux Canards* over the causeway and the bridge, and hastened on to Amherstburg, for the day was rapidly wearing away. Most of the way from *Aux Canards*, or Taron-tee, to Amherstburg, the river bank is high, and the road passing along its margin was thickly settled, for the farms were narrow. Most of the houses were large, with fine gardens around them. Among the most attractive of these was "Rosebank," the residence of Mr. James Dougall, an eminent horticulturist, about three miles from Amherstburg.

It was nearly three o'clock when the steeples of Amherstburg announced its presence. I soon crossed a beautiful open plain, whereon cattle were grazing, bounded on the left by streets of neat log cottages, whitewashed and embowered, each a story in height, with two acres of land attached. The plain was a military reserve of one hundred and thirty acres, and the cottages were the dwellings of pensioners—superannuated British soldiers—who were well cared for by their government. On the right of the road, in the upper part of Amherstburg, within a high picket inclosure, was Fort Malden; its chief building (barracks) were then devoted to more humane purposes than war. It was used for the insane in Canada West, as a branch of a parent asylum for such unfortunates situated at Toronto. No part of the old fort remained. The new one was constructed during the excitement incident to the "Patriot War," or "Rebellion," as men of different bias respectively call an outbreak in the Canadas in 1838. It was constructed in 1839.

Amherstburg had an antiquated appearance, the houses having been chiefly built by the French. The streets were narrow, and the side-walks were mostly paved with irregular stones. I had but little time to devote to an inspection of the place. After ordering dinner at Salmoni's, I went out with an intelligent lad, and visited the fort and other places of interest along the shore. The ship-yard, where a part of Barclay's fleet on Lake Erie was built, was a few rods above Salmoni's; and from the corner of a large red stone house, overlooking the whole locality, and commanding quite an ex-



VIEW OF MALDEN, WHERE THE BRITISH SHIPS WERE BUILT.

tensive view of the river southward, with Elliott's Point on the left and Bois Blanc Island on the right, I made the accompanying sketch. The wharf, then used chiefly for wood, was precisely where the British vessels were launched. In the direction of the ship under sail (seen in the picture), just off Elliott's Point on the left, is seen Lake Erie. Looking a little farther to the right, on Bois Blanc Island, is seen the lighthouse, near which was a block-house and battery in 1812; and on each side of the group of sails at the wharf is seen a block-house, both erected in 1838. There was a block-house on the right of Salmoni's Hotel, and another at the upper end of the ship-yard, near the fort, in 1812.

After dinner I visited the venerable Robert Reynolds, living in a fine brick mansion, surrounded by charming grounds, on the bank of the river, just below Amherstburg. From his grounds there is a view of Elliott's Point, where Colonel Elliott, al-

A veteran British Officer.

Return to Detroit.

Equine Entertainment at "Windsor Castle."

ready mentioned frequently, resided. Just below it, three or four miles from Amherstburg, is Hartley's Point, where General Harrison landed when he invaded Canada in 1813. Mr. Reynolds was in the eightieth year of his age when I visited him. His sister, but little his junior, lived with him. They were born in Detroit. He was deputy assistant commissary general in the British army in the War of 1812, and was at the taking of Detroit. He was also at Dol-

Robt Reynolds

sen's on the day of the battle of the Thames. From that time until the peace he was stationed at Burlington Heights, at the west end of

Lake Ontario. His sister told me that she distinctly heard the firing between the fleets of Perry and Barclay in the memorable battle of Lake Erie, in September, 1813; and that she also saw from her residence the vessels conveying Harrison's army from the Raisin to the Canada shore. Mr. Reynolds knew Proctor and Tecumtha well, and seemed to have a very unfavorable opinion of the former as a commander. He spoke of his conduct at the Thames as "shameful," and justified the strictures of Tecumtha.

It was sunset when I left Amherstburg for Detroit. In the western sky, as I looked over the fields where Van Horne and Miller had wrestled with the mongrel foe, when the country was almost a wilderness, were seen gorgeous cloud-bars of crimson and gold. These faded into dull lead; and just as daylight yielded the sceptre to starlight, I crossed the sluggish Ta-ron-tee. It was a summer-like evening, and before I reached the slope of the highway leading up to Sandwich, the lights of Detroit gave pleasant indications that the end of the journey was near. It was nine o'clock when I entered Windsor, and on inquiring of a man, standing on the piazza of a large wooden building, for the proper turn to the Ferry, I was told that the boat had ceased running for the night. For a moment I was perplexed. I did not wish to remain all night in Windsor when Detroit was so near. "Where can I leave my horse and wagon in safety," I inquired. "At this house," the man replied. "What is the name of it?" I asked. "Windsor Castle," he answered. The name and the building were in ludicrous contrast. But my business was not to criticise; so I left the horse in care of the groom of the stables of Windsor Castle, crossed the dark and swift-flowing waters to Detroit in a light skiff hired for the occasion, and wondered all the way at my confidence in a stranger whose face I could not see in the darkness. But horse and wagon were found the next morning well cared for at "Windsor Castle."

I spent Wednesday, the 7th of October, in visiting places of interest in Detroit under the kind guidance of Mr. Moore, of that city. We first went to the wharves in rear of the warehouses of Messrs. Mooney and Foote, and Sheldon, to see three iron cannon that were captured from the British in the naval battle on Lake Erie, where Perry was victorious. They were then put to the more commendable use of posts



BRITISH CANNON AT DETROIT.

for fastening vessels to the wharves. One of them was a long twenty-four-pounder, and the other two were thirty-two-pound carronades. After visiting the rooms of the Michigan Historical Society, where I found nothing of interest connected with the subject of my researches, we rode out on the noble Jefferson Avenue to Bloody Run, stopping on the way for a brief interview with the late Honorable B. F. H. Witherell, from whose local sketches quotations have been made in preceding chapters. Judge Witherell kindly placed in my hands much valuable historical material, the fruit of his own researches.

Siege of Detroit by Pontiac.	Fight at Bloody Run.	Origin of the Name.	Elmwood Cemetery.
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Bloody Run, as a little stream that comes down gently to the great avenue, after beautifying Elmwood Cemetery, is called, holds a conspicuous place in the annals of Indian wars. The event which gave it its present name (it was formerly known as Parent's Creek) may be thus briefly stated: We have already alluded to the conspiracy of Pontiac in 1763. He had said to some Canadians in council: "I have told you before, and I now tell you again, that when I took up the hatchet it was for your good. This year the English must all perish throughout Canada. The Master of Life commands it." He then told them that they must act with him, or he would be their enemy. They cited the capitulation at Montreal, which transferred Canada to the English, and refused to join him. He pressed forward in his conspiracy without them, and finally invested Detroit with a formidable force.

In July, 1763, Pontiac was encamped behind a swamp, about two miles north of the fort at Detroit. Captain Dalyell,¹ who had ranged with Putnam in Northern New York, arrived with re-enforcements for the fort at the close of the month, and obtained permission of the commandant to attack Pontiac at once. A perfidious Canadian, possessed of the fact, communicated it to Pontiac, and he made ready for an attack.

At a little past midnight,^a Dalyell marched to Parent's Creek. The darkness, owing to a storm, was intense. Pontiac, forewarned, had posted his warriors all along the route for a mile in front of his camp, so that a thousand eager ears were listening for the approach of the white men. Five hundred dusky warriors were lurking near the rude log bridge, at the mouth of the wild ravine, through which Parent's Creek flowed. Dalyell's advance was just crossing the bridge when terrific yells in front, and a blaze of musketry on the left flank, revealed the presence of the wily foe. One half of the advanced party were slain, and the remainder shrank back appalled. The main body advancing also recoiled. Then came another volley, when the voice of Dalyell in the van inspired his men. With his followers he pushed across the bridge, and charged up the hill; but in the blackness the skulking enemy could not be seen, and his presence was known only by the flash of his guns.

Word now reached Dalyell that the Indians, in large numbers, had gone to cut off his communication with the fort. He sounded a retreat, and in good order pressed toward Detroit, exposed to a most perilous enfilading fire. Day dawned with a thick fog enveloping all objects, and now, for the first time, dim glimpses of the enemy were obtained. They came darting through the mist on flank and rear, and as suddenly disappeared after firing deadly shots upon the English. One of these slew Captain Dalyell while he was attempting to bear off a wounded sergeant. The detachment finally reached the fort, having lost sixty-one of their number in killed and wounded. Most of the slain fell at the bridge. Parent's Creek has ever since been called, from that circumstance, Bloody Run, and the old structure was always called Bloody Bridge. That bridge, as we have before remarked, was much nearer the Detroit than Jefferson Avenue. At the culvert where that avenue crosses Bloody Run stands a huge whitewood tree, delineated on page 261, yet, as we have observed, scarred by the bullets that were fired in that sanguinary encounter more than a hundred years ago.

On leaving Bloody Run we rode up to the Elmwood Cemetery, and made the tour of those hallowed grounds, where taste and industry, aided by natural advantages, have produced one of the most charming places for the repose of mortality with which our country begins to abound. We lingered there for more than an hour, and returned to the city in time for a late dinner, and a visit to the grave of Colonel

¹ This name is frequently written Dalzell. James Dalyell had been appointed a lieutenant in the Sixtieth Regiment of Royal Americans in 1766, and obtained the command of a company in the second battalion of the First Regiment of Foot. He was a brave and efficient officer, and had performed important services during the French and Indian war.

Hamtramck, with Mr. R. M. Lyon,¹ to whose kind attentions while in Detroit I was much indebted. The monument that covered that brave soldier's grave is delineated on page 56.

At twilight I called upon the Hon. C. Moran, who, though only a lad of sixteen years, was performing sentinel duty in the fort at Detroit when it was surrendered. He run up, sitting upon the grass within the fort apparently unmoved by the terrors of the scene. He related many interesting particulars of occurrences within the fort at that time, and it was with real regret that I felt compelled to make the interview short, for I had made an engagement to call on Mr. Robert M. Eberts, a native of Detroit, and a resident of that place since his birth in 1804. Mr. Eberts was full of interesting reminiscences, and the half hour passed with him was one of real pleasure and profit.² Late in the evening I returned to the Russell House, copied the picture of Mackinack on page 267, and early the following morning—a cold, blustering, genuine late-November kind of morning—crossed the Detroit, and proceeded by railway along the borders of Lake St. Clair to Chatham, for the purpose of visiting the battleground of the Thames or Moravian Towns. Of that visit I shall write hereafter.

said he saw General Hull during the heavy cannonading, just before the white flag was

I have said that we went from Chicago to Detroit. These cities bear an intimate relation in the history of the period we are considering, for on the very day³ when Brock demanded the surrender of Detroit, the little garrison of Fort Dearborn, at Chicago, compelled to leave that post, set out upon their fatal march toward Fort Wayne.

The site of Chicago (spelt by the early settlers Chigagua, Chikakou, and Chikako) was first visited by a white man in 1674, when Father Marquette, a French Jesuit priest, built a cabin there, planted a missionary station, and deposited the seed of the present great city. It lay in the path of explorations by commercial and religious adventurers, one seeking trade, the other desiring to give the light of the Gospel to the heathen of the New World. It was visited in turn by Marquette, Allouez, La Salle, Durantaye, La Hontan, De St. Come, Gravier, Charlevoix, and others of less note. In 1685 Durantaye built a fort where, eleven years before, Marquette erected his cabin. How long it remained a missionary station it is difficult now to determine.³

"The first white man who settled here was a negro," the Indians of Chicago said, with great simplicity. He was a mulatto from St. Domingo, named Jean Baptiste Point au Sable, who found his way to that far-off wilderness in the year 1796. He did not remain long, and the improvements which he had commenced fell into the hands of John Kinzie, a native of Quebec, and for nearly twenty years the only white inhabitant of Northern Illinois, with the exception of a few American soldiers. He was an enterprising trader with the Indians, and in 1804 made Chicago his home.

¹ Mr. Lyon was a Pension and Bounty Land Agent in Detroit. He informed me that he had in his possession complete copies of all army rolls of the War of 1812 for Michigan, Ohio, New York, and other states, besides other record evidence of service. He had also in his possession muster-rolls of the Black Hawk, Patriot, and Mexican wars. He was probably better prepared, by the amount of positive information in his possession, and the devotion of undivided attention to the subject, to serve claimants for pensions and bounties than any other man west of Lake Erie.

² Positive statements made to me by Mr. Eberts and Judge Moran, when combined, form a curious subject for speculation. Mr. Eberts assured me that General Brock sent a hollow silver bullet (repeating Sir Henry Clinton's famous act in 1777) from Fort George to Major Muir at Fort Malden, containing a message, and that the major sent it by Richard Eberts (whom I saw at Chatham), brother of my informant, to Colonel Askin, a British officer residing at Strahan in Canada. Askin's son-in-law, Colonel Brush, was then one of General Hull's aide-de-camp, and it was believed, after the surrender, that the bullet contained a communication from Brock to Brush. Judge Moran told me that on one occasion his uncle was sent by Colonel Brush to Askin, his father-in-law, with a package, and that he was made a prisoner, and detained in Canada for some time. The bullet and the package seem to have some connection in the matter.

³ Chicagou was the Indian name of the Illinois River, at the mouth of which the city stands. In the language of the Pottawatomies, who inhabited that region, the name signifies a skunk or pole-cat—some say the wild onion, both of which emit unpleasant odors, and were abundant there. It is said that the Pottawatomies wore garters of the dried skunk's skin.—*Sketch of the Early History of Chicago*, by John Gilmartin Shea.

Fort Dearborn.

Kinzie's Residence.

The Garrison at Chicago.

During the two previous years the United States government had erected a stockade there, and on the 4th of July of that year it was formally named Fort Dearborn, in honor of the then Secretary of War. It had a block-house at each of two angles on the southern side, a sally-port and covered way on the north side, that led down to the river, for the double purpose of providing a means of escape and for receiving water during a siege, and was strongly picketed.¹ It stood upon a little rise of



KINZIE MANSION AND FORT DEARBORN.

ground on the south bank of the Chicago River, about half a mile from its mouth. On the north bank of that stream, directly opposite the fort, Mr. Kinzie enlarged into a spacious but very modest mansion the house built by Jean Baptiste and his immediate successor, Le Mai. Within an inclosed green in front he planted some Lombardy poplars, and in the rear was a fine garden and growing orchard. There he lived with his young family for eight years, isolated from society excepting that of the military, but enjoying great peace, with every necessary and many of the luxuries of life, and possessing the confidence and esteem of the surrounding Indians.

The peacefulness of the current of life at Chicago was interrupted in the spring of 1812. The garrison was commanded by Captain Nathian Heald,² assisted by Lieutenant Linai T. Helm,³ a son-in-law of Mrs. Kinzie, and Ensign George Ronan. The surgeon was Dr. Van Voorhees. The garrison consisted of fifty-four men. The only other residents of the post, at the time of the events we are about to consider, were Mr. Kinzie and his family, the wives of Captain Heald and Lieutenant Helm and of some of the soldiers, and a few Canadian *voyageurs*, with their wives and children. The officers and their troops, like Mr. Kinzie, were on the most friendly terms with

¹ Fort Dearborn was erected under the superintendence of Major John Whistler, who was also the overseer of the construction of Fort Wayne, at the forks of the Maumee. Major Whistler was an Englishman. He was taken prisoner with Burgoyne at Saratoga in 1777, and remained in the United States. He settled in Maryland, and in 1790-91 joined the troops under General St. Clair, and was with him at his defeat on the Miami in November, 1791, where he was acting as adjutant and was wounded. He was commissioned an ensign of the First Infantry in the spring of 1792, and in the autumn was made a lieutenant in the first sub-legion. He passed through other grades of service until, on the 10th of July, 1812, he was breveted a major. He was discharged in 1815, and three years afterward became military store-keeper at St. Louis. He died at Belle Fontaine, Missouri, in 1827.

In building Fort Dearborn, Major Whistler had no oxen, and the timber was all dragged to the spot by the soldiers. He worked so economically that the fort, Colonel Johnston, of Dayton (who furnished him with some materials from Fort Wayne), told me, did not cost the government over fifty dollars. For a while the garrison could get no corn, and Whistler and his men subsisted on acorns.

² Heald, who was a native of Massachusetts, joined the army as ensign in the spring of 1799. He became a first lieutenant in November of the same year. In January, 1807, he was commissioned a captain, and held that office until the 26th of August, 1812, when, on account of his good conduct at Chicago, he was promoted to major. He was discharged in 1815.

³ Helm, of Kentucky, entered the army as ensign in December, 1807, and became second lieutenant the following year. He was promoted to first lieutenant in January, 1812, and to captain in April, 1814. He resigned in September following.

the Pottawatomies and Winnebagoes, the principal tribes in that neighborhood; yet they could not win them from their decided attachment to the British, from whom, at Fort Malden, they annually received large presents as bribes to secure their alliance. After the battle of Tippecanoe, the previous autumn,¹ in which portions of their tribes were engaged, it had been observed that the leading chiefs became sullen, and suspicions of contemplated hostility sometimes clouded the minds of Heald and his command. One day in the spring of 1812, Nau-non-gee and a companion, both of the Calumet band, were at Fort Dearborn. When passing through the quarters, they observed Mrs. Heald² and Mrs. Helm³ playing at battle-dore. Turning to Mr. Griffith, the interpreter, Nau-non-gee said: "The white chiefs' wives are amusing themselves very much; it will not be long before they are living in our corn-fields." The terrible significance of these words, then hidden, was made apparent a few weeks later.

On the evening of the 7th of April, 1812, Mr. Kinzie's children were dancing before the fire to the music of their father's violin, when their mother came rushing wildly in, pale with terror, and exclaiming, "The Indians! the Indians!" "What? where?" exclaimed Mr. Kinzie, in response. "Up at Lee's, killing and scalping!" gasped the affrighted mother. It seems that the alarm had been given by a man and boy,⁴ who had been fleeing from destruction down the opposite side of the river, and had shouted the terrible fact to the family of Mr. Burns, half a mile above the fort, where Mrs. Kinzie was in attendance upon a newly-made mother. Not a moment was to be lost. Mr. Kinzie immediately hurried his family into two old *pirogues*⁵ moored in front of his house, and conveyed them across the river to the fort. At the same time the intrepid Ensign Ronan, with six men, started up the river in a scow to save the Burns family; and a cannon was fired to give notice of danger to a party of soldiers who had gone up the river to catch fish. Mrs. Burns, with an infant not a day old,⁶ and the rest of her family, were taken in safety to the fort; and the absent soldiers, who were two miles above Lee's, made their way back in the darkness, discovering on their way the bodies of murdered and scalped persons at Lee's Place. These were obtained the next day, and were buried near the fort. It was afterward ascertained that the savage scalping-party were Winnebagoes, from Rock River, who had come with the intention of destroying every white person outside of the fort. The noise of the cannon frightened them, and they fled back to their homes.

¹ Rebecca Heald was a daughter of General Samuel Wells, of Kentucky (one of the heroes of Tippecanoe), and niece of Captain William Wells, who will appear prominently in our narrative. She was with her uncle at Fort Wayne two or three years before the war, where Captain Heald became acquainted with her. Their acquaintance ripened into mutual attachment. He taught her the use of the rifle, in which she became very expert. They were married in 1810 or 1811, and she accompanied her husband to Fort Dearborn.

² Mrs. Helm was a daughter of Colonel M'Killip, a British officer attached to one of the companies who were stationed at Fort Miami, on the Maumee, at the time of Wayne's appearance there in 1794. While reconnoitring one night, he was mistaken for an enemy, and mortally wounded. His widow married Mr. Kinzie, with whom, and this daughter, she removed to Chicago in 1808. Here the daughter, at the age of eighteen years, married Lieutenant Helm, of Kentucky, in 1811. She died suddenly at Waterville, in Michigan, in 1844.—*Pioneer Women of the West*, by Mrs. E. F. Ellet.

³ These were a discharged soldier and a son of Mr. Lee, who lived near the fort, and cultivated a farm about three miles up the south branch of the Chicago River, in the vicinity of the point where Halstead Street now crosses that stream. See map on page 266. This was known as Lee's Place. Lee and all his family, except Mrs. Lee and her infant, perished in the massacre at Chicago on the 15th of August.

⁴ *Pirogue*, or *piragua*, originally meant a canoe formed out of the trunk of a tree, or two canoes united. A vessel used in this country as a narrow ferry-boat, carrying two masts and a lee-board, is called *piragua*.

⁵ The main facts of this narrative of affairs at Chicago, in 1812, are derived from a most interesting account from the pen of Mrs. John H. Kinzie, of Chicago, published in pamphlet form in 1844, and repeated substantially in a charming history of personal adventures on the northwestern frontier, by the same accomplished lady, in a volume published in 1866, entitled, *Wau-bun, the "Early Day" in the Northwest*. Mrs. Kinzie is a daughter-in-law of Mr. John Kinzie, the trader just mentioned, and much of the narrative of the events which we are considering she received from Mrs. Helm, an actor in the events. Of this infant of Mrs. Burns she gives a few words of interesting narrative. The mother and child were made prisoners at Chicago by a chief, and carried to his village. His attentions to them aroused the jealousy of his spouse, and one day she spitefully struck the infant with a tomahawk with the intention of killing it. The blow took off some of the scalp. "Thirty-two years after this," says Mrs. Kinzie, "as I was on a journey to Chicago in the steamer Uncle Sam, a young woman, hearing my name, introduced herself to me, and, raising the hair from her forehead, showed me the mark of the tomahawk which had so nearly been fatal to her."—*Wau-bun*, page 244.

Order for the Evacuation of Chicago.

Danger in the Movement.

The Commandant warned against it.

All of the inhabitants of Chicago not belonging to the garrison now took refuge in the Agency House, which stood upon the esplanade, about twenty rods west from the fort, on the site of the present light-house, and there intrenched themselves. This was an old-fashioned log house, with a passage running through the centre, and piazzas extending the whole length of the building, front and rear. These were planked up. Port-holes were cut in the barricade, and sentinels were posted there every night. For some time hostile Indians hovered around the post and committed depredations; but at last they disappeared, and for several weeks the dwellers at Chicago experienced no alarm.

Toward the evening of the 7th of August,^a Win-ne-meg, or The Catfish, a friendly Pottawatomie chief, who was intimate with Mr. Kinzie, came to Chicago from Fort Wayne as the bearer of a dispatch from General Hull to Captain Heald, in which the former announced his arrival at Detroit with an army, the declaration of war, the invasion of Canada, and the loss of Mackinack. It also conveyed an order to Captain Heald to evacuate Fort Dearborn, if practicable, and to distribute, in that event, "all the United States property contained in the fort, and in the government factory or agency, among the Indians in the neighborhood." This was doubtless intended to be a peace-offering to the savages, to prevent their joining the British, then menacing Detroit.

Win-ne-meg, who knew the purport of the order, begged Mr. Kinzie to advise Captain Heald not to evacuate the fort, or the movement would be difficult and dangerous. The Indians had already received information from Tecumtha of the disasters to the American arms, and the withdrawal of Hull's army from Canada, and were becoming daily more restless and insolent. Heald had an ample supply of ammunition and provisions for six months; why not hold out until relief could be sent from the southward? Win-ne-meg farther urged that, if Captain Heald should resolve to evacuate, it should be done immediately, before the Indians should be informed of the order, or could prepare for formidable resistance. "Leave the fort and stores as they are," he said, "and let them make distributions for themselves; and while the Indians are engaged in that business, the white people may make their way in safety to Fort Wayne."

Mr. Kinzie readily perceived the wisdom of Win-ne-meg's advice, and so did Captain Heald's officers, but the commander resolved to obey Hull's order strictly as to evacuation and the distribution of the public property. He caused that order to be read to the troops on the morning of the 8th,^b and then assumed the whole responsibility. His officers expected to be summoned to a council, but were disappointed. Toward evening they called upon the commander, and, when informed of his determination, they remonstrated with him. The march, they said, must necessarily be slow, on account of the women and children and infirm persons, and therefore, under the circumstances, extremely perilous. Hull's order, they said, left it to the discretion of the commander to go or to stay; and they thought it much better to strengthen the fort, defy the savages, and endure a siege until relief should reach them. Heald argued in reply that special orders had been issued by the War Department that no post should be surrendered without battle having been given by the assailed, and that his force was totally inadequate to an engagement with the Indians. He should expect the censure of his government, he said, if he remained; and having full confidence in the professions of friendship of many of the chiefs about him, he should call them together, make the required distribution, and take up his march for Fort Wayne. After that his officers had no more communications with him on the subject. The Indians became more unruly every hour, and yet Heald, with fatal procrastination, postponed the assembling of the savages for two or three days. They finally met near the fort on the afternoon of the 12th,^c and there the commander held a farewell council with them.

Heald invited the officers to join him in the council, but they refused. They had received intimations that treachery was designed—that the Indians intended to murder them in the council-circle, and then destroy the inmates of the fort. The officers remained within the pickets, and, opening the port of one of the block-houses so as to expose the cannon pointed directly upon the group in council, they secured the safety of Captain Heald. The Indians were intimidated by the menacing monster, and accepted Heald's offers with many protestations of friendship. He agreed to distribute among them not only the goods in the public store—blankets, broadcloths, calicoes, paints, etc.—but also the arms, ammunition, and provisions not necessary for the use of the garrison on its march. It was stipulated that the distribution should take place the next day, soon after which the garrison and white inhabitants would leave the works. The Pottawatomies agreed, on their part, to furnish a proper escort for them through the wilderness to Fort Wayne, on condition of being liberally rewarded on their arrival there.

When the result of the council was made known, Mr. Kinzie warmly remonstrated with Captain Heald. He knew the Indians well, and their weakness in the presence of great temptations to do wrong. He begged the commander not to confide in their promises at a moment so inauspicious for faithfulness to treaties. He especially entreated him not to place in their hands arms and ammunition, for it would fearfully increase their power to carry on those murderous raids which for months had spread terror throughout the frontier settlements. Heald perceived his folly, and resolved to violate the treaty so far as arms and ammunition were concerned.

On that very evening, when the chiefs of the council seemed most friendly, a circumstance occurred which should have made Captain Heald shut his gates to his dusky neighbors, and resolve not to leave the fort. Black Partridge, a hitherto friendly chief, and a man of much influence, came quietly to the commander and said: "Father, I come to deliver to you the medal I wear. It was given me by the Americans,



THE BLACK PARTRIDGE'S MEDAL.

and I have long worn it in token of our mutual friendship. But our young men are resolved to imbrue their hands in the blood of the white people. I can not restrain them, and I will not wear a token of peace while I am compelled to act as an enemy."¹ This solemn and authentic warning was strangely unheeded.

¹ This medal, as I have been informed, was received by the Black Partridge at the treaty of Fort Wayne, on the 20th of September, 1809, mentioned on page 190. It was of silver. The engraving is the exact size of the original. It was copied from one in the possession of the widow of General Jacob Brown, of Brownsville, New York, where I saw it in

Another Warning.	Arms, Powder, and Whisky destroyed.	Arrival of Re-enforcements.	Too late.
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The morning of the 13th was bright and cool. The Indians assembled in great numbers to receive their presents. Nothing but the goods in the store were distributed that day; and in the evening the Black Partridge said to Mr. Griffith, the interpreter, "Linden birds have been singing in my ears to-day; be careful on the march you are going to take." This was another solemn warning, and it was communicated to Captain Heald. It, too, was unheeded; and at midnight, when the sentinels were all posted and the Indians were in their camps, a portion of the powder and liquor in the fort was cast into a well near the sally-port, and the remainder into a canal that came up from the river far under the covered way. The muskets not reserved for the garrison were broken up, and these, with shot, bullets, flints, gun-screws, and every thing else pertaining to fire-arms, were also thrown into the well. A large quantity of alcohol belonging to Mr. Kinzie was poured into the river, and before morning the destruction was complete. But the work had not been done in secret. The night was dark, and vigilant Indians had crept to the fort as noiselessly as serpents, and their quick senses had perceived the destruction of what, under the treaty, they claimed as their own. In the morning the work of the night was made more manifest. The powder was seen floating upon the surface of the river, and the sluggish water had been converted by the whisky and the alcohol into "strong grog," as an eye-witness remarked. Complaints and threatenings were loud among the savages because of this breach of faith;¹ and the dwellers in the fort were impressed with a dreadful sense of impending destruction, when the brave Captain Wells, Mrs. Heald's uncle, and adopted son of the Little Turtle, was discovered upon the Indian trail near the Sand Hills, on the border of the lake not far distant, with a band of mounted Miamis, of whose tribe he was a chief.² He had heard at Fort Wayne of the orders of Hull to evacuate Fort Dearborn, and, being fully aware of the hostilities of the Pottawatomies, he had made a rapid march across the country to re-enforce Captain Heald, assist in defending the fort, or prevent his exposure to certain destruction by an attempt to reach the head of the Maumee. But he was too late. All means for maintaining a siege had been destroyed a few hours before, and every preparation had been made for leaving the post the next day.

When the morning of the 15th arrived, there were positive indications that the Indians intended to massacre all the white people. They were overwhelming in numbers, and held the fate of the devoted band in their grasp. When, at nine o'clock, the appointed hour, the gate was thrown open, and the march commenced, it was like a funeral procession. The band struck up the Dead March in Saul. Captain Wells,

the summer of 1860. She also had a smaller medal of the same kind, struck for the same occasion. These were distributed among the inferior chiefs.

¹ The celebrated chief Black Hawk, who was among the Indians at the time of the massacre at Chicago, declared that, had the treaty been fully carried out, the white people would not have been attacked. And such has been the general impression of students. But the conduct of Black Partridge before the powder and liquor were destroyed disproves this. No doubt the massacre had been determined on as soon as the order for the evacuation was made known to the Indians.

² When in Toledo, Ohio, in the autumn of 1860, I spent an hour pleasantly and profitably with General John E. Hunt, a brother-in-law of General Cass, whose early life was spent among the stirring scenes of the frontier. He was in the fort at Detroit when it was surrendered. He knew Captain William Wells, and from his lips the substance of the following brief notice was communicated: When a child, Wells was living with his relative, Hon. Nathaniel Pope, of Kentucky, where he was stolen by a band of Miami Indians and taken to the Maumee country. He was adopted by Little Turtle, the eminent Miami chief. He was rescued by his relatives, but had become so attached to his Indian friends and their mode of life that he returned to them. He was compelled to go upon the war-path when Harrison invaded that region, and was with the Indians who defeated St. Clair. No doubt he swayed the mind of Little Turtle when Wayne appeared in that region, for that chief was favorable to peace with the great Blacksnake, as they called him. Wells saw clearly the weakness of the Indians; and one day, while in the woods, he suddenly informed his foster-father that he should leave him, to join the army of Wayne. "I now leave your nation for my own people," said Wells. "We have long been friends. We are friends yet, until the sun reaches there," pointing to a place in the heavens. "From that time we are enemies. Then, if you wish to kill me, you may; if I want to kill you, I may." At the hour named, Wells crossed the Maumee, and, asking the direction toward Wayne's army, disappeared in the forest. In Wayne's army he commanded a company of the spies. When peace was restored, after the treaty of Greenville, in 1796, he and the Little Turtle became good friends. He married the Little Turtle's sister, a Miami girl, and became a chief of that nation. One of his daughters was the wife of Judge Wolcott, of Maumee City, Ohio. Wells was Indian Agent at Fort Wayne when the War of 1812 broke out. He had lived there since 1804.

Incidents of the Conflict with the Savages.

Death of Captain Wells.

Bravery of Women.

and gained a slight eminence on the prairie near a grove called The Oak Woods. The savages did not pursue. They gathered upon the Sand Hills in consultation, and gave signs of willingness to parley. Farther conflict with them would be rashness; so Captain Heald, accompanied by Perish Le Clerc, a half-breed boy in Mr. Kinzie's service, went forward, met Black-bird on the open prairie, and arranged terms for a surrender. It was agreed that all the arms should be given up to Black-bird, and that the survivors should become prisoners of war, to be exchanged for ransoms as soon as practicable. With this understanding, captured and captors all started for the Indian encampment near the fort.¹

So overwhelming was the savage force at the Sand Hills, that the conflict, after the first desperate charge, became an exhibition of individual prowess—a life-and-death struggle, in which no one could render any assistance to his neighbor, for all were principals. In this conflict women bore a conspicuous part. All fought gallantly so long as strength permitted them. The brave Ensign Ronan wielded his weapon even when falling upon his knees because of loss of blood.² Captain Wells displayed the greatest coolness and gallantry. He was by the side of his niece when the conflict began. "We have not the slightest chance for life," he said. "We must part, to meet no more in this world; God bless you." With these words, he dashed forward with the rest. In the midst of the fight he saw a young warrior, painted like a demon, climb into a wagon in which were twelve children of the white people, and tomahawk them all! Forgetting his own immediate danger, Wells exclaimed, "If that is their game, butchering women and children, I'll kill too." He instantly dashed toward the Indian camp, where they had left their squaws and little ones, hotly pursued by swift-footed young warriors, who sent many a rifle ball after him. He lay close to his horse's neck, and turned and fired occasionally upon his pursuers. When he had got almost beyond the range of their rifles, a ball killed his horse and wounded himself severely in the leg. The young savages rushed forward with a demoniac yell to make him a prisoner and reserve him for the torture, for he was to them an arch offender. His friends Win-ne-meg and Wau-ban-see vainly attempted to save him from his fate. He knew the temper and the practices of the savages well; and resolved not to be made a captive. He taunted them with the most insulting epithets to provoke them to kill him instantly. At length he called one of the fiery young warriors (Per-so-tum) a *squaw*, which so enraged him that he killed Wells instantly with a tomahawk, jumped upon his body, cut out his heart, and ate a portion of the warm and half-palpitating morsel with savage delight.³

The wife of Captain Heald, who was expert with the rifle and an excellent equestrian, deported herself bravely. She received severe wounds. Faint and bleeding, she managed to keep the saddle. A savage raised his tomahawk to kill her, when she looked him full in the face, and, with a sweet, melancholy smile, said, in the Indian tongue, "Surely you will not kill a squaw!" The appeal was effectual. The arm of the savage fell, and the life of the heroic woman was saved. Mrs. Helm, the step-daughter of Mr. Kinzie, had a severe personal encounter with a stalwart young Indian, who attempted to tomahawk her. She sprang on one side, and received the blow intended for her head upon her shoulder, and at the same instant she seized the savage around the neck, and endeavored to get hold of his scalping-knife, which hung in a sheath upon his breast. While thus struggling, she was dragged from her antag-

¹ Captain Heald's dispatch to Adjutant General Cushing, October 23, 1812.

² Mrs. Helm speaks of the terror of Dr. Van Voorhees at that time. He was badly wounded. His horse had been shot under him. "Do you think," he said to Mrs. Helm, "they will take our lives?" and then talked of offering a large ransom for existence. She advised him not to think of life, but of inevitable death. "Oh!" he exclaimed, "I can not die. I am not fit to die. If I had only a short time to prepare for it—death is awful!" She pointed to the falling Ronan, and said, "Look at that man! at least he dies like a soldier." "Yes," gasped the terrified surgeon, "but he has no terror of the future—he is an unbeliever!" At that moment Mrs. Helm had a deadly struggle with a young Indian, and a moment afterward she saw the dead body of the surgeon. He had been slain by a tomahawk.

³ Statement of Colonel John Johnston, of Dayton, to the author.

Act of a friendly Indian. The Wounded butchered for their Scalps. Scalps purchased by the British Commander.

onist by another Indian, who bore her, spite of her desperate resistance, to the margin of the lake, and plunged her in, at the same time, to her astonishment, holding her so that she would not drown. She soon perceived that she was held by a friendly hand. It was that of the Black Partridge who had saved her. When the firing ceased and the capitulation was concluded, he conducted her to the prairie, where she met her father, and heard that her husband was safe. Bleeding and suffering, she was conducted to the Indian camp by the Black Partridge and Per-so-tum, the latter carrying in his hand a scalp which she knew to be that of Captain Wells by the black ribbon that bound the queue.

The wife of a soldier named Corbord, believing that all prisoners were reserved for torture, fought desperately, and suffered herself to be literally cut in pieces rather than surrender. The wife of Sergeant Holt, who was badly wounded in his neck at the beginning of the engagement, received from him his sword, and behaved as bravely as an Amazon. She was a large and powerful woman, and rode a fine, high-spirited horse, which the Indians coveted. Several of them attacked her with the butts of their guns, for the purpose of dismounting her, but she used her sword so skillfully that she foiled them. She suddenly wheeled her horse and dashed over the prairie, followed by a large number, who shouted, "The brave woman! the brave woman! don't hurt her!" They finally overtook her, and, while two or three were engaging her in front, a powerful savage seized her by her neck, and dragged her backward to the ground. The horse and woman became prizes. The latter was afterward ransomed.

When the captives were taken to the Indian camp a new scene of horrors was opened. The wounded, according to the Indians' interpretation of the capitulation, were not included in the terms of the surrender. Proctor had offered a liberal sum for scalps delivered at Malden; so, nearly all the wounded men were killed, and the value of British bounty, such as is sometimes offered for the destruction of wolves, was taken from each head.¹ In this tragedy Mrs. Heald played a part, but fortunately escaped scalping. In order to save her fine horse, the Indians had aimed at the rider. Seven bullets took effect upon her person. Her captor, who was about to slay her upon the battle-field, as we have seen, left her in the saddle, and led the horse toward the camp. When in sight of the fort his acquisitiveness overpowered his gallantry, and he was taking her bonnet from her head in order to scalp her, when she was discovered by Mrs. Kinzie, who was yet sitting in the boat, and who had heard the tumult of the conflict, but without any intimation of the result until she saw the wounded woman in the hands of her savage captive. "Run! run, Chandonnai!" exclaimed Mrs. Kinzie to one of her husband's clerks, who was standing on the beach. "That is Mrs. Heald. He is going to kill her! Take that mule, and offer it as a ransom." Chandonnai promptly obeyed, and increased the bribe by offering in addition two bottles of whisky. These were worth more than Proctor's bounty, and Mrs. Heald was released. She was placed in Mrs. Kinzie's boat, and there concealed from the prying eyes of other scalp-hunters.

Toward evening the family of Mr. Kinzie² were allowed to return to their own

¹ A writer, signing his communication "*An Officer*," under date of "Buffalo, March 8, 1813," speaks of the arrival there of Mrs. Helm, and her narrative of sufferings at and after the massacre at Chicago. "She knows the fact," he says, "that Colonel Proctor, the British commander at Malden, bought the scalps of our murdered garrison at Chicago, and, thanks to her noble spirit, she boldly charged him with the infamy in his own house." This independence was probably the cause of the cruel treatment which she and her husband received at the hands of Proctor. She and her husband, after several weeks of captivity among the Indians, were united at Detroit, where Proctor caused them both to be arrested, and sent on horseback, in the dead of a Canadian winter, across the wilderness to Fort George, on the Niagara frontier. The writer farther says concerning the statements of Mrs. Heald, "She knows, from the tribe with whom she was a prisoner, and who were the perpetrators of those murders, that they intended to remain true, but that they received orders from the British to cut off our garrison whom they were to escort."—*Niles's Weekly Register*, April 8, 1813.

² John Kinzie, who bore so conspicuous a part in the events we are considering, was born in Quebec, in 1768, and was the only offspring of his mother's second marriage. His father died while he was an infant, and his mother married a third time, and with her husband (Mr. Forsythe) removed to the city of New York. At the age of ten years

Survivors of the Massacre at Chicago.

Sketch of Mr. Kinzie.

Remains of the Fort.

house, where they were greeted by the friendly Black Partridge. Mrs. Helm was placed in the house of Ouilmette, a Frenchman, by the same friendly hand. But these and all the other prisoners were exposed to great jeopardy by the arrival of a band of fierce Pottawatomes from the Wabash, who yearned for blood and plunder. They searched the houses for prisoners with keen vision, and when no farther concealment and safety seemed possible, some friendly Indians arrived, and so turned the tide of affairs that the Wabash savages were ashamed to own their blood-thirsty intentions.¹

In this terrible tragedy in the wilderness fifty-five years ago, twelve children, all the masculine civilians but Mr. Kinzie and his sons, Captain Wells, Surgeon Van Voorhees,² Ensign Ronan, and twenty-six private soldiers, were murdered. The prisoners were divided among the captors,³ and were finally reunited, or restored to their friends and families. A few of them have survived until our day. Mrs. Rebecca Heald died at the St. Charles Mission, in Missouri, in the year 1860. Major John H. Kinzie, of Chicago (husband of the writer of "Wau-bun"), his brother Major Robert A. Kinzie, and Mrs. Hunter, wife of General David Hunter, of the National Army, are [1867] surviving children of Mr. Kinzie, and were with their mother in the boat. The brothers were both officers of Volunteers during the late Civil War; and a most promising son of John Kinzie became a martyr for his country in that war. Paul de Garmo, another survivor, was living at Maumee City, Ohio, when I visited that place in 1860, but I was not aware of the fact until after I had left. Jack Smith, a sailor on the lakes, who was a drummer-boy at the time, was alive within the last two or three years. It is believed that no other survivors of the massacre are now [1867] living.

On the morning after the massacre the fort was burned by the Indians, and Chicago remained a desolation for about four years. In 1816 the Pottawatomes ceded to the United States all the land on which Chicago now stands, when the fort was rebuilt on a somewhat more extended scale, and the bones of the massacred were collected and buried. One of the block-houses of the new fort remained, near the bank of the river, until 1856, when it was demolished. The view here given (by whom

young Kinzie was placed in a school in Williamsburg, near Long Island. One day he made his way to the North River, got on board of an Albany sloop, and started for Quebec. Fortunately for him, he found a passenger who was on his way to that city, who took charge of him. At Quebec the boy apprenticed himself to a silversmith. Three years afterward, his family, having returned to Canada for the purpose of moving to Detroit, discovered him. They had supposed him lost forever. When he grew up he loved the wilds. He became a trader, and lived most of the time on the frontier and among the Indians. He established trading-houses. He married the widow of a British officer in 1806, and settled at Chicago in 1804. There he became a captain in 1812, and in January, 1813, joined his family at Detroit. There he was badly treated by General Proctor, who cast him into prison at Malden. He was finally sent to Quebec, to be forwarded to England, for what purpose was never known. The vessel in which he sailed was compelled to put back, when he was released and returned to Detroit, where he found General Harris in possession. He and his family returned to Chicago in 1816, when the fort was rebuilt. Mr. Kinzie died there on the 6th of January, 1825, at the age of sixty-five years. This was two years before the town of Chicago was laid out into lots by commissioners appointed by the state.

¹ The leader of the friendly party was Billy Caldwell, a half-breed and a chief. The Black Partridge told him of the evident intentions of the Wabash Indians. They had blackened their faces, and were then seated sullenly in Mr. Kinzie's parlor, preparatory to a general massacre of all the remaining white people. Billy went in, took off his accoutrements, and said, in a careless way, "How now, my friends! A good day to you. I was told there were enemies here, but I am glad to find only friends. Why have you blackened your faces? Is it that you are mourning for your friends lost in battle? Or is it that you are fasting? If so, ask our friend here (Mr. Kinzie), and he will give you to eat. He is the Indian's friend, and never yet refused them what they had need of." The hostile savages were surprised and overwhelmed with shame.—Mrs. Kinzie's *Wau-bun*, page 238.

² John Cooper, M.D., of Poughkeepsie, New York, was the immediate predecessor of Doctor Van Voorhees at Fort Dearborn. They were natives of the same town (Fishkill, Dutchess County, New York) and class-mates. Van Voorhees was a young man of great powers. Dr. Cooper left the fort in 1811, tendered his resignation, and left the army. He died at Poughkeepsie in 1863, where he had been for many years the oldest medical practitioner in the place.

³ Captain Heald was quite severely wounded and made a prisoner by an Indian from the Kankakee, who had a strong personal regard for him, but who, on seeing the feeble state of Mrs. Heald, released him and allowed him to accompany her to the mouth of the St. Joseph's, in Michigan. On returning to his village, the Indian found himself an object of great dissatisfaction because he had released his prisoner; so he resolved to go to St. Joseph and reclaim him. Friendly Indians gave Heald warning, and he and his wife went to far-off Mackinack in an open boat, and surrendered themselves to the British commander there as prisoners of war. This kept them out of the hands of the savages.—*Wau-bun*, page 243.



BLOCK-HOUSE AT CHICAGO.

sketched I know not) was drawn not long before the demolition. On the left of the picture is seen the light-house and a steam-boat in the Chicago River, above the Rush Street bridge, at the termination and junction of Wabash Avenue and River Street. On the right, across the river, not far from the site of the Kinzie mansion, is seen the hotel called the Lake House, and in the foreground, on the right, is seen two venerable trees, one of which was standing on the vacant lot where the block-house was when I visited Chicago in 1860. At that time I had the pleasure of meeting Mrs. John H. Kinzie, the author of *Wau-bun*, at her own house, and heard from her own lips interesting reminiscences of Chicago in 1831, the year after state commissioners laid it out into town lots. To Mrs. Kinzie's skillful pencil we are indebted for the sketch of Fort Dearborn and the Kinzie mansion printed on page 303; also for the map on page 308. Although she was a woman of about middle age, she and her husband were the "oldest inhabitants" of Chicago. They are the only persons now [1887] living there who were residents of Chicago in 1831, within the present city limits. There were two settlers living without the city limits in 1860 who resided on the same spot in 1831. These were Archie Clybourn and John Clack, the latter generally known as "Old Hunter Clack." They were originally from the Kanawha Valley, in Virginia. These had been witnesses of its marvelous growth from a stockade fort in the wilderness, and a few rude houses, to a city of almost two hundred thousand inhabitants in the course of only thirty-six years! Chicago is now the great entrepôt for the grain of the teeming Northwest—the central point to which about a dozen important railways converge¹—and yet there, only thirty-six years ago, Mrs. Kinzie and her family, during a whole winter, were compelled to use the greatest economy for fear they might exhaust their slender stock of flour and meal before it could be replenished from "below!" At the same time, the Indians of that neighborhood were famishing—"dying in companies from mere destitution. . . . Soup made from the bark of the slippery elm, or stewed acorns, was the only food that many had subsisted on for weeks."²

¹ The Michigan Central; the Michigan Southern and Northern Indiana; the Pittsburg, Fort Wayne, and Chicago; the Chicago branch of the Illinois Central; the St. Louis, Alton, and Chicago; the Chicago and Rock Island; the Illinois Grand Trunk; the Chicago, Fulton, and Iowa; the Galena, Chicago, and Union; the Chicago and Northwestern; and the Chicago and Milwaukee, with numerous tributaries.

² For a full description of Chicago in 1831, the reader is referred to the seventeenth chapter of Mrs. Kinzie's *Wau-bun*.

Chicago a Generation ago. Its historical Localities. Tecumtha's Hopes revived. Designs against Fort Wayne.

The city of Chicago now covers the entire theatre of the events just described. The old channel of the river, from the fort to its mouth, has been filled or covered, and the present harbor constructed. The Sand Hills have been leveled; and where the battle on the prairie—the struggles of brave warriors, and the chase and murder of Wells—occurred, populated streets now lie. It was while passing along one of these (Michigan Avenue)—the finest in point of beauty, taste, and prospect in all the West, when on our way out to the pleasant suburban village of Hyde Park, on the lake shore, to visit some old friends, that we were directed to the site of the Sand Hills, the Oak Woods, and Lee's Place. Very near the spot where the Kinzie mansion stood—where food was so scarce only thirty years ago, immense "elevators"—the largest in the world—receive, weigh, and send off annually millions of bushels of the *surplus* grain of the Northwest! This transformation is the work of a single generation. It seems like a magic product evolved by the attrition of Aladdin's lamp.¹

When the work of destruction, and the final disposition of the prisoners at Chicago were completed, The Black-bird and his savage horde pressed toward Fort Wayne. The fall of Mackinack and Detroit, and the destruction of the military post at Chicago, so completely broke the power of the United States in the Northwest for the moment, that the Indians, believing that there would be perfect safety in openly joining the British, did so. Tecumtha's hopes of establishing a confederacy of the Indians to drive the white people from the country north of the Ohio revived. The prospect of success seemed brighter than ever, and, with the energy of a patriot and enthusiast, he sent emissaries among all the tribes to invite them to take the war-path, with the sole intent of complete expulsion or utter extermination. The Winnebagoes, Pottawatomies, Kickapoos, Ottawas, Shawnoese, and less powerful tribes, gladly listened; and all over the region south of Lake Erie, far toward the Ohio, the young men were speedily engaged in the war-dance.

Proctor and Tecumtha resolved to reduce Forts Wayne and Harrison immediately. The former, as we have seen, was at the head of the Maumee,² and the latter on the Wabash.³ Major Muir, with British regulars and Indians, were to proceed from Malden up the Maumee Valley to co-operate with the Indians; and the 1st of September was appointed as the day when Fort Wayne should be invested by them. The garrison consisted of only seventy men, under Captain James Rhea,⁴ with four small field-pieces. The savages were there as early as the 28th of August,⁵ and at about the same time hostile bands, for the purpose of diverting attention from Forts Wayne and Harrison, and preventing their garrisons being re-enforced, were directed to prosecute warfare at distant points in their usual mode—murdering isolated settlers, with their women and children. Pursuant to these instructions, a scalping-party of Shawnoese fell upon "The Pigeon Roost Settlement," on a tribu-

¹ I am indebted to the accurate knowledge and kind courtesy of Mrs. Kinzie for the following information respecting the localities of acts in the events we have just recorded, as indicated by places to-day:

The "Kinzie mansion" was on the north side of the Chicago River, at the intersection of Pine and North Water Streets, as they now are in "Kinzie's addition," and about eighty feet east of the Lake House.

The house of Onilmette was between what are now Rush and Cass Streets, on North Water Street. Burns's was near the foot of Wolcott Street, on the bank of the river. The east end of the Chicago and Galena Freight Dépôt covers the spot.

The place where the fight commenced was between the Widow Clarke's and the lake. The trees are still standing which stood there at that day.

"Lee's Place" was about a fourth of a mile above where Halstead Street crosses the South Branch.

Captain Wells was killed near the foot of Twelfth Street, on the Lake Shore path.

The "Oak Woods" were, in 1862, "Camp Douglas," just beyond the southern limits of the city, on the Lake Shore. "Chicago University" and the grave of the late Stephen A. Douglas, who owned the property, occupy a portion of the tract.

The place of the parley was about at the intersection of the Archer Road and Clarke Street.

² See page 56.

³ See page 197.

⁴ James Rhea was a native of New Jersey, and was lieutenant and adjutant of "Rhea's levies" in 1791. He was ensign and second lieutenant of infantry in 1799, and was promoted to first lieutenant in 1800. He was commissioned a captain in July, 1807, and resigned at Fort Wayne at the close of 1812.—Gardner's *Dictionary of the Army*, page 377.

tary of the White River, within the limits of the present Scott County, in Southern Indiana, on the 3d of September.^a They first killed two bee-hunters of the settlement;¹ and between sunset and dark they murdered one man, five women, and sixteen children.² Only two men and five children escaped.³ These made their way, under the cover of the night, to the house of a settler six miles distant. One hundred and fifty mounted riflemen, under Major John M'Coy, gave chase to the murderers the next day.^b They followed them twenty miles, but they escaped during the night. The militia of Scott, Jefferson, Clarke, and Knox Counties were soon assembled, and were joined^c by about three hundred and fifty volunteers from Kentucky, under Colonel Geiger, for the purpose of destroying the towns of the Delawares, on the White River, who were suspected of being the murderers. Evidence of the innocence and even friendliness of those Indians was not wanting, and they were spared. From that time until the close of the war, the settlers in that region lived in a continual state of fear and excitement.⁴

For several days the Indians, in large numbers, had been seen hovering in the woods around Fort Wayne, and on the night of the 5th of September they commenced a series of attacks by firing upon the sentinels, without effect. Up to that time, the Miamis in the neighborhood, who had resolved to join the British, had made great professions of friendship, hoping, no doubt, to gain possession of the fort by a surprise. This hypocrisy availed them nothing, so they cast off all disguise and opened hostilities. On the morning of the 6th they were invisible, and some of the soldiers ventured out of the fort. They had not proceeded seventy yards when bullets from a concealed foe killed two of their number. Their companions hastened back, carrying the bodies of their comrades with them.

On the night of the 6th the whole body of Indians, supposed to have been six hundred strong, attacked the fort. They attempted to scale the palisades, but so vigilant and skillful were the garrison that the savages were not permitted to do the least damage. Perceiving such assaults to be useless, they resolved to employ strategy in the morning. Two logs were formed into the shape of cannon, and placed in battery before the fort. A half-breed, with a flag, approached and informed the commandant that the British, then on their march, had sent them two battery cannon, and that if a surrender was not immediately made, the fort would be battered down. He also threatened a general massacre of the garrison within three days, as a re-enforcement of seven hundred Indian warriors were expected the next day. The troops were not frightened by the "Quaker guns." They were aware that friends were on the way to relieve them,⁵ and resolved to hold out while their provisions lasted. For nearly three days after the menace there was quiet. Then the savages renewed the at-

¹ Jeremiah Payne and Frederick Kaupftman.

² These were Henry Collings and his wife; the wife of Jeremiah Payne and eight of her children; Mrs. Richard Collings and seven of her children; Mrs. John Morris and her only child, and Mrs. Morris, the mother of her husband.

³ Mrs. Jane Biggs and her three children, and the aged William Collings and Captain John Morris, with two of the children (John and Lydia) of Mrs. Collings who was murdered. They all escaped to the house of Zebulon Collings.—Dillon's *History of Indiana*, page 492.

⁴ Mr. Zebulon Collings, to whose house the fugitives from The Pigeon Roost escaped, has left on record the following vivid account of the sense of peril felt by the settlers during those dark days between the summer of 1812 and 1813: "The manner in which I used to work was as follows: on all occasions I carried my rifle, tomahawk, and butcher-knife, with a loaded pistol in my belt. When I went to plow, I laid my gun on the plowed ground, and stuck up a stick by it for a mark, so that I could get it quick in case it was wanted. I had two good dogs. I took one into the house, leaving the other out. The one outside was expected to give the alarm, which would cause the one inside to bark, by which I would be awakened, having my arms always loaded. I kept my horses in a stable close to the house, having a port-hole so that I could shoot to the stable-door. During two years I never went from home with a certainty of returning, not knowing the minute I might receive a ball from an unknown hand; but, in the midst of all these dangers, that God who never sleeps nor slumbers has kept me."—Dillon's *History of Indiana*, page 493.

⁵ General Harrison, then at Piqua in command of Kentucky troops, sent Major William Oliver, a gallant officer, with four Shawnoese, to Fort Wayne to assure the garrison of speedy re-enforcement. They pushed through the wilderness for about sixty miles. Oliver was in Indian costume. When they approached the fort they came upon the out-guards of the savages. With great skill they evaded them, made their way through the lines of the besiegers, and, with feet foot, gained the fort. Oliver and his companions remained there until the close of the siege.—*Early History of the Maumee Valley*, by H. L. Hosmer, page 32.

Siege of Fort Wayne raised.

Ravages of the Indians.

The Grave of Little Turtle.

tack,¹ and kept up a fire at intervals for twelve hours. On the following day they raised a tremendous war-whoop, to frighten the garrison, and again commenced an assault, with as little success as on previous occasions. The patient little garrison remained unharmed; and on the 12th, the besiegers fled precipitately, having heard of the approach of a large re-enforcement for the fort. That evening the deliverers arrived, and Fort Wayne was saved.¹

¹ September 9,
1812.



FORT WAYNE IN 1812.

Before they left, the Indians destroyed every thing outside the fort—live-stock, crops, and dwellings. Among the latter was the house of Captain Wells, who was killed at Chicago. It was on his reservation of rich bottom lands on the north side of the St. Mary's River, opposite the present city of Fort Wayne, and not more than half a mile distant from it. When I visited the spot in the autumn of 1860, in company with the venerable Mr. Hedges, already mentioned,² and the Hon. I. D. G. Nelson, more than twenty apple-trees of an orchard planted by Captain Wells—the oldest in Northern Indiana, having been set out in 1804 or 1805—were yet standing, shorn of beauty, huge, gnarled, and fantastical, but fruit-bearing still. They were on the land of Mr. Edward Smith, on the east side of the road from Fort Wayne to White Pigeon. In Mr. Smith's garden, which was within the inclosure of the orchard, only a few yards westward of a group of larger trees, was the grave of the Little Turtle. Its place is marked in our little sketch of that group



THE LITTLE TURTLE'S GRAVE.

of five apple-trees by the figures in the foreground. There the Little Turtle was buried in the middle of July, 1812, and his nephew, Co-is-see, pronounced a funeral oration at his grave. His residence was then at Eel River, about fifteen miles northwest of Fort Wayne. He had come to the fort to be treated by the garrison surgeon for the gout, and died there.³ Mr. Hedges was at his funeral.

¹ Thomson's *Sketches of the War*, page 56; M'Artee, page 127.

² See page 44.

³ Mr. Drake, in his *Book of the Indians*, quotes the following notice of the Little Turtle's death from one of the public prints of the day: "Fort Wayne, 21 July, 1812.—On the 14th instant the celebrated Miami chief, the Little Turtle, died at this place, at the age of sixty-five years. Perhaps there is not left on this continent one of his color so distinguished in council and in war. His disorder was the gout. He died in a camp, because he chose to be in the open air. He met

By the side of his remains reposed those of his sister, the wife of Captain Wells. Their graves were unhonored, but I was informed that the kinsfolk of the noted man were about to erect a neat monument to mark the place of their sepulture.

Fort Wayne, delineated on page 315, was built, as we have seen (page 56), in the autumn of 1794. It was not on the site of the old French stockade, known as Fort Miami;¹ nor on that of the one which was occupied by an English garrison, consisting of a captain's command, at the time of Pontiac's conspiracy in 1763. At that time the old Fort Miami was a ruin, and the stockade to which reference is here made was in perfect order. It was about half a mile from the present bridge across the Maumee, on the east bank of the St. Joseph. The commander was a surgeon, and his profession was the cause of his own death and the capture of the garrison by the Indians at that time. He was asked by an Indian girl to go out of the fort to see a sick savage at the Miami village near by, where a young woman of the tribe, chosen for the purpose, to show the contempt of the savages for the English, murdered him. The garrison became prisoners to the Miamis.² When, three years later, George Croghan visited the spot, the fort was "somewhat ruinous." He found forty or fifty Indian cabins at the village across the Maumee (that "stood on both sides of the St. Joseph"), besides "nine or ten French houses." Among the latter was that of Drouet de Richardville, a French trader, and father of Chief Richardville, already mentioned as the successor of the Little Turtle.³ The fort of 1794-1812 stood on the bank of the Mau-



BRIDGE AT THE HEAD OF THE MAUMEE, AT FORT WAYNE.

mée (see map on page 266), at the junction of the present Main and Clay Streets, Fort Wayne. The Wabash and Erie Canal passes through a portion of it. It was a

his death with great firmness. The Agent for Indian Affairs had him buried with the honors of war, and other marks of distinction suited to his character." A writer, quoted by Mr. Drake, says that he saw the Little Turtle, soon after St. Clair's defeat, at Montreal, and described him as about six feet in height, soor and morose, and apparently crafty and subtle. He wore Indian moccasins, a blue petticoat that came half way down his thighs, and a European waistcoat and surcoat. On his head was a cap that hung half way down his back, bespangled with about two hundred silver brooches. In each ear were two rings, the upper parts of each bearing three silver medallions about the size of a dollar, and the lower parts quarters of a dollar. They fell more than twelve inches from his ears. One from each ear fell over his breast, the others over his back. He also had three large nose jewels of silver, cunningly painted. Little Turtle was of mixed blood—half Mohican and half Miami. Colonel Johnston, who knew him well, called him "the gentleman of his race."

¹ The French governor of Louisiana mentioned this stockade in a letter in 1761. It was situated near the St. Mary's probably in the vicinity of the canal aqueduct. The dim outlines of this fort were traced by Wayne in 1794, and by Colonel Johnston in 1800.—Lecture by J. L. Williams before the congregation of the First Presbyterian Church of Fort Wayne, March 7th, 1860.

² Oral statement of Colonel John Johnston, of Dayton, Ohio, to the writer, who knew the murderer, she being a resident of the Miami village when he went to Fort Wayne in the year 1800. Colonel Johnston gave me the names of the United States commanders of the fort in regular succession, as follows: Colonels J. F. Hamtramck, and Thomas Hunt; Majors John Whistler, Thomas Pastear, and Zebulon M. Pike; Captains Nathan Heald, James Rhea, and Hugh Moore; and Colonel Joseph H. Vose. The fort was abandoned in 1815. Captain Vose was a citizen of Manchester, and had been commissioned a captain in the Twenty-first Infantry in April, 1812. Colonel Johnston, in a letter written in 1808, said that Captain Vose was the only army officer within his knowledge, in 1812, who publicly professed Christianity. He was in the constant habit of assembling his men on the Sabbath and reading the Scriptures to them, and conversing with them on religious subjects.—Williams's Lecture, p. 12. Captain Vose was promoted to major during the War of 1812. In 1842 he received the commission of colonel. He died at the New Orleans barracks, just below the city, on the 10th of July, 1846.

³ Dillon's *History of Indiana*, p. 405.

Fort Harrison besieged.

Perils of the Garrison.

Firmness and Courage of Captain Taylor.

well-built stockade, with two block-houses and comfortable barracks, and of sufficient strength to defy the Indians, but not the British with cannon. A large and substantial bridge now spans the Maumee from near the site of Fort Wayne to the plains on which the Miami village stood. The sketch on page 316 was taken from near the line of the eastern side of the fort. At the centre of the picture is seen the point of confluence of the St. Mary's and the St. Joseph's rivers, which form the Maumee.

While these demonstrations against Fort Wayne were in progress, similar efforts were made against Fort Harrison, on the Wabash. At sunset on the day of the Pigeon Roost massacre,^a two young haymakers near Fort Harrison were ^{September 3,} killed and scalped by a party of Indians. The crack of the murderers' ^{1812.} muskets was heard at the fort, and excited the vigilance of Captain Zachary Taylor, the commander of the garrison, who was just recovering from an attack of bilious fever. On the following morning the bodies of the young men were taken to the fort and buried. Late that evening^b old Joseph Lenar came to the fort with ^{September 4.} a flag, followed by about forty Indians, one fourth of them women. The men were chiefs of the several tribes—Winnebagoes, Kickapoos, Pottawatomies, Shawnoese, and some Miamis—who still adhered to the fortunes of the Prophet. They came from his town near Tippecanoe, on the Wabash, where he was still busy in stirring up the Indians against the white people. One of Lenar's party, a Shawnoese who could speak English, told Taylor that their leader would speak to him in the morning about food for his company. Friendly Miamis had warned Taylor of the hostile disposition of all the neighboring tribes, and he was perfectly on his guard.

The garrison consisted of only about fifty men, of whom, on account of the prevailing fevers, not much more than a dozen were free from the care of Dr. Clark, the surgeon. Only six privates and two non-commissioned officers could mount guard at a time. Yet now, in the presence of impending danger, some of the convalescents went freely upon duty. The arms of the garrison were examined with great care that evening; and, when every thing necessary for watchfulness and security had been arranged, the commander, weak and exhausted, lay down and fell asleep. His slumbers were short. Toward midnight he was aroused by the firing of his sentinels. Springing from his couch, he hastened to the parade and ordered every man to his post. It was soon ascertained that the lower block-house (on the left of the picture of the fort on page 315), had been set on fire by the savages. It was the most important point in the fort excepting the magazine, for there were the contractor's stores—the supplies for the garrison. The guns, at this time, had "begun to fire pretty smartly" on both sides, and the attack and defense were fairly begun at a little past eleven, with great vigor.

The chief efforts of the commander were directed to the extinguishment of the fire. General confusion reigned, and efforts for the safety of the fort were, for a while, put forth feebly. The entire garrison were either sick or faint with fatigue, and for a time the utter destruction of the whole fortification seemed inevitable. The block-house was consumed, and the fort was thus opened to the savage foe. This exposure and their horrid yells dismayed the little garrison, and for a moment they regarded all as lost, and gave up in despair. Two of the stoutest and most trusted of the soldiers leaped the palisades, and attempted to escape, leaving their companions to their fate. Nothing saved the fort and garrison but the presence of mind, courage, prudence, and energy of the commander. The fire was about to communicate to the barracks, when he shouted, "Pull off the roofs nearest the block-house, pour on water, and all will be well!" His voice gave new courage to his troops. Water was brought in buckets, and several of the men, led by Dr. Clark, climbed to the roof, cut off the boards, and by great exertions, in the face of bullets and arrows, they subdued the flames, and saved the menaced buildings. Only eighteen or twenty feet of the fort was opened by the fire, and up to this time only one man had been killed

and two wounded. Before daylight the breach was covered by a breastwork as high as a man's head, in spite of the incessant firing of the foe, and only one man was killed (none wounded) in the fort. At six o'clock in the morning, when the garrison returned the fire more briskly, after a conflict of almost eight hours, the savages retired beyond the reach of the guns of the fort, and then proceeded to destroy or drive off the live-stock—horses, hogs, and cattle—found in the neighborhood. Fortunately for the garrison, the standing corn around the fort was left unharmed. Their food having been destroyed with the block-house that contained it, and their cattle being driven away, they were compelled to subsist for several days on that delicious and nourishing green corn.

One of the men who leaped the pickets and fled from the fort returned toward morning badly wounded. He approached the gate, and begged, "for God's sake," to be let in. Captain Taylor was near, but, not recognizing the voice, and believing it to be a trick of the Indians to get the gate open, he ordered the soldiers near to shoot the man. Fortunately for him, he had run to the other bastion with the same supplication, where his voice was recognized, and he was told to lie quietly behind some empty barrels at the foot of the pickets until morning. He did so, and was saved. His companion had been literally cut in pieces by the savages within a few yards of the fort. The entire loss of the garrison was only three men killed and three wounded, and all but two of the latter met with disaster because of disobedience of orders.¹



J. Taylor

On the 5th^a Captain Taylor ^{September, 1812} effectively repaired the breach in the fort made by the fire by placing in the opening strong pickets made of the logs of the guard-house; and he furnished a messenger with dispatches for Vincennes, asking for relief. This was a difficult task, for the Indians hovered about the fort for several days. At length the messenger made his way through their circumvallating line, during a dark night, and soon afterward General Hopkins, with Kentucky Volunteers, marched up the valley on an expedition against the Indians on the head waters of the Wabash, and gave ample relief to the sick, weary, and worn soldiers at Fort Harrison.

The soldierly qualities displayed by Captain Taylor in the defense of his post against such fearful odds won for him promotion to a major by brevet, and from that time until his death, nearly forty years afterward, which occurred while he was President of the United States, he was one of the most reliable,

useful, and modest of public officers.²

¹ Captain Taylor's Dispatch to Governor Harrison, dated "Fort Harrison, September 10, 1812."

² Zachary Taylor was born in Orange County, Virginia, on the 24th of September, 1784. His father removed with his family to Kentucky the following year, and settled near the site of the present city of Louisville, then known as The Falls of the Ohio. Zachary entered the army when about twenty-five years of age as first lieutenant of infantry. Two years afterward (May, 1810) he was promoted to captain, and at about the same time he was married to Margaret Smith, a young lady of good family in Maryland. When war was declared he was in command of Fort Harrison, and for his

Attack on Fort Madison.

Repulse of the Savages.

Biography of Zachary Taylor.

Simultaneous with the attack on Fort Harrison, an attempt was made by a party of the British allies to capture a small military post a short distance from the site of the present city of St. Louis, on the bank of the Mississippi River. The place was called Bellevue, and the stockade Fort Madison. The post was very ineligibly situated, and totally unfitted for defense. The savages appeared before it on the afternoon of the 5th of September.^a They were fierce Winnebagoes, two hundred strong. The garrison, under Lieutenants Hamilton and Vasques, consisted of a small party of the First Regiment of United States Light Infantry. The approach of the foe was heralded by the shooting and scalping of one of the garrison within thirty yards of the fort. For three days the Indians kept up the assault, with frequent attempts to fire the block-houses and barracks. Buildings outside were burnt, and all the livestock were slaughtered. The gallant little garrison defended the imperiled fort, with great spirit and perseverance, until ten o'clock on the night of the 8th, when the enemy withdrew. With the exception of the man murdered at the commencement of the attack, not one of the garrison was seriously injured. One of the men was slightly wounded in the nose.

services there in defending it, in September, 1812, he was breveted a major. He was an active and useful officer in the West during the remainder of the war. When the army was reduced at the close of the contest, he was deprived of his commission of major, and recommissioned a captain, in consequence of which he resigned. He was soon afterward called back to the service by President Madison, and commissioned a major in the Third Infantry, and placed in command of a post at Green Bay. In 1819 he was promoted to lieutenant colonel, and in that position he remained until 1822, when President Jackson commissioned him a colonel. He served with distinction in the "Black Hawk War" that year, and remained in command of Fort Crawford, at Prairie du Chien, until 1836, when he was sent to Florida to operate against the Seminole Indians. His services there were of great importance, and at the close of 1837 he was breveted brigadier general. He remained in charge of all the troops in Florida until 1840, when he was appointed to the command of the southwestern division of the army. Fort Gibson was made his head-quarters in 1841, and the same year he purchased an estate near Baton Rouge, Louisiana, and placed his family there. When, in 1845, war with Mexi-



GENERAL TAYLOR'S RESIDENCE AT BATON ROUGE.

co was imminent, he was ordered to take post in Texas with an army of observation, as it was called. It soon became an army of invasion. In the war that ensued he gained, in quick succession, several brilliant battles; and when the conflict was ended, and he returned home, he was greeted with the wildest enthusiasm. Congress honored him with the commission, by brevet, of major general, its thanks, and also with a ponderous gold medal, "in the name of the republic, as a tribute due to his gallant conduct, valor, and generosity to the vanquished." The "Whig" party nominated him for the presidency of the grateful republic, and he was elected to that high office in November, 1848. He entered upon the exalted duties of his office on the 4th of March, 1849, and died at the presidential mansion, in Washington City, on the 9th of July, 1850, at the age of sixty-five years.

The portrait of General Taylor, given on page 318, is from a daguerreotype taken after his return from Mexico. The picture of his residence is a fac-simile of a pencil-sketch made by the venerated hero himself for the author, in November, 1848. In his letter covering the drawing, he says, "The sketch, you will perceive, is rude, but the best I can offer to you at this time. Indeed, the building is rude in itself, and scarcely worthy of being sketched. I hope, however, that this may be suited to your purposes." It was the residence of Colonel Dixon, the English commander at Baton Rouge, when the fort there was taken by the Spaniards, under Don Bernardo de Galvez, in 1779, and that commander then made it his residence. It was demolished in 1859.

CHAPTER XVI

"They rise, by stream and yellow shore,
By mountain, moor, and fen;
By weedy rock and torrent roar,
And lone some forest glen!
From many a moody, moss-grown mound,
Start forth a war-worn band,
As when, of old, they caught the sound
Of hostile arms, and closed around,
To guard their native land."

J. McLELLAN, JR.



WE have observed that troops, in ample numbers, were sent to the relief of Forts Harrison and Wayne. Whence came they? What spirit animated them when pushing eagerly into the wilderness among hostile Indians, after the disasters in the Northwest — the utter failure of Hull's campaign, which had created such great expectations on the part of both government and people? Let us consult contemporary records and traditions for an answer.

Those sad disasters on the Northwestern frontier, aroused, as we have before observed, the most intense feelings of indignation and mortified pride throughout the whole country, and especially in the region west of the Alleghany Mountains and beyond the Ohio River, which was thereby exposed to Indian raids and British invasion. When intelligence of those disasters spread over that region, a burning desire to wipe out the disgrace was universal; and there was a general uprising of sentiment and action for the recovery of all that had been lost, the extermination of the brutal savages, and the expulsion of their British allies from the soil of the Republic.¹

Even before the formal declaration of war Kentucky had made military preparations for the event. Her quota of the one hundred thousand detached militia which the President was authorized to summon to the field was almost ready when the fat went forth. Early in May, Governor Scott,² in obedience to instructions from the War Department, had organized ten regiments (the quota of his state), and filled

¹ "The War," a weekly paper, published in the City of New York, by Samuel Woodworth, the poet, gives the following glimpses of the spirit of the people at that time in its issue of September 19, 1812: "The citizens of Albany, immediately on hearing of the surrender of General Hull, commenced a subscription for raising a regiment of volunteers. Very liberal subscriptions were made for the comfort and convenience of those who might offer their services. A regiment of volunteers is also raising in the City of Baltimore, and \$16,000 have already been subscribed for the purpose of furnishing the men with every thing necessary for their comfort. Fifteen hundred men are immediately to march from Virginia, to rendezvous at Point Pleasant, on the Ohio. The ladies of Richmond volunteered their services to make tents, knapsacks, etc. for the soldiers, and in five days all things were ready. When the news of the fall of Detroit reached Lexington, in Kentucky, instead of deploring the loss, the citizens immediately set about repairing it. An immense number of volunteers immediately came forward, among whom were several members of Congress, and shouldered their muskets in their country's cause. The greatest enthusiasm prevails throughout the whole Western country: almost every man has volunteered his services, and, if we may judge from appearances, it will not be long before our Western brethren will wipe away the stain upon the American arms by the ignominious surrender of Detroit and the American army under General Hull.

² "The citizens of New York are forming patriotic associations for the purpose of raising funds to assist the families of volunteers and drafts detached for the defense of the borders, who may be in want during their absence on duty. Large supplies of vegetables, coffee, tea, chocolate, sugar, etc., have also been sent to the troops stationed in and about the harbor. This conduct is worthy of imitation."

³ Charles Scott was a native of Cumberland County, Virginia. He was a corporal in a militia company under Braddock in the campaign of 1756, and was a distinguished officer in the Revolution. See Lossing's *Field-Book of the Revolution*. For a brief biographical sketch of him and his signature, see this same, Note 3, II., 141.

Governors Meigs and Harrison active.

Harrison in Kentucky.

Volunteers flocking to the Camp.

them without difficulty with volunteers, making an effective force of five thousand five hundred men.

Governor Meigs, of Ohio, was equally active and vigilant. He promptly responded to the call for troops to accompany Hull to Detroit, as we have seen; and when he was informed of the danger that menaced Hull's command, he immediately ordered out the remaining portion of the quota of detached militia, twelve hundred in number, to rendezvous at Urbana, on the border of the wilderness, under Brigadier General Tupper. And when the fall of Detroit was known, he sent expresses in every direction to the militia generals of the frontier, with orders to adopt energetic measures for defense within their respective commands, and to advise the inhabitants on the borders of the wilderness to associate and erect block-houses for the defense and accommodation of families. He also sent arms and ammunition to different parts from the public stores at Urbana.¹

Governor Harrison, of Indiana, with his usual vigilance, promptness, and forecast, had already caused block-houses and stockades to be erected in various parts of his territory as defenses against the hostile Indians, and the militia were placed in a state of preparation for immediate action when called upon. He had been authorized by the national government to take command of all the troops of the territories of Indiana and Illinois in prosecuting the war against the Indians commenced in the autumn of 1811, and to call on the Governor of Kentucky for any portion of the contingent of that state which was not in service. Under that authority he went to Kentucky, by invitation of Governor Scott, to confer respecting the troops of that state. Kentucky was forever freed from apprehensions of Indian incursions, and her sons, who had suffered, were eager to assist their neighbors over the Ohio in their efforts to drive the murderous hordes back into the wilderness.

Harrison repaired to Frankfort, where the military were paraded and he was honored with a public reception. He remained there several days, and met many of the most eminent military men and civilians in the state. He comprehended in all its length and breadth the difficulties and dangers to which Hull was exposed, and expressed his opinions freely at a dinner-party in Lexington, whereat Henry Clay was one of the guests. That gentleman and others urged him to present his views to the government.² He did so in a letter, dated the 10th of August, in which he suggested a system of military operations in the Northwest. He expressed his fears of the result of the fall of Mackinack, by which the Indian tribes might be let loose upon Detroit, and "meet, and perhaps overpower, the convoys and re-enforcements" which had been, or might be, sent to Hull. After speaking of those re-enforcements, he said: "I rely greatly upon the valor of these troops; but it is possible that the event may be adverse to us, and if it is, *Detroit must fall*, and with it every hope of re-establishing our affairs in that quarter until the next year."

Before this letter reached the War Department, Detroit had fallen, and Chicago too, and the worst fears of the people of the West were realized. But these disasters, instead of depressing them, gave them increased elasticity and strength. The whole total of society bordering upon the Ohio River heaved, like a storm-smitten ocean in its wrath, with patriotic emotions. The murders by the Indians which soon followed, and the alliance of the British with such fierce barbarians, excited a vehement cry for retributive justice. Christian civilization, national pride, and an enlightened patriotism, all pleaded for vindication, and nobly was that plea responded to. When a call for troops was made, men of every class and condition of life—farmers, merchants, lawyers, physicians, and young men innumerable—flocked to the recruiting stations and offered their services. Tenfold more men than were needed might have

¹ Reply of Governor Meigs to the memorial of the citizens of Chillicothe, Ohio, on the subject of protecting the frontier.—*Niles's Weekly Register*, September 26, 1812.

² *Memoirs of the Public Services of William Henry Harrison*, by James Hall, p. 100.

been mustered in Kentucky alone. Nor was Ohio, in proportion to its population, behind its elder sister state in practical enthusiasm. Governor Meigs was indefatigable in his efforts; and the people every where responded to the call of local officers, as well as of the chief magistrate, with the greatest alacrity, to form an ample army for both protection and conquest. It was resolved to recover all that had been lost within the territory of the United States, and to take Malden, the focus of the British-Indian power in the Northwest.

At this moment the venerable Isaac Shelby, one of the heroes of King's Mountain, appears upon the stirring scene as the successor of General Scott in the executive chair of the State of Kentucky. With his usual sagacity, he surveyed the field of operations determined upon, and strongly recommended the government to appoint a Board of War for the region west of the Alleghanies, to prevent the delays caused by the operations of what is termed, in our day, "red-tape policy"—in other words, the absolute control, by a central power hundreds of miles away, of minor movements which the exigency of the hour might demand as of vast importance. "If such a board," he said, "was now organized, and I had the control of the present armament, I would pledge myself the Indians would have cause to lament this campaign, and their temerity in joining the British and deserting the friendship of the United States." Governor Shelby's advice was not utterly disregarded; but no practical results followed. The War Department promised to "think about it," and no conclusion seems ever to have been reached.

Governor Harrison was very popular, and it was the general desire of the volunteers and militia of the West, who had been gathering at different points since the declaration of war was made, that he who had shown such soldierly qualities in the little campaign that ended at Tippecanoe the previous year, should now be their leader against the British and Indians. Governor Scott, Harrison's warm personal friend, was anxious to place him in chief command of all the Kentucky troops, but he could not do so legally, for the Governor of Indiana was not a citizen of that state. But Scott was not a man to allow technicalities to interfere with great concerns in time of danger; so he invited several prominent men, among whom were Shelby (the governor elect), Henry Clay (the Speaker of the National House of Representatives), and Thomas Todd, Judge of the United States District Court, to meet him and consult upon the subject. They unanimously requested the governor to make the appointment; and accordingly he issued a commission^a to Harrison, by which he was invested with the title of "Major General of the Militia of Kentucky" by brevet. By a commission dated three days earlier, President Madison appointed him a brigadier general in the Army of the United States.

On the 27th of August Harrison was at Cincinnati, and in a letter of that date to Governor Meigs, after mentioning his appointment, he said: "It remains for your excellency to determine what assistance I shall derive from your state. The Kentucky troops which are placed at my disposal are two regiments of infantry and one of riflemen, now at this place; three regiments of infantry, one of dragoons, and one of mounted riflemen, in full march to join me, and making in the aggregate upward of four thousand men. The three regiments which are now here will march immediately for Urbana; and should the report of the capture of General Hull's army prove untrue, I shall join them either at that place or before they reach it, and proceed to Detroit without waiting for the regiments in my rear."¹

In addition to the Kentucky troops here referred to, others were dispatched for the protection of the Territories of Illinois and Indiana.² Some of those destined for the

¹ Autograph letter, August 27, 1812.

² "The regiment commanded by Colonel Barbour," says M'Affee, "when ordered into service at the call of Governor Harrison, was directed to rendezvous at the Red Barracks, with a view of marching to the aid of Governor Edwards, at Buskin's, in the Illinois Territory. The regiments of Colonels Wilcox and Miller were ordered to rendezvous at Louis-

Gathering of Troops.

Departure for the Wilderness.

Harrison commissioned a Brigadier General.

latter region having been called, by the exigencies of current events, to Ohio, Harrison thought it desirable to raise an additional force for Indiana. In compliance with his request, Governor Shelby issued a proclamation early in September for the raising of a large corps of mounted volunteers, to repair immediately to Vincennes; and all of the Kentucky troops destined for that post were placed under the command of the venerable soldier of the Revolution, Brigadier General Samuel Hopkins. That proclamation brought hundreds of Kentuckians, from all parts of the state, to the standard of the Union. Every body seemed willing to march for the defense of the frontiers; and the question was not, Who will go? but, Who shall stay?¹ Before the 1st of October, Kentucky had more than seven thousand of her sons in the field. At about the same time, in obedience to an order from the Secretary of War, two thousand troops under General Robert Crooks, from Western Pennsylvania, and fifteen hundred under General Joel Leftwich,² from Western Virginia, proceeded to join the Army of the Northwest.

Before leaving Frankfort, General Harrison had issued an address to the people of Kentucky, accompanied by another from General Scott, calling for five hundred mounted volunteers. The Honorable Richard M. Johnson, who had distinguished himself in Congress, also issued an address for the same purpose; and they had the desired effect. The latter gentleman, and John Logan, and William S. Hunter, Esqs., were appointed aids to the general; and when he departed for Cincinnati, Johnson was left to lead on such mounted troops as might be raised by the 1st of September.

On the 28th of August Harrison issued a general order from his head-quarters at Cincinnati, directing all the troops under his command to continue their march toward Dayton on the following morning, and prescribing in detail the discipline and tactics to be observed.³ The troops marched early; and on the morning of the 31st, when they had passed Lebanon a short distance, forty miles from Cincinnati, Harrison overtook them, and was received with the most hearty cheers of welcome from the whole line. They reached Dayton on Tuesday, the 1st of September, and while on his march toward Piqua the following day the commanding general was overtaken by an express bearing to him the commission of brigadier general from the President, with instructions to take command of all the forces in the Territories of Indiana and Illinois, and to co-operate with General Hull, and with Governor Howard of the Missouri Territory.

Harrison was embarrassed by the instructions which accompanied the appointment, and he refrained from accepting it until he should have definite information from the War Department as to his relations to General Winchester, of the Regulars, to whom

ville and on the Ohio below, for the purpose of marching to Vincennes to protect the Indiana Territory. Colonels Barbee and Jennings were at first ordered to the same place; but, in consequence of the perilous situation of the Northwestern Army, they were now directed, by express, to rendezvous at Georgetown on the 1st of September, and pursue the other regiments, by the way of Newport and Cincinnati, for the Northwestern frontiers. The regiment of Colonel Paogue was called to rendezvous at Newport, on its way to the Northwestern Army; and a regiment of dragoons, under Colonel Simral, was likewise directed to proceed for the same destination.—*History of the Late War in the Western Country*, page 109.

¹ M'Afee, page 111.

² Died April 20, 1846.

³ On the same day General Harrison, who had heard of the fall of Detroit and Chicago, and knew the danger to which Fort Wayne would be exposed, wrote as follows to the Secretary of War: "I shall march to-morrow morning with the troops I have here, taking the route of Dayton and Piqua. The relief of Fort Wayne will be my first object, and my after operations will be guided by circumstances until I receive your instructions. Considering my command as merely provisional, I shall cheerfully conform to any other arrangements which the government may think proper to make. The troops which I have with me, and those which are coming from Kentucky, are perhaps the best materials for forming an army that the world has produced. But no equal number of men was ever collected who knew so little of military discipline, nor have I any assistants that can give me the least aid, if there was even time for it, but Captain Adams, of the 4th Regiment, who was left here sick, and whom I have appointed deputy adjutant general until the pleasure of the President can be known. No arms for cavalry have yet arrived at Newport, and I shall be forced to put muskets in the hands of all the dragoons. I have written to the quarter-master at Pittsburg to request him to forward all supplies of arms, equipments, and quarter-master's stores as soon as possible. I have also requested him to send down a few pieces of artillery without waiting your order, and wait your instruction as to a farther number. There is but one piece of artillery, one iron four-pounder, any where that I can hear of in the country. If it is intended to retake the posts that we have lost, and reduce Menden this season, the artillery must be sent on as soon as possible." He also complained of a want of facility for getting money on drafts. Such were the inadequate preparations made by the government for the promotion of the war in the Northwest, when it was first commenced.

A divided Command deprecated. Winchester and Harrison. Crowds of Volunteers. Harrison's Influence.

had been assigned the chief command of the Army of the Northwest. The original object in the formation of that army having been co-operation with Hull in the capture of Malden, and the reduction and occupation of Canada West, the whole aspect of affairs had been changed by the loss of Hull and his army. Harrison suggested to the Department the importance of having one military head in the Northwest; and, with the justification of pressing necessity, he laid aside his usual modesty, and preferred his own claim to that distinction, on the ground of his superior knowledge of the country and the savages with whom they had to contend, and the universally expressed desire of the troops that he should be their chief leader. Having made this response to the government by the express who brought his commission and instructions, Harrison pressed forward in the path of duty to Piqua, on the bank of the Great Miami, with the intention of there resigning his command into the hands of General Winchester. He had two thousand troops with him, and two thousand were on their way to join him.

Piqua was reached on the 3d of September, and there Harrison was informed of the critical situation of Fort Wayne, and of the rumored marching from Malden, on the 18th of August, of a large force of British and Indians under Major Muir, with the intention of joining the savages in the siege of that place. Winchester, to whom Harrison had written, had not arrived. There would be great danger in delay, and Harrison resolved not to wait for his superior, but, retaining command, send detachments immediately forward to the relief of the menaced garrison. For this purpose he detached Lieutenant Colonel John Allen's regiment of Regulars, with two companies from Lewis's and one from Scott's regiments, with instructions to make forced marches until their object should be accomplished.¹ At the same time he dispatched a messenger, as we have seen, to assure the garrison of Fort Wayne of approaching relief.² Already seven hundred mounted men, under Colonel Adams, had advanced to Shaw's Crossing of the St. Mary's River, not far from Fort Wayne. The troop was composed of citizens of Ohio of all ages and conditions, who, in hearing of the disasters northward, and the perils of Fort Wayne, had hastened to the field. "Such, indeed, was the ardor of the citizens," says a contemporary, "that every road leading to the frontiers was invaded with unsolicited volunteers."³ The exasperation in the West against the British and Indians was intense.

Harrison had observed some restlessness among the troops under the restraints of discipline. On the morning of the 5th^a he addressed them briefly, read the Articles of War, endeavored to impress their minds with the importance of discipline and obedience, told them that the danger to which Fort Wayne was then exposed demanded an immediate forced march for its relief, and requested those who could not endure the life of a true soldier to leave the ranks. Only one man did so, when his companions, thinking him too feeble to walk, carried him on a rail to the banks of the Great Miami, and gave him a "plunge bath," not, perhaps, in strict accordance with the fashion prescribed by Priessnitz. The effect was salutary, and murmurings ceased. Such discipline, exercised by the soldiers themselves, was a hopeful sign for the commander.

Colonel John Johnston, the Indian agent, was residing at Piqua.⁴ At the request of Harrison, he sent some Shawnoese to old Fort Defiance, at the mouth of the Au Glaize River, to ascertain whether any British troops had gone up the Maumee Valley. Logan, a powerful half-breed, was sent to Fort Wayne for information. Both parties were successful, and returned with important messages. No British troops had passed up the Maumee, and Fort Wayne was closely besieged by the savages.

¹ M'Acfee, page 121.

² See note 5, page 314.

³ M'Acfee, page 121.

⁴ For the purpose of neutralizing, if possible, the effects of British influence over the tribes of Ohio, a council had been held at Piqua on the 16th of August. Governor Meigs, Thomas Worthington, and Jeremiah Morrow were the commissioners on the part of the United States. Every thing promised success; but while the council was in progress news of the fall of Detroit and Chicago reached Piqua, and frustrated the plans of the white people.

The Army in the Wilderness. Preparations for Battle. Fort Wayne relieved. Destruction of Indian Towns.

Harrison was compelled to wait at the Piqua until the morning of the 6th^a for flints. At dawn of that day his forces were under motion, and before eight o'clock they had fairly plunged into the great wilderness beyond the borders of civilization. In order to march rapidly and easily, the troops had left most of their clothing and baggage at Piqua; and on the afternoon of the 8th, they overtook Allen's regiment at St. Mary, sometimes called "Girty's Town,"¹ or the First Crossing of the St. Mary River. There they were joined by Major R. M. Johnson, with a corps of mounted volunteers. The army in the wilderness numbered two thousand two hundred men. Indian spies were seen hovering around the camp that night, who, it was afterward said, reported that "Kentuck was crossing as numerous as the trees."

The morning of the 9th was dark and lowering, but the troops were in good spirits, and reached Shane's, or the Second Crossing of the St. Mary, before sunset, where they found Colonel Adams, with his mounted Ohio Volunteers. Being now in the vicinity of Fort Wayne, the army marched in battle order on the following day, expecting an attack. They moved slowly and cautiously. Scouts were out continually, and Logan and another Shawnoe acted as guides. On the night of the 11th they fortified their camp in expectation of an attack, and many alarms occurred during the darkness, caused by the discovery of Indian spies who were lurking around the verge of the pickets.

The march was resumed at a very early hour on the morning of the 12th in battle order. An encounter was expected at a swamp five miles from Fort Wayne. But no foe was visible there. The savages had all fled, as we have before observed,² and Fort Wayne, on that warm, bright September day, was the scene of great rejoicing. The liberating army encamped around the fort that night, excepting a party of horsemen, who made an unsuccessful pursuit of the savages; and on the following morning, reconnoitring parties were sent out in every direction, but did not discover the dusky foe.

Harrison now called a council of officers, to whom he submitted a plan of operations, which was adopted. He had determined to strike the neighboring Indians with terror by a display of power. He accordingly divided his army, and sent out detachments to destroy whatever of Indian possessions might be found. One detachment, under Colonel Simrall (who arrived in camp with three hundred and twenty dragoons on the 17th), laid waste the Little Turtle's town, on the Eel Run,^b excepting the buildings erected by the United States for the now deceased chief, on account of his friendship since the treaty of Greenville in 1794.³ Another detachment, under Colonel Samuel Wells, was sent to the Elk Hart River, a tributary of the St. Joseph, of Michigan (sometimes called the St. Joseph of the Lake), sixty miles distant, to destroy the town of the Pottawatomie chief O-nox-see, or Five Medals,⁴ which was accomplished;^c and Colonel Payne, with another detachment, to the forks of the Wabash, and laid in ashes^d a Miami village there, and several others lower down.^e Around all of these villages were corn-fields and gardens, but no living thing was seen. The Indians had deserted

¹ Now the village of St. Mary, in Mercer County, Ohio, on the site of Fort St. Mary, erected by Wayne, and commanded by Captain John Whistler before he built Fort Dearborn at Chicago. The notorious Simon Girty occupied a cabin at that place for some time.

² While the Little Turtle lived most of the Miamis remained faithful to the Americans, but soon after his death, in the summer of 1812, the great body of them joined the hostile savages.

³ This village, like all the others, was deserted. Before the door of the chief, upon a pole, hung a red flag, with a broom tied above it; and at the tent of an old warrior a white flag was flying from a pole. The body of the old warrior was in a sitting posture, the face toward the east, and a bucket containing trinkets by its side. In one of the huts was found a Cincinnati newspaper containing an account of General Harrison's army. The troops found a large quantity of dried corn, beans, and potatoes, which furnished them and their horses with food.

⁴ In one of these was found the tomb of a chief, built of logs and daubed with clay. His body was laid on a blanket, with his gun and his pipe by his side, a small tin pan on his breast containing a wooden spoon, and a number of earrings and brooches.

^a Sept., 1812.

^b Sept. 19.

^c September 16.

^d September 15.

General Winchester. Attachment of Troops to Harrison. Harrison in chief Command of the Northwestern Army.

them. The severest blow that a savage can receive, especially at that season of the year, is to deprive him of food and shelter. So, when the torch was applied to the cabins, the knife destroyed the corn and the vegetables.

General James Winchester arrived at Fort Wayne on the 18th of September, and on the following day General Harrison formally resigned all command into his hands. The change produced almost a mutiny among the soldiers. They were greatly attached to Harrison. Winchester was a wealthy citizen of Tennessee, and had not for many years had any military experience. He had been a subordinate officer in the army of the Revolution, but for thirty years had lived in ease and opulence in Tennessee. His deportment was too aristocratic to please the great mass of the troops, and this, added to their expectations of more severe discipline from an officer of the Regulars, caused a large number of them to positively refuse at first to serve under the new commander. It required all the address of Harrison (popular as he was, and as ready as were his followers to comply with all his wishes), together with the persuasions of the other officers, to reconcile them to the change. It was effected, but only when they were allowed to indulge the hope that their beloved general might be reinstated in command.¹

^a September, 1812. Harrison left Fort Wayne on the evening of the 19th,^a and returned to St. Mary, where he intended to collect the mounted men from Kentucky, and prepare for an expedition against Detroit. "From Fort Wayne," he wrote, "there is a path, which has been sometimes used by the Indians, leading up the St. Joseph's, and from thence, by the head waters of the River Rezin [Raisin], to Detroit. By this route it appears to me very practicable to effect a *coup-demain* upon that place, and if I can collect a few hundred more mounted men, I shall attempt it."² To the accomplishment of this design he prepared to lend all his energies. Already there was a respectable force of mounted men at St. Mary, and others were on the march to that place.

^b September. Harrison went to Piqua to perfect his arrangements. There, on the 24th,^b he received a dispatch from the Secretary of War in reference to his letter concerning the acceptance of a brigadier's commission, which opened thus:

"The President is pleased to assign to you the command of the Northwestern Army, which, in addition to the regular troops and rangers in that quarter, will consist of the volunteers and militia of Kentucky, Ohio, and three thousand from Virginia and Pennsylvania, making your whole force ten thousand men." It then went on to instruct him to first provide for the defense of the frontiers, and then to retake Detroit with a view to the conquest of Canada. He was assured that every exertion would be made to send him a train of artillery from Pittsburg, in charge of Captain Gratiot, of the Engineers, who would report to him as soon as some of the pieces could be got ready. He was also informed that Major Ball, of the 2d Regiment of Dragoons, would join him; and that such staff officers as he might legally appoint would be approved by the President. "Colonel Buford, deputy commissioner at Lexington," he said, "is furnished with funds, and is subject to your orders." More ample powers than had ever been given to any officer of the American army since Washington was invested with the authority of a military dictator were intrusted to him in the following closing sentence in the dispatch: "You will command such means as may be

¹ At St. Mary's, Harrison wrote to Governor Shelby as follows: "My situation here is very embarrassing, so much so that I have determined within the two hours past to propose to General Winchester to recognize me as commander-in-chief, or to relinquish all command whatever, unless it is of the mounted forces which I have prepared, and with which I shall strike a stroke somewhere. You will hear from another quarter the very serious difficulty which was to be encountered before the men of Scott's, Allen's, and Lewis's regiments could be reconciled to the command of General Winchester. I fear that the other three regiments will prove still more refractory."—Autograph Letter, September 22d, 1812.

² Autograph Letter to General Shelby, dated "St. Mary, 22d Septemb^r e, 1812." I have before me an autograph note from General Harrison to Governor Meigs, of similar purport, dated at St. Mary, the 20th of September. "But it must be kept profoundly secret," he wrote.

Winchester's March through the Wilderness. Confronted by British and Indians. Sudden Flight of the latter.

practicable. *Exercise your own discretion, and act in all cases according to your own judgment.*" With such ample powers invested in a commander-in-chief, Shelby's "Board of War" would have been quite useless. Harrison had reason to be proud of the honor conferred, and the "special trust and confidence" reposed in him; while his soldiers, rejoicing in the fact, appeared ready and eager to follow whithersoever he might lead.

General Winchester, with about two thousand men, left Fort Wayne on the morning of the 22d of September (each soldier carrying six days' provisions) for the Maumee Rapids. He moved cautiously down the left bank of that river, to avoid a surprise; in three divisions, his baggage in the centre, and a volunteer company of spies, under Captain Ballard, supported by Garrard's dragoons, moving about two miles in advance. Winchester intended to halt at Fort Defiance, at the confluence of the Maumee and Au Glaize Rivers, fifty miles from Fort Wayne, and there await re-enforcements from Harrison at St. Mary. They encountered Indians on the way. Some of the spies were killed; among them Ensign Leggett, of the Seventeenth United States Infantry, who, with four others of a Woodford (Kentucky) company, had been permitted to push forward to reconnoitre the vicinity of Fort Defiance. They were all killed and scalped. When their fate was made known in the camp, Captain Ballard¹ was ordered out with his spies and forty of Garrard's dragoons to bury the bodies. This sad office they undertook on the morning of the 27th, and when within two miles of the place of the massacre they discovered an Indian ambushade. A conflict ensued. Garrard's troops charged upon the savages, when they fled in dismay, closely pursued for some distance, and found refuge in the swamps, where cavalry could not penetrate.

These Indians were the advance of a heavy force—heavy by comparison only—under Major Muir, consisting of two hundred British regulars, one thousand savages, under Colonel Elliott, and four pieces of cannon. They were making their way up the Maumee on its southern side to attack Fort Wayne. Their artillery and baggage had been brought to Defiance in boats from Malden, and with them they were marching by land to Fort Wayne. Fortunately for the little army under Winchester, a shrewd subaltern of Scott's regiment (Sergeant M'Coy) had been captured and taken before Muir, who was then twelve miles above Fort Defiance. He was questioned closely, and in his answer he magnified Winchester's army fourfold. He also told Muir that another army equally large was coming down the Au Glaize to join Winchester. The exaggerated facts given to the British commander by his own credulous and excited scouts made him believe the stories of M'Coy; and when he heard of the defeat of his advance by Ballard and Garrard, he ordered a retreat to Fort Defiance, where he re-embarked his artillery and baggage.

Relying upon his boats for facility in retreating, in the event of a defeat, Muir resolved to give battle about four miles above Fort Defiance, at the ford of a creek on the north side of the Maumee, where Wayne crossed in 1794; but when, on the morning of the 28th, he attempted to form his line of battle there, he found, to his great mortification and alarm, that about three fourths of his Indian allies had deserted him. They had heard of M'Coy's stories, and, associating them with Muir's retrograde movement, and the re-embarkation of his artillery and baggage, they became greatly alarmed, and abandoned the expedition. Thus weakened, Muir conceived himself to be in great danger. He hastened back to Defiance, and fled twenty miles

¹ Captain Bland Ballard was a distinguished citizen of Kentucky. He was born in Fredericksburg, Virginia, October 16, 1761, and at this time was just past fifty years of age. He had been in Kentucky since 1779. He was with General Clark when he invaded the Ohio country in 1781, where he was severely wounded. In all that service, as a spy and otherwise, Ballard was exceedingly active. He was with Wayne in his campaigns. He joined Allen's regiment in 1812, and, as we have seen in the text, was wounded at the Raisin and taken prisoner. He frequently represented Shelby County in the Kentucky Legislature. Ballard County, Kentucky, was so called in his honor, and Blandville, the county seat, bears the Christian name of Captain Ballard. He was living, at the age of eighty-seven years, in 1847. For a fuller account of him, see Collins's *Historical Sketches of Kentucky*, page 171.

Winchester arrives at Fort Defiance.

Re-enforcements gathering.

Their March toward Fort Defiance.

down the Maumee before he halted, leaving some faithful mounted Indians behind to watch the movements of the Americans.

Winchester, in the mean time, was moving cautiously forward. He could receive no certain intelligence concerning the force and position of the enemy. Two scouts (Hickman and Riddle) had gone completely around the invaders on the 26th without seeing them,¹ and others were equally unsuccessful on the 27th and 28th.² When the army approached the creek where Muir expected to make a stand, Winchester was informed of its advantageous position for the enemy, and crossed to the southeast side of the Maumee to avoid him. There they discovered the trail of the invader, with his artillery. Ignorant of the alarm of Muir, they encamped on a rise of ground and fortified their position. Then a council of war was held. Some officers were in favor of sending a detachment in pursuit of the retreating foe, but the general and a majority determined otherwise. Their provisions were almost exhausted, and the unknown force of the enemy caused prudence to ask for strength in re-enforcements.³ Several mounted parties were sent out to reconnoitre, and expresses were detached to General Harrison at St. Mary, asking for relief by sending men and food. It was soon ascertained that the enemy had left Fort Defiance, and on the 30th Winchester moved down the river to a high bank of the Maumee, within a mile of the fort, and again formed a fortified camp. On the 1st of October Colonel Lewis made a reconnoissance in force, and ascertained that the enemy was entirely gone.³

While Winchester was making his way toward Fort Defiance, the troops that were gathering in the rear of the army had mostly arrived at St. Mary. These consisted of three regiments from Kentucky, commanded respectively by Colonels Joshua Barbee, Robert Poague, and William Jennings (the latter riflemen), and three companies of mounted riflemen, from the same state, under Captains Roper, Bacon, and Clark. Also a corps of mounted men from Ohio, under Colonel Findlay, who, as we have seen, had been active with General Hull. These had been raised pursuant to a call of Governor Meigs and General Harrison, at the beginning of September, and rendezvoused as early as the 15th at Dayton. They were intended to operate against some of the hostile Indian towns.

On the 21st of September, Harrison ordered Colonel Jennings to proceed with his regiment down the Au Glaize to establish an intermediate post between St. Mary and Fort Defiance, and to escort provisions to the latter place for the use of Winchester on his route to the Rapids of the Maumee. When Jennings had marched between thirty and forty miles, he found the Indians hovering round his camp at night, and his scouts brought intelligence that they were in considerable force toward Fort Defiance; so he halted and constructed a stockade on the bank of the Ottawa River, a tributary of the Au Glaize, not far from the present Kalida (the Greek for *beautiful*), the capital of Putnam County, Ohio. It was named Fort Jennings, in honor of the commander of the detachment. At the same time Colonel Findlay was ordered to attack some Ottawa towns⁴ farther eastward, on Blanchard's Fork, below Fort Findlay, in the same county.⁵

Winchester was informed of the march of Jennings with provisions, and on the 29th,^b his army being half famished, he sent Captain Garrard

^b September.

¹ They crossed the Maumee to the south side, and took as direct a route as they could to the Au Glaize. They crossed that stream, and descended it along its eastern shore to its mouth at Defiance. Two miles below the confluence of the streams they crossed the Maumee, and returned up the north side to the army.

² At about this time Peter Navarre (whom we shall meet hereafter), who had piloted the British as far as the Rapids, deserted them, and pushed on to meet Winchester and inform him of the approach of the enemy.—Hosmer's *Early History of the Maumee Valley*, page 34.

³ M'Affee, pages 102-138, inclusive; Thomson's *Sketches of the Late War*, ch. iv.; Perkins's *History, etc., of the Late War*; Brackenridge's *History of the Late War*, pages 55-58, inclusive.

⁴ The emphasis in the word Ottawa being in the middle syllable, these were called 'Tawa towns. The Lower 'Tawa town was on Blanchard's Fork, on the site of the present village of Ottawa, two miles below the Upper 'Tawa town.

⁵ See page 257.

Harrison's Autumn Campaign arranged. Patriotism of the Women of Kentucky. Troops ready for an Advance.

with dragoons to assist in escorting to his camp a brigade of pack-horses with supplies. Garrard was successful, and returned, after a tour of thirty-six hours, in a drenching rain. Winchester was still in his fortified camp near Fort Defiance, and Garrard was received at that beautiful spot in the wilderness with the lively satisfaction of the famished when fed.

During the few days of suspense concerning the extent of his command General Harrison formed projects for the immediate future, which inexorable circumstances compelled him to abandon, to some extent. He had now, as commander-in-chief, arranged with care the plan for an autumn campaign, which contemplated the seizure and occupation of the strategic position at the foot of the Maumee Rapids, and possibly the capture of Detroit and Malden. His base of military operations, having the Rapids as the first object to be possessed, was a line drawn along the margin of the swampy region from St. Mary to Upper Sandusky, the former to be the principal deposit for provisions, and the latter for artillery and military stores. He intended to march his army in three divisions: the right column to be composed of the Virginia and Pennsylvania troops, to rendezvous at Wooster, the capital of the present Wayne County, Ohio, and proceed from thence, by Upper Sandusky, to the Rapids. The centre column, to consist of twelve hundred Ohio militia, to march from Urbana, where they were then collected, to Fort M'Arthur, and follow Hull's road to the Rapids. The left column, to be composed of the regulars under Colonel Wells and four regiments of Kentucky volunteers, to proceed down the Au Glaize to the Maumee from St. Mary, and from their confluence pass on toward the Rapids. He designed to send the mounted horsemen, by way of the St. Joseph of the Lake, to make the *coup-de-main* on Detroit, already alluded to; but this project was abandoned, for, should they take that post without the support of infantry, they might be compelled to abandon it, and would thereby expose the inhabitants to the fury of the Indians, who must be exasperated by the movement. Harrison therefore determined to employ them in making destructive forays upon Indian towns, and sweep the savages from the line of march from the Rapids to Detroit, when the troops should all be ready to move.

Harrison now made urgent appeals for supplies of every kind. He sent an express to Pittsburg to hurry forward the cannon and ordnance stores to Wooster; and, as the troops were nearly destitute of winter clothing, he and Governor Shelby appealed to the inhabitants of Kentucky for voluntary contributions. It was generously responded to. A thousand needles were speedily put in motion in fair hands; and many a poor soldier, as he stood sentry on the banks of the Maumee or the Raisin a few weeks later, had reason to feel grateful to the patriotic women of Kentucky.

On the 1st of October there were nearly three thousand troops at St. Mary. Harrison resolved to employ the portion of the left wing, under Winchester, at Defiance, as a corps of observation, and to make that place an important deposit for provisions, preparatory to the advance of that corps upon the Rapids. This movement was to commence as soon as the artillery should arrive at Upper Sandusky, and the other supplies had accumulated along the base of operation. A corps of observation was also to be placed at Lower Sandusky, which, with Defiance, would form the extremities of a second base when the Rapids should be occupied. These arrangements for operations were exceedingly judicious for an economical use of supplies, and a perfect defense of the frontier while the troops were concentrating at the Rapids.

The mounted men, consisting of the companies of Roper, Clark, and Bacon, and the volunteers under Major Richard M. Johnson, were formed into a regiment. They elected Johnson their colonel; and these, with the Ohio mounted men under Findlay, formed a small brigade, which Harrison placed in charge of General Edward W. Tupper, of Gallia County, Ohio, a gentleman about fifty years of age, who had, by his own exertions, raised about a thousand men for the service. This brigade was des-

tinued for the expedition against Detroit, by way of the St. Joseph, which the general hoped to set in motion soon. A few hours after it was organized, an express from Winchester reached Harrison with the intelligence of his encounter with the invading force under Muir. At almost the same moment, an express arrived from Governor Meigs, with a letter to him from General Kelso, who was in command of some Pennsylvania troops on the shore of Lake Erie, informing him that, as late as the 16th of September, some British regulars, Canadian militia, and two thousand Indians, had left Malden with two pieces of artillery for Fort Wayne.

These dispatches created a great stir in camp. Three days' cooked provisions, with ammunition and other military stores, were immediately issued to the troops, and a command for a forced march was given. Three hours afterward General Harrison was in the saddle, and his whole corps were following him toward the wilderness in a drenching rain, and the road filled with deep mud. They reached the camp of Colonel Jennings at twilight, and officers and men, from the general down, slept in the cold, damp air, without tents, and nothing between them and the water-pools on the surface of the flat ground but brush from the beech-trees. There Harrison was met by another express from Winchester, notifying him of the flight of the enemy down the Maumee. The rapid march was stayed, Barbee's regiment was ordered back to St. Mary, and Poague's was directed to cut a road to Fort Defiance from Camp Jennings. The mounted men, more than a thousand in number, pressed forward in five lines, making an imposing appearance in the stately forest, where the leaves were just assuming the gorgeous autumnal hues. The troops were disappointed and depressed because of the flight of the enemy; and the commanding general was vexed when he discovered that Winchester's alarm was quite unnecessary. He reached that officer's camp at sunset. His soldiers bivouacked three miles in the rear. Early the next morning they marched down to the confluence of the Maumee and Au Glaize, and encamped there around the ruined intrenchments of old Fort Defiance.

Harrison found the troops under Winchester in a deplorable condition, and one regiment in a state of open mutiny. He ordered the "alarm" instead of the "réveille" to be beaten on the following morning. This brought all the troops to arms. They were drawn up in a hollow square, when, to the surprise and delight of the soldiers, Harrison, their beloved general, appeared among them. It was with difficulty that they restrained their voices, for shouts of welcome were ready to burst from their lips. He addressed them as a kind father would talk to his children. He shamed the malcontents by saying that while he lamented the fact of their mutiny, and was mor-



FORT DEFIANCE.¹

¹ This fort was constructed of earth and logs, with a ditch extending around it, except on the Au Glaize side. At each angle was a block-house, connected by a line of pickets at their nearest angles. Outside the fort there was a glacis, or sloping wall of earth, eight feet thick, and outside of this the ditch, fifteen feet wide and eight feet deep. The glacis next to the ditch was supported by a log wall, and by fascines, or fagots, on the side next to the Au Glaize. Pickets, eleven feet long and one foot apart projected from the wall diagonally over the ditch, forming a *frise* of formidable appearance. The diagram, showing the relative position of the fort to the two rivers at their confluence, and to a new fort afterward built by Winchester, may be explained as follows: A, officers' quarters; B, store-houses; CCCC, the ditch; E E, gateways; F, a dry ditch, eight feet deep, used for the safe procurement of water from the river, with pickets (a a) guarding it; G, draw-bridge.

Harrison's Address to his Troops.

Erection of new Forts ordered.

Troubles among Leaders.

tified on their account, it was of no consequence to the government, as he had now more troops than he needed, and was in expectation daily of receiving large reinforcements from Pennsylvania and Virginia. As they had come to the woods expecting to find all the comforts and luxuries of home, they must be disappointed, and he gave them liberty to return. But he could not refrain from alluding to the mortification which he anticipated they would experience from the reception they would meet from the old and the young, who had greeted them on their march to the scene of war as their gallant neighbors. Then he appealed to their pride as soldiers and their patriotism as citizens. He told them that his government had made him commander-in-chief of the army in which they were serving, and assured them that ample supplies of provisions and other stores were on the way. When he had concluded, and the veteran Scott addressed them, saying, "You, my boys, will prove your attachment for the service of your country and your general by giving him three cheers," the wilderness instantly rang with shouts of applause, and before the sun went down perfect harmony and good feeling prevailed in the camp.

General Harrison selected a site for a new fort on the bank of the Au Glaize, about eighty yards above Old Fort Defiance, and ordered the immediate assignment of fatigue parties to construct it. General Winchester at the same time moved his camp from the Maumee to the Au Glaize, about half a mile above the site of the new fort. This movement was made on the 4th of October. That evening Harrison, accompanied by Colonel Johnson and his original battalion (composed of Johnson's, Ward's, and Ellison's companies), turned their faces toward St. Mary, where, three days afterward, their term of enlistment having expired, they were discharged. Poague's regiment was directed to return to the old Ottawa towns, twelve miles from St. Mary, after the road to Defiance should be completed, and erect a stockade there. They did so, and Poague named it Fort Amanda, in honor of a loved one in Kentucky. General Winchester was left in command of the left wing of the army, with instructions to facilitate the transportation of supplies to Fort Defiance, and to occupy a position at the Maumee Rapids as speedily as possible. When he left Winchester, Harrison expected to have all necessary supplies for advancing against Detroit within a fortnight.

Before leaving Fort Defiance Harrison ordered General Tupper to lead the mounted men, then over nine hundred in number, down the Maumee to the Rapids, and beyond if desirable, to disperse any detachments of the enemy, civilized or savage, that might be found, and to return to St. Mary by the "Tawa" or Ottawa towns on Blanchard's Fork of the Au Glaize. But this order was not executed on account of several disturbing causes, namely, extensive damage to powder and scarcity of food, which made it difficult to provide adequate supplies for an expedition that might occupy a week or ten days; the sudden appearance of hostile Indians, who menaced Winchester's camp; dissatisfaction of some of the Kentucky troops with Tupper and his command; misunderstanding between Winchester and Tupper, and the unfriendly conduct of the former toward the latter; the weakening of Tupper's forces by the withdrawal of Kentucky troops and Simrall's dragoons; and finally the dismissal of Tupper from the command of the expedition by Winchester, who gave it to Colonel Allen, of the regulars, and which caused the Ohio troops to cross the Au Glaize, and positively refuse to march under any other than their own chosen leader.¹ The chief difficulty seems to have arisen from conflict between regular officers and volunteers; and thus terminated the expedition, said Tupper, "at one time capable of tearing the British flag from the walls of Detroit."²

¹ M'Afee, pages 148, 149; Tupper's Letter to General Harrison from Urbana, October 12, 1812; Brackenridge, page 59; Perkins, page 97.

² Letter to General Harrison from Urbana, dated October 12th, 1812. M'Afee, who gives a more detailed account of this affair than any other writer, says, "Some of the Kentuckians were not inclined to march under Tupper unless

Instead of returning to St. Mary, Tupper took the most direct route to Urbana by way of Hull's road, from near the present town of Kenton, where he immediately prepared for another and independent expedition to the Rapids. Winchester preferred charges against him for alleged misconduct at Defiance, and Harrison ordered his arrest, but the accused being far on his way toward the Rapids, as we shall observe presently, when the order was given, the prosecution was stayed. At Tupper's request a court of inquiry afterward investigated the matter, and he was honorably acquitted.

While on his way from Defiance to St. Mary, General Harrison was informed, by express from Fort Wayne, that the Indians were again menacing that post. At St. Mary he found Colonel Allen Trimble at the head of five hundred mounted men of Ohio, who came to join Tupper in the expedition against Detroit. These were immediately dispatched to the relief of Fort Wayne, with instructions to proceed to the St. Joseph of the Lake, about sixty miles distant, and destroy the town of the hostile Pottawatomie chief White Pigeon. The troops were disappointed, and at Fort Wayne about one half of Trimble's command refused to go farther. The gallant colonel pushed on with the remainder, destroyed two Pottawatomie villages, and would have killed or captured the inhabitants had not a treacherous guide given them timely warning of danger.

At St. Mary Harrison found some penitent Miami chiefs who had joined the enemy. They had come at the summons of messengers, and were prepared to deny their guiltiness, or to palliate it, as circumstances might dictate. They found Harrison well informed concerning their bad conduct, and they cast themselves upon the mercy of the government. As proof of their sincerity, they sent five chiefs to Piqua as hostages until the decision of the President should be made known. Thither General Harrison repaired, where he found some of Tupper's troops. He passed over to Urbana, and then southeastward to Franklinton, on the west bank of the Scioto, opposite the present city of Columbus, the capital of Ohio, whose site was then covered by the primeval forest. There, in the heart of Ohio, and at a convenient point for the concentration of troops and supplies from a distance, Harrison established his headquarters, and occupied much of the remainder of the autumn and early winter in laborious preparations for an advance on Detroit and Canada—collecting troops and creating dépôts for supplies, building stockades and block-houses, cutting roads, and dispersing or overawing the hostile Indians, who might be excessively mischievous on the flank and rear. Poague speedily completed Fort Amanda on the Au Glaize, Colonel Barbee erected another at St. Mary, which was called Fort Barbee, and before the 1st of November the new stockade at Defiance, built chiefly of logs, was completed and named Fort Winchester.

I visited the ruins of Fort Defiance on a warm sunny day late in September, 1860. I came up the Maumee Valley by railway from Toledo on the previous evening, and arrived at Defiance Station at midnight. The village of Defiance,¹ lying mostly on the Maumee, upon the beautiful plain at the confluence of that river and Au Glaize, was shrouded in a chilling fog. Warned of the danger of the night air in that valley

accompanied by some field officer from Winchester's command. Colonel Allen therefore tendered his services to accompany General Tupper in any capacity he might choose to receive him. The offer was accepted. But General Winchester, having misunderstood the nature of the arrangement between them, issued an order directing Colonel Allen to take the command and march toward the Rapids. This caused a serious misunderstanding between the two generals. Colonel Allen, however, having informed General Winchester correctly on the subject, the order was immediately rescinded. The greater part of the men having by this time refused to proceed directly to the Rapids, General Tupper marched them over the Au Glaize, and proceeded to the Ottawa towns, where he professed to expect re-enforcements from Ohio." *This account agrees substantially with that of Tupper in his letter to Harrison, in which he says, "It is a duty I owe to Colonel Allen to say that I have not the smallest reason to believe he was privy to the orders of General Winchester."

¹ Defiance is the county seat of Defiance County, about fifty miles northeastward from Fort Wayne. It was laid out in 1822, and from its eligible situation and fertility of the country around—the rich Black Swamp region—seems destined to become a place of much importance.

Remains of Forts Defiance and Winchester. Their Location and Appearance. An ancient Apple-tree.

at that season of the year, I felt as if fever and ague were inhaled at every inspiration while walking a long distance to a hotel. There all was darkness. A slumbering attendant was finally aroused, and I was directed by the feeble light of a small candle to a most cheerless bedroom at one o'clock in the morning. After an early breakfast I went out to find the historical localities of the place, and was fortunate enough to be introduced to Mr. E. H. Leland and Doctor John Paul, who kindly accompanied me to them. We first visited the interesting remains of Fort Wayne on the point of land where the two ruins meet. We found the form of the *glacis* and ditch very distinctly marked, the remains of the former rising six or eight feet above the bottom of the latter. The shape of the fort was perfectly delineated by those mounds and the ditch. Some large honey-locust-trees were growing among the ruins. These have appeared since the fort was abandoned in 1795. One of them, with a triple stem, standing in the southeastern angle of the fort, measured fifteen feet in circumference. These ruins are likely to be preserved. The banks were covered with a fine sward, and they were within an inclosure containing about two acres of land, which the heirs of the late Curtis Holgate presented to the town.

We visited the site of Fort Winchester, a little above Defiance, on the bank of the Au Glaize, and found the remains of many of the pickets protruding from the ground. Across a ravine, just above the fort, was the garrison burying-ground. We returned to the village, crossed the long bridge which spans the Maumee, and from the heights of Fall's Grove, on the eastern side of the river, obtained a comprehensive view of the two streams at their confluence, the site of the fort, and the village of Defiance. The



SITE OF FORT DEFIANCE.

sketch there made is here given. The meeting of the waters is seen toward the left, those of the Maumee flowing in from the right to meet those of the Au Glaize, over which, in the distance, a bridge is seen. The group of trees (the honey-locusts spoken of) seen near the centre of the picture mark the site of Fort Defiance. In the foreground is seen a garden extending from the highway at the foot of the heights of Fall's Grove to the bank of the Maumee, with waving broom corn then ripe and

ready for the knife.

On our return to the village we visited on the way, near the margin of the Maumee, an aged and gigantic apple-tree, coeval, no doubt, with the one near Fort Wayne.¹ We found it carefully guarded, as a sort of "lion" of the place, by a high board fence, the ground around it, within the inclosure, thickly covered with burr-bearing weeds. It was upon the Southworth estate, and access to it might be had only through a small house near. That tree was a living monument of the French occupation of the spot, as a trading station, long before any other Europeans had penetrated that remote wilderness. It measured about fifteen feet in circumference eighteen inches from the ground. The figure standing by it affords a fair criterion for judging of

¹ See page 334.

Events nearer the Mississippi.

The Indians generally hostile.

Shelby's Appeal to the Kentuckians.



APPLE-TREE AT DEFIANCE.

its size, by comparison with the body of a stout man. We returned to Defiance in time for dinner, and left with the early train for Fort Wayne.¹

Let us resume the narrative of events in the Northwest in the autumn of 1812.

We left General Harrison at Franklinton, General Tupper at Urbana, and General Winchester at Fort Defiance, all engaged in preparations to move forward to the Rapids of the Maumee, and thence to Detroit. While the movement of the troops in Western Ohio and Eastern Indiana, just related, were in progress, stirring events of a like nature occurred in the region nearer the Mississippi River.

We have already noticed the departure of troops from Kentucky for Vincennes, and the messengers sent to that post by Captain Taylor, asking immediate aid for Fort Harrison on the Wabash.² This call was immediately responded to. Colonel William Russell, of the Seventh United States Regiment of Infantry, just arrived at Vincennes, departed at once for Fort Harrison with about twelve hundred men, consisting of three companies of Rangers, two regiments of Indiana militia, under Colonels Jordan and Evans, and Colonel Wilcox's regiment of Kentucky Volunteers. Lieutenant Richardson, of the regulars, was directed to follow with eleven men as an escort for provisions. By a forced march Russell and his party reached Fort Harrison on the 16th, much to the joy of Captain Taylor, without encountering the foe. Not so the provision escort. That was attacked by the savages on the 15th, who killed more than one half of the detachment and captured all of the provisions. Another provision train that followed immediately afterward was more fortunate. The savages were not seen. The great body of the Indians seemed to have fled from the vicinity, and Russell and his troops, except Wilcox's regiment, returned to Vincennes.

At about this time the Indians of Illinois and Northern Indiana, persuaded, like the rest of the savages under the influence of Tecumtha, after the fall of Mackinaw, Detroit, and Chicago, that the time was at hand when the white people might be driven beyond the Ohio River, every where showed signs of hostilities. These were so menacing that Ninian Edwards, the Governor of the Illinois Territory, called on the executive of Kentucky for aid. That aid was on its way in the person of Colonel Barbour and his command, when it was diverted to Vincennes, on account of the dangers impending over Fort Harrison. Edwards had sent out spies, and was persuaded that no time was to be lost in making preparations for offensive and defensive operations against the savages. He combined the scattered militia of his Territory, and caused several companies of Rangers to be encamped on the Mississippi, above St. Louis, and on the Illinois River. These served to keep the Indians in

* September 8, 1812. check for a time. Meanwhile Governor Shelby had made the stirring

appeal³ to the Kentuckians already alluded to.² He told them of the "extensive combination of the savages, aided by the British from Canada," who were momentarily expected on the frontier settlements of Illinois and Indiana. Twenty-one persons, he said, had already been murdered not more than twenty miles north of the Ohio! "It is hoped," he remarked, "that it will rouse the spirit and indignation of the freemen of Kentucky, and induce a sufficient number of them to give their services to their country for a short period." He asked them to rendezvous at Louisville on the 18th of the month, with thirty days' provisions. "Kentuckians," he said, "ever pre-eminent for their patriotism, bravery, and good conduct, will, I am persuaded, on this occasion, give to the world a new evidence of their love of coun-

¹ See page 43.

² See page 197.

³ See page 323.

Wealth and Patriotism of Kentucky illustrated. Hopkins's Expedition against Illinois Indians. Insubordination.

try, and a determination, at every hazard, to rescue their fellow-men from the murders and devastations of a cruel and barbarous enemy."¹

This address, as we have seen, was responded to with wonderful alacrity. Hundreds more than were needed were at Louisville on the appointed day, and were turned back with feelings of the keenest disappointment. One old veteran, who had suffered from savage cruelty, and had fought the dusky foe in the early days of Kentucky settlement, although greatly chagrined when he found his company rejected, said, "Well, well, Kentucky has often glutted the market with hemp, flour, and tobacco, and now she has done so with volunteers." This was a truthful exposition, in few words, of the wealth and patriotism of Kentucky.

General Samuel Hopkins, under whom the Kentucky Volunteers were placed, made his head-quarters at Vincennes. The troops continued to arrive and were mustered into the service from the 21st of September until the 2d of October, when Hopkins, then convalescing after a severe attack of fever, found himself at the head of almost four thousand men, about two thousand of them expert riflemen, on horseback. His little army was speedily organized,² and on the 10th of September he started with the mounted riflemen for the Indian country by the way of Fort Harrison. The chief design of the expedition was to march an annihilating force upon the principal Kickapoo and Peoria Indian villages on the waters of the Illinois River, the former supposed to be about eighty miles distant, and the latter one hundred and twenty miles.

Hopkins and his two thousand horsemen crossed the Wabash on the afternoon of the 14th,³ and made their first encampment that night three miles from Fort Harrison. Before them lay magnificent level prairies, covered with tall grass, both dry and green. The guides passed a satisfactory examination as to their knowledge of the route, and the plans of the general were unanimously approved by a council of officers. On resuming the second day's march, every thing promised well excepting the lack of discipline and evident restlessness under restraint manifested by the troops. Indeed, so far as military discipline was concerned, they constituted little more than a vast mob, and it was soon found that every man was disposed to be a law unto himself. Every hour of the march revealed to the commanding general evidences of the fact that his army was as combustible as the dry grass around them. The symptoms of discontent, seen even at Vincennes, now assumed the positive forms of complaint and murmuring. The guides were suspected of ignorance or disloyalty; and food and forage, it was alleged, were becoming alarmingly scarce. Finally, while halting on the fourth day's march, a major, whose name is withheld, rode up to the commanding general, and in an insolent manner peremptorily ordered him to march the troops back to Fort Harrison. Not long afterward a violent wind arose that blew directly toward them, and very soon it was discovered that the prairie was on fire at the windward. They saved themselves by burning the grass around their camp. It was believed that this was the work of the Indians, and it gave the finishing blow to the expedition. The troops would not march farther. Hopkins called a council of officers,⁴ when it was decided by them to return, as their men were utterly unmanageable. The mortified commander then called for five hundred volunteers to follow him to the Illinois. Not one responded to his summons. His authority had vanished. They even refused to sub-

¹ Address of Governor Shelby, issued at Frankfort September 8, 1812.

² Four regiments were at first formed, to be commanded respectively by Colonels Samuel Caldwell, John Thomas, James Allen, and Young Ewing. These constituted two brigades, the first to be commanded by General James Ray, an early adventurer in Kentucky and experienced Indian fighter,⁵ and the other by General Jonathan Ramsey. After this arrangement was made, another, under Colonel Samuel South, was organized. George Walker was appointed judge advocate of the little army, Pierce Butler adjutant general, Majors William Trigg and William A. Lee aids to General Hopkins, William Blair and Joseph Weisiger volunteer aids, and John C. Breckinridge the general's secretary.

⁵ For an account of the early adventures of General Ray, see Collins's *Kentucky, its History, Antiquities, and Biography*, page 468.

Russell's co-operating Expedition in Illinois. Hopkins's Expedition to the Wabash Region. His new Troops.

mit to his leadership on their return, and he *followed* his army back to Fort Harrison, where they arrived on the 25th.¹ Thus ended an apparently formidable and promising expedition. Yet it was not unfruitful of good. It alarmed the Indians, gave them a sense of the real power of the white people, and made them more cautious and circumspect. That imposing force had marched eighty or ninety miles in the Indian country without show of opposition any where.

While Hopkins's expedition was in motion, another, under Colonel Russell, com-
October 11, 1812. posed of two small companies of United States Rangers, marched from Vincennes^a to unite with a small body of mounted militia under Governor Edwards (who assumed the chief command), for the purpose of penetrating the region toward which General Hopkins was marching, and to co-operate with him. Their combined force numbered nearly four hundred men, rank and file. They penetrated deeply into the Indian country, but, hearing nothing of Hopkins, and being too few to attempt much, they contented themselves with some minor exploits. They fell suddenly and furiously upon the principal Kickapoo town, twenty miles above Peoria, at the head of Peoria Lake, and drove the Indian inhabitants into a swamp, through which for three miles they were vigorously pursued, the invaders finding themselves frequently waist-deep in mud and water. The fugitives fled in dismay across the Illinois River. Many of the pursuers passed over, and brought back canoes with dead Indians in them. Twenty lifeless warriors lay prone in the path of the returning victors. Doubtless many more perished in the morass and the stream. The town, with a large quantity of corn and other property, was destroyed. The spoils brought away were eighty horses, and the dried scalps of several white persons who had been murdered by the savages.² The expedition returned, after an absence of thirteen days, with no other serious casualty than four men wounded, not one of them mortally.

General Hopkins discharged the mutinous mounted men, and organized another expedition against the Indians. This force, twelve hundred and fifty strong, was composed chiefly of foot soldiers, and the object of the expedition was the destruction of the Prophet's town, and other Indian villages on the Upper Wabash. His troops consisted of three regiments of Kentucky militia, commanded respectively by Colonels Barbour, Miller, and Wilcox; a small company of regulars, under Captain Zachary Taylor; a company of Rangers, commanded by Captain Beckers; and a company of scouts or spies, led by Captain Washburne. The greater portion of them rendezvoused at Vincennes, and moved up the Wabash Valley to Fort Harrison, where they arrived on the 5th of November. Six days afterward they marched from the fort up the road made by Harrison a year before, and, at the same time, seven boats, filled with provisions, forage, and military stores, well guarded by Lieutenant Colonel Barbour with a battalion of his regiment, moved up the river. The Indians were supposed to be on the alert, and the march was cautiously pursued. The streams were full of water, and the passage of swamps and low lands was extremely difficult and fatiguing. They did not cross the Wabash as Harrison did, but, for sufficient reasons, marched up the east side of that stream.

So difficult was the march that the expedition did not reach the Prophet's town until the 19th, when Hopkins dispatched Adjutant General Butler, with three hundred men, to surprise a Winnebago village of about forty houses on the present Wild Cat Creek, a mile from the Wabash, and about four miles below the Prophet's town. The village was deserted. Flames soon laid it in ashes. The Prophet's town, about equal in size, and a large Kickapoo village just below it, containing about one hund-

¹ Hopkins's Report to Governor Shelby, dated Fort Harrison, October 26, 1812; Dillon's History of Indiana, page 497; M'Afee, page 168.

² Colonel William Russell's Letter to General Gibson, the acting governor of Indiana, dated "Camp Russell, October 31, 1812."

The Indians attack a Burial Party.

Sufferings of the Kentucky Soldiers.

Close of Hopkins's military Career.

red and sixty huts, with all their winter provision of corn and beans, were utterly destroyed.

It was not until the 21st that any Indians were discovered. On that day they fired upon a small party of soldiers, and killed one man. On the following morning sixty horsemen, under Colonels Miller and Wilcox, went out to bury the dead, when they were suddenly attacked by Indians in ambush, and lost eighteen men, killed, wounded, and missing, in the skirmish that ensued.¹ The rendezvous of the savages, in a strong position on the Wild Cat, was soon discovered, and preparations were made for dislodging them, when they decamped and disappeared. The season was far advanced, the cold was increasing, and ice was beginning to form in the river. These circumstances, and the fact that many of the troops, especially the Kentuckians, were "shoeless and shirtless"—clad in the remnants of their summer clothes, caused an order to be issued on the 25th for a return to Fort Harrison and Vincennes.² "We all suffered very much," said Pierre La Plante, of Vincennes, who was one of the troops, "but I pitied the poor Kentuckians. They were almost naked and bare-foot—only their linen hunting-shirts—the ground covered with snow, and the Wabash freezing up."³

With this more successful expedition ended General Hopkins's military career. In general orders, issued at Vincennes on the 18th of December following, he said: "The commander-in-chief now closes his command, and, in all probability, his military services forever." Most of the volunteers were now discharged, and Illinois and Indiana experienced a season of comparative repose.

¹ This detachment was composed of Captain Beckers's company of Rangers, a small number of mounted militia, and several army officers.

² General Hopkins's Letter to Governor Shelby, November 27, 1812.

³ Dillon's *History of Indiana*, Note, page 302.

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CHAPTER XVII.

"How dread was the conflict, how bloody the fray,
Told the banks of the Raisin at the dawn of the day;
While the gush from the wounds of the dying and dead
Had thaw'd for the warrior a snow-sheeted bed.

"But where is the pride that a soldier can feel,
To temper with mercy the wrath of the steel,
While Proctor, victorious, despoils the brave
Who had fallen in battle, the gift of a grave?"



LL through the months of October, November, and December,¹⁸¹² General Harrison labored incessantly and intensely in making preparations for a winter campaign in the Northwest. The nation was feverish and impatient. Ignorance of military necessities allowed unjust and injurious censures and criticisms to be made—unjust to the officers and soldiers in the field, and injurious to the cause. The desire of the people to recover all that Hull had lost would brook no re-

straint, nor listen to any excuse for delay. A winter campaign was demanded, and Harrison was not a man to shrink from any required duty. He knew that much was expected of him; and day and night his head and hands were at work, with only the intermissions required by the necessity for taking food, indulging in sleep, and the observance of the Sabbath. Taking all things into consideration, his task was Herculean, and to some men would have been appalling. He was compelled to create an army out of good but exceedingly crude materials. He was compelled to reconcile many differences and difficulties in order to insure the harmony arising from perfect discipline. He was compelled to concentrate forces and supplies at some eligible point, like the Rapids of the Maumee, while perplexed with the greatest impediments. His operations were necessarily threefold in character—preparative, offensive, and defensive, in a wilderness filled with hostile savages controlled and supported by British regulars. A frontier, hundreds of miles in extent, must be protected at all hazards from the hatchet and the knife. The season was becoming more and more inclement. From the fortieth degree of latitude northward (the direction of his projected march) was a region of dark forests and black swamps. The autumnal rains had commenced, filling every stream, and making every morass brimful of water. Through these, roads and causeways for wagons and pack-horses must be cut and constructed, over which supplies of every kind, with men and artillery, must be conveyed. Block-houses were to be built, magazines of provisions established, and a vigilant watch kept upon the savages who might prowl upon flanks and rear. All this had to be done with undisciplined troops prone to self-reliance and independence, with great uncertainty whether volunteers would swell his army for invasion to the promised dimensions of ten thousand men.

Yet, in view of all these labors and difficulties, Harrison was cheerful and hopeful. "I am fully sensible of the responsibility invested in me," he wrote to the Secretary of War on the 13th of October. "I accepted it with full confidence of being able to effect the wishes of the President, or to show unequivocally their impracticability. If the fall should be very dry, I will take Detroit before the winter sets in; but if we should have much rain, it will be necessary to wait at the Rapids until the Mi-

Objections to a Winter Campaign.

Difficulties of Transportation.

General Simon Perkins.

ami of the Lake [Maumee, or Miami of the Lakes] is sufficiently frozen over to bear the army and its baggage."

Nine days later Harrison wrote, "I am not able to fix any period for the advance of the troops to Detroit. It is pretty evident that it can not be done upon proper principles until the frost shall become so severe as to enable us to use the rivers and the margin of the lake for transportation of the baggage and artillery upon the ice. To get them forward through a swampy wilderness of near two hundred miles, in wagons or on pack-horses, which are to carry their own provisions, is absolutely impossible." He then referred to a suggestion of a Congressman that the possession of Detroit by the enemy would probably be the most effectual bar to the attainment of peace, then hoped for, and observed, "If this were really the case, I would undertake to recover it with a detachment of the army at any time. A few hundred pack-horses, with a drove of beeves (without artillery or heavy baggage), would subsist the fifteen hundred or two thousand men which I would select for the purpose until the residue of the army could arrive. But, having in view offensive operations from Detroit, an advance of this sort would be premature, and ultimately disadvantageous. No species of supplies are calculated on being found in the Michigan Territory. The farms upon the Raisin, which might have afforded a quantity of forage, are nearly all broken up and destroyed. This article, then, as well as the provisions for the men, is to be taken from this state—a circumstance which must at once put to rest every idea for a land conveyance at this season, since it would require at least two wagons with forage for each one that is loaded with provisions and other articles. My present plan is," he continued, "to occupy Upper Sandusky, and accumulate at that place as much provision and forage as possible, to be taken from thence upon sleds to the River Raisin. At Defiance, Fort Jennings, and St. Mary, boats and sleds are preparing to take advantage of a rise of water or a fall of snow."

At this time, the troops moving on the line of operations which passed from Franklinton (head-quarters) and Delaware, by Upper to Lower Sandusky, composed of the brigades from Virginia and Pennsylvania, and one of Ohio, under General Simon Perkins,¹ were designated in general orders, and known as the right wing of the army;

¹ Simon Perkins was born at Norwich, Connecticut, on the 17th of September, 1771. His father was a captain in the army of the Revolution, and died in camp. He emigrated to Oswego, New-York, in 1795, where he spent three years in extensive land operations. A portion of the "Western Reserve," in Ohio, having been sold by the State of Connecticut, the new proprietors invited Mr. Perkins to explore the domain, and report a plan for the sale and settlement of the lands. He went to Ohio for that purpose in the spring of 1798. He spent the summer there in the performance of the duties of his agency, and returned to Connecticut in the autumn. This excursion and these duties were repeated by him for several successive summers. He finally married in 1804, and settled on the "Reserve" at Warren. So extensive were the land agencies intrusted to him, that in 1815 the state land-tax paid by him into the public treasury was one seventh of the entire revenue of the state. Mr. Perkins was the first post-master on the "Reserve," and to him the post-master general intrusted the arrangement of post-offices in that region. For twenty-eight years he received and merited the confidence of the department and the people. At the request of the government, in 1807 he established expresses through the Indian country to Detroit. His efforts led to the treaty of Brownsville in the autumn of 1808, when the Indians ceded lands for a road from the "Reserve" to the Maumee, or Miami of the Lakes. In May of that year he was commissioned a brigadier general of militia, in the division commanded by Major General Wadsworth. On hearing of the disaster to Hull's army at Detroit, he issued orders to his colonels to prepare their regiments for active duty. To him was assigned the duty of protecting a large portion of the Northwestern frontier. "To the care of Brigadier General Simon Perkins I commit you," said Wadsworth on parting with the troops of the Reserve, "who will be your commander and your friend. In his integrity, skill, and courage, we all have the utmost confidence." He was exceedingly active. His scouts were out, far and near, continually. His public accounts were kept with the greatest clearness and accuracy for more than forty years. "No two officers in the public service at that time," testifies the Honorable Elisha Whittlesey, "were more energetic or economical than Generals Harrison and Perkins." When, in 1813, General Harrison was sufficiently re-enforced to dispense with Perkins's command, he left the service (February 28, 1813), bearing the highest encomiums of the commander-in-chief of the Army of the Northwest. President Madison, at the suggestion of Harrison and others, sent him the commission of colonel in the regular army, but duty to his family and the demands of a greatly increasing business caused him to decline it.

General Perkins was intrusted with the arrangement and execution, at the head of a commission, of the extensive canal system of Ohio. From 1826 until 1838 he was an active member of the "Board of Canal Fund Commissioners." They were under no bonds and received no pecuniary reward. In the course of about seven years they issued and sold state bonds for the public improvements to the amount of four and a half millions of dollars. Among the remarkable men who settled the "Western Reserve," General Simon Perkins ever held one of the most conspicuous places, and his influence in social and moral life is felt in that region to this day. He died at Warren, Ohio, on the 19th of November, 1844. His widow long survived him. She died at the same place in April, 1862. To their son, Joseph Perkins, Esq., of Cleveland, I am indebted for the materials for this brief sketch, and the likeness of the patriot on the next page.

Tupper's brigade, that was to move on Hull's road, by Fort M^cArthur, was called the centre; and the Kentuckians under Winchester were styled the left wing. The Virginia and Pennsylvania troops were employed in escorting the artillery and military stores toward Upper Sandusky; the Ohio troops conveyed provisions from Manary's Block-house, near the head of the Great Miami, twenty miles north of Urbana, to Forts M^cArthur and Findlay, on Hull's road; while the Kentuckians were traversing the swamps of the St. Mary and the Au Glaize, and descending those rivers in small craft, to carry provisions to Fort Winchester (Defiance) on the left wing.¹

Northwestern Ohio, particularly the settlements on the *Western Reserve*,² had been alive with excitement and patriotic zeal during all the autumn, and General Wadsworth, commander of the 4th Division of the Ohio Militia (the boundaries of which comprised the counties of Jefferson and Turnbull, thus embracing at least one third of the state) was continually, vigilantly, and efficiently employed in the promotion of measures for the defense of the frontier from the Maumee to Erie, and for the recovery of Michigan. In politics General Wadsworth was a Democrat of the Jefferson school. He had watched with interest and indignation the course of Great Britain for many years, and when the Congress of the nation declared war against her, he rejoiced in the act as a righteous and necessary one. He had been an active soldier of the Revolution,³ and now, when his country needed his



Wm. Wadsworth

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¹ M^cAfee, pages 103, 104.

² The charter of Connecticut, granted in 1662, covered the country from Rhode Island, or, as expressed, "Narraganset River," on the east, to the Pacific on the west. When New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania claimed dominion above the line of the southern boundary of the province, difficulties appeared. These were disposed of. In 1786 the State of Connecticut ceded to the United States all the lands within the charter limits westward of Pennsylvania, excepting a tract one hundred and twenty miles in length westward, adjoining that state. The cession was accepted. This was called the *Connecticut or Western Reserve*; and many settlers went there from the State of Connecticut. A part of the Reserve, containing half a million of acres, was granted by the state to the inhabitants of New London, Fairfield, and Norwalk, whose property had been burnt by the British during the Revolution. This was known as *The Five Lands*. The remainder of the Reserve was sold in 1795, and the proceeds of the sale were devoted to the formation of the present school fund of Connecticut.

³ Elijah Wadsworth was born in Hartford, Connecticut, on the 4th of November, 1747, and became a resident of Litch-

*Elijah Wadsworth Major General
4th Division*

field before the Revolution. After the battle of Bunker's Hill he volunteered to go to Boston, but his purpose was frustrated, when he engaged heartily in raising Colonel Elisha Sheldon's troop of light-horsemen. He was commissioned a lieutenant of the company of which Benjamin Tallmadge was captain. He served with zeal during the entire war. He commanded the guard in whose custody Major André was placed immediately after his arrest.

Wadsworth was a man of great energy. He went early to Ohio, and was part owner of the "Western Reserve." He made his residence at Canfield, Ohio, in 1804, and was always a leading man in that section of the new state, and was

Elisha Whittlesey.

Alarming Rumors about Hull's Surrender.

Preparations against Invasion.



Elisha Whittlesey

of dragoons, under Captain James Dowd. This company was ordered into the service; and so promptly did it respond to the call, that by noon the following day (Sunday, August 23d, 1812), it was on its march toward Cleveland as an honorary escort

services, he cheerfully offered them. Although he was sixty-five years of age, he entered upon active military duties with energy with the late venerable Elisha Whittlesey, of Canfield,¹ and the late Honorable Benjamin Tappen, of Steubenville, Ohio, as his aid-de-camp. The former accompanied him to Cleveland from Canfield,² and the latter soon joined him there.

General Wadsworth was at his house in Canfield when intelligence of the surrender of Hull reached him.³ The alarming rumors that prevailed concerning the imminence of an invasion called for immediate and energetic action. Wadsworth at once issued orders to the several brigadier generals of his division to muster the militia for the protection of the frontier from the immediate incursions of the British and their savage allies. Already citizens of the region adjacent to Canfield had formed a corps

very efficient in the organization of the crude material of pioneer life into well-balanced society, the establishment of schools, etc. His aid was essential in the establishment of the state government, and when the militia was enrolled he was chosen major general of the 4th Division. In that office he was found when war broke out in 1812. His services in the war are recorded in the text. On his tomb-stone at Canfield are the following words: "Major General Elijah Wadsworth moved into Canfield in October A. D. 1802, and died December 30, 1817, aged 70 years, 1 month, and 17 days."

¹ Elisha Whittlesey was born in Litchfield County, Connecticut, on the 19th of October, 1753. His father, a practical farmer, was a member of the Connecticut Legislature seventeen consecutive sessions, and was a member of the State Convention that ratified the Constitution of the United States. The subject of this brief memoir was a pupil of Rev. Thomas Robbins, of Danbury, Connecticut, who died only a few years ago, and also of the eminent Moses Stuart, of Andover. He studied law, and was admitted to practice at Fairfield in the winter of 1805. He commenced practice at New Milford, but in June, 1806, he emigrated to Ohio, and settled at Canfield, Turnbull County, which place was his home when in private life. In the autumn of that year he was admitted to practice in the Supreme Court of Ohio, and at the first session of the Court of Common Pleas thereafter he was appointed prosecuting attorney, which office he held sixteen years. When the war broke out he was appointed aid to General Wadsworth. On the retirement of General Wadsworth from the service, Mr. Whittlesey was appointed brigadier major in General Simon Perkins's corps, and was with that officer during the remainder of his campaign in Northern Ohio in 1812-'13. He was sent by General Harrison from the Rapids of the Maumee, after the defeat of General Winchester at the Raisin, to ask the Legislature of Ohio to pass a law providing for the payment of such Ohio troops as should remain in service after their time of enlistment should expire. He was successful.

Mr. Whittlesey resumed his profession after the war. He served as a member of the Ohio Legislature from 1820 to 1822 inclusive, when he was elected to Congress, in which he served fourteen consecutive years. During all that time he was a member of the Committee on Claims, full one half of that time its chairman, and was never absent, excepting on public business, but for *one day*, for which, in the settlement of his accounts, he deducted the sum of eight dollars—a day's salary! President Harrison appointed him auditor of the treasury of the Post-office Department in March, 1841. He resigned it in 1843. President Taylor appointed him comptroller of the treasury in June, 1849. He offered his resignation to President Pierce, but that gentleman, knowing the value of an honest man in that responsible station, would not accept it. In March, 1857, he tendered his resignation to President Buchanan. He accepted it in May, saying, "The Lord knows I do not wish you to resign at all." On the 10th of April, 1861, President Lincoln called him from his home to occupy the same responsible position. He cheerfully responded to the call of his country, although seventy-eight years of age, and faithfully discharged the duties of his office until a few days before his death, which occurred on Wednesday, the 7th day of January, 1863, when in the eightieth year of his age.

² Canfield, the capital of Mahoning County, Ohio, was then the residence of General Wadsworth, and also of Mr. Whittlesey.

³ It came in the form of a letter written by Alfred Kelley, and signed by twelve other citizens of Cleveland. B. Fitch, of Ellsworth, was the bearer of it.

Troops welcomed to Cleveland.

Energy of General Wadsworth.

Distress on the Raisin River.

for the commanding general. They marched by the way of Hudson,¹ twenty-five miles from Cleveland, and breakfasted there, at Oviatt's, on the morning of the 24th.² Soon after resuming their march they met some of Hull's paroled army, who had been landed from British boats at Cleveland. Their stories increased the panic caused by startling rumors, and many of the inhabitants along the lake were fleeing from their homes eastward or toward the Ohio, to avoid the apprehended on-coming evils. Wadsworth tried to allay the excitement, but it was rolling over the frontier in an almost resistless flood. When the cavalcade entered Cleveland that afternoon at four o'clock, it created great joy among the few inhabitants there. Two or three hours later Colonel Cass arrived at Cleveland from Detroit on his way to Washington City, and at the request of General Wadsworth he was accompanied to the seat of government by ex-governor Samuel Huntington, then at Cleveland,³ as bearer of an important letter to the Secretary of War. In that letter Wadsworth informed the secretary that he had called out about three thousand of the militia of his division, to rendezvous at Cleveland, but was compelled to acknowledge them destitute of arms, ammunition, and proper equipments for a campaign, as well as the difficulty of feeding them. Properly estimating the value of the great Northwest to the Union, and the importance of these troops for its protection, as well as in the efforts to be made for the recovery of Michigan, "so dishonorably given up to the enemy," he urged the government to extend its immediate and unceasing aid in supplying the wants of this little army then hastening to the field. "The fate of the Western country," he said, "is suspended on the decision the government shall make to this application."³

General Wadsworth did not wait for a reply. Necessity demanded instant action. He took the responsibility of appointing commissioners of supplies, and giving receipts to those who furnished them in the name of the government.⁴ The people, with equal faith in the wisdom of the general and the justice of the government, responded without hesitation to the call for provisions and forage. Nor was that faith disappointed. By a letter dated the 5th of September, Wadsworth's course was sanctioned by the War Department, and he was invested with full power to take measures for supplying his troops and giving efficiency to their service.

Intelligence came to Wadsworth almost hourly of the distress of the inhabitants on the Raisin, and along the lake shore eastward as far as the Huron River, who, in violation of the agreements of the capitulations at Detroit, were being plundered by the Indians even of their boots and shoes. Their homes were broken up by the marauders, and many of the inhabitants were fleeing for their lives. The benevolent Wadsworth was exceedingly anxious to send them relief, and it was with real joy that he welcomed the arrival at Cleveland, on the 26th of August, of General Simon Perkins with a large body of troops. He resolved to send him forward to the Huron immediately with a thousand men, to erect block-houses and protect the inhabitants.

¹ The capital of the present Summit County, Ohio. It was the first settlement made in the county. In the division of the Western Reserve among the purchasers from Connecticut, this section fell to the lot of David Hudson, who commenced a settlement in the year 1800. Mr. Hudson died in March, 1896, aged seventy-five years.

² Huntington was governor of Ohio from 1808 to 1810. In the latter part of his life he resided at Painesville, in Lake County, where he died in 1817. He lived in Cleveland for a while before making his residence at Painesville. As an illustration of the wonderful growth of American cities, and the rapid settlement and clearing of the country westward of the Alleghany Mountains, I mention the fact that Governor Huntington, when approaching Cleveland from the east one night, and only two miles from it, was attacked by a pack of wolves. He beat them off with his umbrella, and made his escape to the town through the fleetness of his horse. That was only about fifty years ago. Cleveland now (1867) contains more than 60,000 inhabitants.

³ MS. Letter of General Wadsworth to the Secretary of War, dated Cleveland, August 25, 1812.

⁴ The commissioners appointed were Aaron Norton, Eleazer Hancock, and Ebenezer Murray. The people sold to them, on the terms offered, as cheaply as if paid in gold and silver. They gave a certificate in writing stating the article furnished, its quantity and value, with a promise to pay for it when the government should remit funds for the purpose. Property abandoned by frightened inhabitants was taken, appraised, and inventoried. A fatigue party would harvest a field of grain, while an officer kept an exact account of the whole matter, and the owners were afterward remunerated. In the final settlement hardly a single case of dissatisfaction occurred.—Statement of Hon. Elisha Whittlesey to the author.

Re-enforcements for Winchester.

March to Detroit suspended.

Attempted Lodgment at the Maumee Rapids.

General Reazin Beall¹ was also directed to go westward on a similar errand; and preparations for their departure were nearly completed, when Wadsworth received dispatches from the Secretary of War saying that the President intended to adopt the most vigorous measures "to repair the disasters at Detroit," and to prosecute with increased ardor the important objects of the campaign. Wadsworth was directed to forward fifteen hundred men to the frontier as quickly as possible, with directions to "report to General Winchester, or officer commanding" there, at the same time promising an adequate supply of arms and ammunition. Arrangements for the movement were speedily made, and Perkins and Beall, who had been employed by Governor Meigs in opening a road from Mansfield, in the interior of Ohio (now capital of Richland County), to Lower Sandusky, were ordered toward the latter place. Some clashing of authority between Wadsworth and Meigs, and some complaints concerning affairs in the region bordering on Lake Erie, caused Harrison, who (as we have seen) was made commander-in-chief of the Northwestern Army, to make a personal examination of matters there toward the close of October. He found General Wadsworth near the mouth of the Huron River, at the head of eight hundred men. Beall, with about five hundred, was at Mansfield. The two corps were consolidated and placed under General Perkins, with orders to proceed to Lower Sandusky, and open a road thence to the Rapids of the Maumee; a severe task, for it was necessary to causeway it about fifteen miles. This was accomplished. Harrison returned to his head-quarters at Franklinton early in November, and on the 15th of that month was compelled to inform the War Department that he doubted the propriety of attempting to penetrate Canada, or to proceed farther than the Rapids during the winter, owing to the insurmountable difficulties in the way of transporting forage and supplies. "I know it will be mortifying to Kentucky," Harrison wrote to Governor Shelby, "for this army to return without doing any thing; but it is better to do that than to attempt impossibilities. I wish to God the public mind were informed of our difficulties, and gradually prepared for this course. In my opinion, we should in this quarter disband all but those sufficient for a strong frontier guard, convoys, etc., and prepare for the next season."

General Tupper had made another unsuccessful attempt to establish a permanent lodgment at the Maumee Rapids, and this failure doubtless gave nerve to Harrison's convictions. We left Tupper at Urbana, after his difficulties with Winchester at Defiance. He pushed forward along Hull's road to Fort M'Arthur, and there he speedily prepared an expedition to the Rapids, consisting of six hundred and fifty mounted men who volunteered for the service. He had sent Captain Hinkson, at the head of a company of spies, to reconnoitre at the Rapids, who returned with a British captain, named Clarke, as his prisoner. The result of the reconnoissance was information that there were three or four hundred Indians, and about seventy-five British regulars at the Rapids, who were there for the purpose of carrying off a quantity of corn at that post. Tupper immediately notified General Winchester of his intended expedition, and, on the 10th,^a moved forward with his command, along Hull's road toward the Rapids, taking with him a light six-pounder, and five days' provisions in the knapsacks of the men.

^a November, 1812.

The roads were wretched, and Tupper was compelled to leave his little cannon at a block-house on the way. From Portage River, twenty miles from the Rapids, he sent forward a reconnoitring party, following slowly with his whole command. Within a few miles of the Rapids he met his spies returning with information that the enemy were still there. Halting until twilight, he marched forward to a ford

¹ Reazin Beall, of Pennsylvania, was an ensign in the United States Infantry in 1792, and was in the third sub-legion the same year. He was adjutant and quartermaster the following year. He served under Wayne for a while, and resigned at the beginning of 1794. From the 8th of September till the 3d of November, 1812, he was a brigadier general of Ohio volunteers. He represented Ohio in Congress from 1813 till 1815. He died on the 20th of February, 1842.—*Gardner's Dictionary of the Army*, page 59.

Stirring Events at the Rapids.	Fight with Indians.	Relief for Ohio Troops.	A Menace.
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about two miles above the Rapids. Thence spies were again sent forward, and returned, saying, "They are closely encamped, and are singing and dancing." Tupper resolved to attack them at dawn, and orders were given to cross the river immediately. The sky was clear, and the weather intensely cold. The men were much fatigued, yet the excitement gave them strength. Tupper dashed into the icy flood at the head of his men, and crossed with the first section in safety; but the water, waist-deep at times, and flowing in a swift current, confused and swept from their feet many of the next division. They were exposed to great perils, but none were lost. After ineffectual attempts to accomplish the undertaking, those who had crossed were recalled, and the whole body retired to the woods and encamped.

Early the next morning Tupper sent to Winchester for re-enforcements and food; and some spies went down the river, showed themselves opposite the enemy's camp, and tried to entice them across. They failed, when Tupper moved down with his whole body, and displayed the heads of his columns in the open space between the river and the woods. This frightened the enemy. "The squaws," said a contemporary writer,¹ "ran to the woods; the British ran to their boats, and escaped. The Indians, more brave than their allies, paraded, and fired across the river, but without effect." They used muskets and a four-pound cannon. Tupper then fell back, hoping the savages in a body would venture across the Maumee, but they did not. Some mounted Indians were seen to go up the stream, and at the same time some of Tupper's men, contrary to orders, entered a field to pull corn, while others pursued a drove of hogs in the same direction. The latter were suddenly assailed by a party of mounted savages who had crossed unperceived, and four of Tupper's men were killed. The Indians, excited by the shedding of blood, fell upon the left flank of the white army, but were repulsed. Almost at the same moment, a large body of the savages, under the notable chief Split-Log, who rode a fine white horse, crossed the river above the advance of Tupper's column. They were driven back by Bentley's battalion with some loss, and the Ohio troops were not again annoyed by them. Late in the evening Tupper and his men turned their faces toward Fort M'Arthur, for their provisions were almost exhausted, and their nearest point of sure supply was forty miles distant.

Winchester, in the mean time, having received Tupper's first message, had sent a detachment, under Colonel Lewis, of four hundred and fifty men, to co-operate with the Ohio troops. Tupper's appeal for men and food, which reached him later, was forwarded to Lewis as soon as it was received by Winchester, and the former pushed forward by a forced march to the relief of the imperiled ones. Finding Tupper's camp deserted, apparently with haste, and in it two dead men scalped, Lewis supposed he had been defeated. Under this impression, he retreated to Winchester's camp. Thus ended this bold attempt to take position at the Rapids. The intentions of the projector failed, but the expedition had the effect to frighten the British and Indians away before they had gathered up the corn; and averted, for the time, a contemplated blow by the savages upon the alarmed French settlements on the Raisin, at the instigation of their British allies.²

¹ M'Affee, page 170. See also Brackenridge, page 61.

² Just before the approach of Tupper the following note (of course, written by one of the British allies) from the Indians was sent to the inhabitants on the Raisin:

"The Hurons and other tribes of Indians, assembled at the Miami Rapids, to the inhabitants of the River Raisin.

"FRIENDS,—Listen: you have always told us that you would give us any assistance in your power. We therefore, as the enemy is approaching us, within twenty-five miles, call upon you all to rise up and come here immediately, bringing your arms along with you. Should you fail at this time, we will not consider you in future as friends, and the consequences may be very unpleasant. We are well convinced that you have no writing forbidding you to assist us.

"We are your friends at present.

his
"ROUND + HEAD,
mark.
his
"WALK-IN- + THE-WATER."
mark.

Services of Captain Logan.

His Death.

Wa-pagh-ko-netta and its notable Indians.

At about this time the American service in the Northwest lost a valuable friend. It was the settled policy of the government not to employ the Indians in war, but there were occasions when exceptions to the rule became a necessity. It was so in Ohio. There was an active, intelligent, and influential chief, a nephew of Tecumtha (son of his sister), who, when a boy, having been captured by General John Logan, of Kentucky, received that gentleman's name, and bore it through life. His wife had also been a captive to a Kentuckian (Colonel Hardin), and both felt a warm attachment to the white people. Major Hardin (then in the Army of the Northwest, and son of Colonel Hardin) and Logan were true friends, and highly esteemed each other. Logan had much influence with his tribe, and when the war broke out he asked for employment in the American service. It was granted, because he might have been made an enemy. He accompanied Hull to Detroit, and was exceedingly active as a scout. We have also seen that Harrison employed him on a mission to Fort Wayne.

Soon after the return of Tupper from the Rapids, Logan and his followers were sent toward that post to reconnoitre. They met a strong opposing party, and, to save themselves, scattered in every direction. Captain Logan, with two friends (Captains John and Bright Horn), made his way to Winchester's camp, where he related their adventures. His fidelity was ungenerously suspected, and he was believed to be a spy. His pride and every sentiment of manhood were deeply wounded by the suspicion, and he resolved to vindicate his character by actions rather than by words. He started^a with his two friends for the Rapids, with the de-
*November 22,
1812.
termination to bring in a prisoner or a scalp. They had not gone far when they were made prisoners themselves by a son of Colonel Elliott and some Indians, among whom was Win-ne-meg, or Win-ne-mac—the Pottawatomie chief who bore Hull's dispatch from Fort Wayne to Chicago.¹ He was now an ally of the British. He knew Logan well, and rejoiced in being the captor of an old enemy. The latter resolved to make a desperate effort for liberty. His companions were made to understand significant signs, and at a concerted signal they attacked their captors. Logan shot Win-ne-meg dead. Elliott and a young Ottawa chief were also slain. Logan was badly wounded, so was Bright Horn; but they leaped upon the backs of horses of the enemy and escaped to Winchester's camp. Captain John followed the next morning with the scalp of the Ottawa. Logan's honor and fidelity were fully vindicated, but at the cost of his life—his wound was mortal. After he had suffered great agony for two days, his spirit returned to the Great Master of Life. Proctor had offered, it is said, one hundred and fifty dollars for his scalp. It was never taken from his head. His body was carried in mournful procession, by Major Hardin and others, to Wa-pagh-ko-netta,² where his family resided, and was buried

¹ See page 305.

² This is a small village in Allen County, Ohio, on the Au Glaize River, about ten miles from St. Mary. After the Shawnoese were driven from Piqua by General Clark in 1780, they established a village here, and named it Wa-pagh-ko-netta, in honor of a chief of that name. Colonel John Johnston informed me that he knew the chief well. He said he had a club-foot, and thinks the name had some relation to that deformity. Colonel Johnston resided at Wa-pagh-ko-netta for some time. The Society of Friends, or Quakers, had a mission there for a number of years. It was the home of Blue Jacket, spoken of in our account of the invasion of the country by Wayne, in 1794. Buckongahelos also resided there; also the celebrated Black Hoof, who was a native of Florida, whose birthplace was on the Suwanee. He remembered the removal of that tribe from their southern home to the forests of Pennsylvania and Ohio. He was at the defeat of Braddock in 1755. In all the wars with the white people in his region, from that time until the treaty of Greenville in 1795, he was a popular leader, and could always command as many men for the war-path as he desired. He was a party to the treaty at Greenville, and was ever faithful to his pledges there made. Tecumtha could not seduce him, and he was the faithful friend of the Americans in the war with Great Britain which we are now considering. A few weeks after the burial of Logan (January, 1813), he visited General Tupper's camp at Fort M'Arthur. While sitting by the fire with the general, a scoundrel militia-man, Colonel Johnston informed me, fired a pistol ball at him through the logs of the block-house, which entered his cheek, passed through his mouth, cut off his palate, and lodged in his neck. He would never have the ball removed, but would call the children to feel of it, and then would tell them of his wrongs. Colonel Johnston gave him a healing plaster for his wound in the form of a bank-note of the denomination of one hundred dollars. Colonel Johnston says he was one of the most perfectly formed men he ever saw. He was naturally cheerful and good-natured. He lived with his wife faithfully for forty years. His stature was small, and his eyesight remained perfect during his whole life.

Expedition against Miamis and Delawares.

Friends to be spared.

Campbell on the Mississiniwa.

there with mingled savage rites and military honors. The scalp of the slain Ottawa, raised upon a pole, was carried in the funeral procession and then taken to the council-house. Logan's death was mourned as a public calamity, for he was one of the most intelligent, active, and trustworthy of Harrison's scouts.

At this time the Miamis, nearly all of whom had become wedded to the interests of the British, were assembled, with some Delawares from White River, in towns on the Mississiniwa, a tributary of the Wabash, fifteen or twenty miles from its confluence with the latter stream, near the boundary-line between the present Wabash and Grant Counties, Indiana. They were evidently there for hostile purposes, and General Harrison resolved to destroy or disperse them. He detached for the purpose Lieutenant Colonel John B. Campbell, of the Nineteenth Regiment of United States Infantry,¹ composed mainly of Colonel Simrall's regiment of Kentucky dragoons; a squadron of United States volunteer dragoons, commanded by Major James V. Ball; and a corps of infantry, consisting of Captain Elliott's company of the Nineteenth United States Regiment, Butler's Pittsburg Blues, and Alexander's Pennsylvania Riflemen. A small company of spies and guides were attached to the expedition.

Campbell left Franklinton, the head-quarters of the Army of the Northwest, on the 25th of November, with his troops, instructed by Harrison to march for the Mississiniwa by way of Springfield, Xenia, Dayton, Eaton, and Greenville, so as to avoid the Delaware towns. He was also instructed to save, if he could do so without risk to the expedition, Chiefs Richardville (then second chief of the Miamis), Silver Heels, and the White Lion, all of which, with Pecan, the principal chief of the Miamis, and Charley, the leader of the Eel River tribe, were known to be friendly to the white people. The son and brother of Little Turtle were also to be saved, if possible; also old Godfroy and his wife, who were true friends of the Americans.

It was the middle of December before the expedition left Dayton, on account of delay in procuring horses. Their destination was eighty miles distant. Each soldier was required to carry twelve days' rations, and a bushel of corn for forage. The ground was hard frozen and covered with snow, and the weather was intensely cold, yet they marched forty miles the first two days. On the third they made a forced march, and during that day and night they advanced another forty miles, when they reached the Mississiniwa, and fell upon a town inhabited by a number of Miamis and Delawares. Eight warriors were slain, and eight others, with thirty-two women and children, were made prisoners. The town was laid in ashes with the exception of two houses, which were left for the shelter of the captives. Cattle and other stock were slaughtered.

Campbell left the prisoners in charge of a sufficient guard, and pushed on down the river three miles to Silver Heels's village with Simrall's and Ball's dragoons. It was deserted; so also were two other towns near. These were destroyed, with many cattle. They captured several horses, and with these and a very small quantity of corn they returned to the scene of their first victory, and encamped for the night on the shore of the Mississiniwa. The camp was about two hundred yards square, and fortified with a small redoubt at each angle. The infantry and riflemen were posted in front, on the bank of the river, Captain Elliott's company on the right, Butler's in the centre, and Alexander's on the left. Major Ball's squadron occupied the right

¹ Black Hoof was often asked to sing the songs of the worship of his people, but nothing could induce him to do so. He would not even repeat the words to the white man. His was like the refusal of the Hebrew captive to sing the songs of Zion on the banks of the rivers of Babylon. Black Hoof was the principal chief of the Shawnoese for many years before his death, which occurred at Wa-pagh-ko-netta about the year 1830, at the age, it was believed, of one hundred and ten years.

¹ John B. Campbell was a native of Virginia, and nephew of Colonel Campbell, who was distinguished at the battle of King's Mountain in 1780. He was commissioned lieutenant colonel of the Nineteenth Regiment of Infantry in March, 1812. For his good conduct in the expedition mentioned above he was breveted a colonel. In April, 1814, he was commissioned a colonel in the Eleventh Infantry, and was distinguished and severely wounded in the battle of Chippewa on the 5th of July following. He died of his wounds on the 28th of August, 1814.

Attack on Campbell's Camp.

A desperate Fight.

Distressing Retreat to Greenville.

and one half of the rear line, and Colonel Simrall's regiment the left and other half of the rear line. Between Ball's right and Simrall's left there was a considerable opening. Major Ball was the officer of the day.

At midnight the sentinels reported the presence of Indians, and a fire was seen down the river. The greatest vigilance was exercised, and the *réveille* was beaten at four o'clock in the morning. Adjutant Payne immediately summoned the field officers to a council at the fire of the commander to consult upon the propriety of going on twelve miles farther down the river, to attack one of the principal towns there. While the officers were in council, half an hour before dawn,^a the camp was startled by terrific yells, followed immediately by a furious attack of a large body of savages who had crept stealthily along the margin of the river. Every officer flew to his post, and in a few moments the lines were formed, and the Indians were confronted with a heavy fire. The attack was made upon the angle of the camp, formed by the left of Captain Hopkins's troops and the right of Captain Garrard's dragoons of Simrall's regiment. Captain Pierce, who commanded at the redoubt there, was shot and tomahawked, and his guard retreated to the lines. The conflict soon became general along the right flank and part of the rear. The Pittsburg Blues promptly re-enforced the point assailed, and gallantly kept the savages at bay. For an hour the battle raged furiously. It was finally terminated, between dawn and sunrise, by a well-directed fire from Butler's Pittsburg corps, and desperate charges of cavalry under Captains Trotter, Markle,¹ and Johnson, when the Indians fled in dismay, leaving fifteen of their warriors dead on the field. Campbell had lost eight killed and forty-two wounded. Several of the latter afterward died of their wounds.² Campbell had one hundred and seven horses killed. What the whole loss of the Indians was could not be ascertained, but it is supposed that they carried away as many mortally wounded as they left dead on the field. Little Thunder, a nephew of Little Turtle, was in the engagement, and performed great service in inspiring his people with confidence by stirring words and gallant deeds. Although Silver Heels, a friend of the Americans (and who was with their army on the Niagara frontier the following year), was not present, nearly all of the prisoners were of his band. He did every thing in his power to persuade his young warriors to remain neutral, but in vain.

Rumors reached Campbell immediately after the battle that Tecumtha, with five or six hundred warriors, was on the Mississiniwa, only eighteen miles below. Without calling a council, the commander immediately ordered a retreat for Greenville. He sent a messenger (Captain Hite) thither for re-enforcements and supplies, for he expected to be attacked on the way. Fortunately the savages did not pursue. It was a dreadful journey, especially for the sick and wounded, in that keen winter air. They moved slowly, for seventeen men had to be conveyed on litters. Every night the camp was fortified by a breastwork. At length, wearied and with little food, they met provisions with an escort of ninety men under Major Adams. The relief was timely and most grateful. All moved forward together, and on the 25th, with three hundred men so frostbitten as to be unfit for duty, the expedition arrived at Greenville. More than one half the corps that a month before had gone gayly to the wilderness were now lost to the service for a while. They had accomplished their errand, but at a great cost.³ The commander-in-chief of the army of the Northwest,

¹ Joseph Markle, afterward a distinguished citizen of Pennsylvania. He died in 1867.

² Lieutenant Colonel Campbell's official report to General Harrison, dated at Greenville, December 25th, 1812; M' Afee, page 178; Dillon's *History of Indiana*, page 510; Thompson's *Sketches of the War*, page 62. Lieutenant Colonel Campbell sent a brief dispatch to Harrison on the morning after the battle, misdated December 12th instead of December 18th, and addressed from "Two miles above Silver Heels."

³ "I have on this occasion," wrote Campbell to Harrison, "to lament the loss of several brave men and many wounded. Among the former are Captain Pierce, of the Ohio Volunteers, and Lieutenant Waltz, of Markle's troops. Pierce was from Zanesville; Lieutenant Waltz was of the Pennsylvania corps. He was first shot through the arm, and then through the head. Captain Trotter was wounded in the head." Lieutenant Colonel Campbell highly commended these

in a general order, congratulated Lieutenant Colonel Campbell on his success, and commended him for his obedience to orders, his gallantry, and his magnanimity.¹

These expeditions against the savages produced salutary effects, and smoothed the way for the final recovery of Michigan. They separated the friends and enemies of the Americans effectually. The line between them was distinctly drawn. There were no middle-men left. The Delawares on the White River, and others who desired to be friendly, and who had been invited to settle on the Au Glaize in Ohio, now accepted the invitation.² The other tribes, who had cast their lot with the British, were made to feel the miseries of war, and to repent of their folly. So severe had been the chastisement, and so alarmed were the tribes farther north, who received the fugitives from the desolated villages on the Wabash and the Illinois at the close of 1812, that Tecumtha's dream of a confederacy of Indians that should drive the white man across the Ohio was rapidly fading as he awoke to the reality of an unsuspected power before him, and the folly of putting his trust in princes—in other words, relying upon the promises of the representatives of the sovereignty of England to aid him in his patriotic schemes. Before the war was fairly commenced, the spirits of the Indians, so buoyant because of the recent misfortunes of the Americans in the Northwest, were broken, and doubt and dismay filled the minds of all excepting those who were under the immediate command and influence of the great Shawnoese leader.

As winter came on the sufferings and difficulties of Harrison's invading army were terrible, especially that of the left wing under Winchester, which was the most advanced, and the most remote from supplies. Early in November typhus fever was slaying three or four of his small command daily, and three hundred were upon the sick-list at one time. So discouraging became the prospect at the beginning of December of reaching even the Rapids, that, having proceeded about six miles below the Au Glaize, Winchester, partly from necessity and partly to deceive the enemy, ordered huts to be built for the winter shelter of the troops. Clothing was scanty, and at times the whole corps would be without flour for several days. These privations were owing chiefly to the difficulty of transportation. The roads were wretched beyond the conception of those who have not been in that region at the same season of the year. It was swamp, swamp, swamp, with only here and there a strip of terra firma in plight almost as wretched. The pack-horses sank to their knees, and wagon-wheels to their hubs in the mud. Wasting weariness fell upon man and beast in the struggle, and the destruction of horses was prodigious. "The fine teams which arrived on the 10th at Sandusky with the artillery," wrote Harrison to the Secretary of War on the 12th of December, "are entirely worn down; and two trips from McArthur's block-house, our nearest deposit to the Rapids, will completely destroy a brigade of pack-horses." It was sometimes found impossible to get even empty wagons through the mire, and they were abandoned, the teamsters being glad to get out with their horses alive; and sometimes the quarter-master, taking advantage of suddenly frozen mud, would send off a quantity of provisions, which

officers, also Lieutenant Colonel Simral, Major M'Donnell, Captains Hite and Smith, and Captains Markle, M'Clelland, Garrard, and Hopkins. Lieutenants Hedges, Basye, and Hickman were among the wounded.

¹ "It is with the sincerest pleasure," said General Harrison, in a general order, "that the general has heard that the most punctual obedience was paid to his orders in not only saving all the women and children, but in sparing all the warriors who ceased to resist, and that, even when vigorously attacked by the enemy, the claims of mercy prevailed over every sense of their own danger, and this heroic band respected the lives of their prisoners. Let an account of murdered innocence be opened in the records of Heaven against our enemies alone. The American soldier will follow the example of his government, and the sword of the one will not be raised against the fallen and the helpless, nor the gold of the other be paid for the scalps of a massacred enemy."

² The Delawares had emigrated from Pennsylvania about fifty years before, where they had had an acquaintance with the white people for as long a period under the most favorable circumstances. They had experienced the justice and kindness of William Penn and his immediate successors. They were settled on the Au Glaize, about half way between Piqua and Wa-pagh-ko-netta. Some of them went farther east, and settled on the banks of the Scioto, within the limits of the present Delaware country, whose name is derived from these Indians. Buckongahelos, already mentioned, and an eminent chief named Kill-buck, were of this tribe.

would be swamped and lost by a sudden thaw. Water transportation was quite as difficult. Sometimes the streams would be too low for loaded boats to navigate; then they would be found crooked, narrow, and obstructed by logs; and again sudden cold would produce so much ice that it would be almost impossible to move forward. Then sleds would be resorted to until a thaw would drive the precious freight to floating vessels again. Such is a glimpse of the difficulties encountered in that wilderness of Northern Ohio; but it affords a faint idea of the hardships of the little invading army trying to make its way toward Detroit. All this was endured by the patriotic soldiers without scarcely a murmur.

In view of all these difficulties, the enormous expense of transportation, and the advantages which dishonest contractors were continually taking, Harrison suggested to the War Department, at about the middle of December, that if there existed no urgent political necessity for the recovering of Michigan and the invasion of Canada during the winter, the amount of increased expenditure of transportation at that season of the year might be better applied to the construction of a small fleet that should command the waters of Lake Erie—a suggestion made by Hull, but little heeded, early in the year.¹ The response came from the pen of a new head of the War Department. Dr. Eustis² had resigned, and James Monroe, the only man in the cabinet who had experienced actual military service, had succeeded him. With a more perfect knowledge of military affairs, he better comprehended the character of the campaign; and, having perfect confidence in the commander-in-chief of the Northwestern Army, he reiterated the instructions of his predecessor to Harrison, directing him to conduct the campaign according to his own judgment, promising, at the same time, that the government would take immediate measures for securing the command of Lake Erie. Only on two points were positive instructions given: First, in the event of penetrating Canada, not to promise the inhabitants any thing but the protection of life, liberty, and property; and, secondly, not to make any temporary acquisitions, but to proceed so surely that any position which he might obtain would be absolutely permanent.

Early in December a detachment of General Perkins's brigade reached Lower Sandusky (now Fremont, Ohio), and repaired an old stockade there which had protected an Indian store. The remainder of the brigade arrived soon afterward. On the 10th a battalion of Pennsylvania troops made their appearance there, with twenty-one pieces of artillery, which had been escorted from Pittsburg by Lieutenant Hukill. Very soon afterward a regiment of the same troops and part of a Virginia brigade arrived, speedily followed by General Harrison, who made his head-quarters there on the 20th. He remained but a little while. There he received the second dispatch [December 25th] from Lieutenant Colonel Campbell, giving a more detailed account of his expedition to the Mississiniwa. Harrison at once repaired to Chillicothe to consult with Governor Meigs on the propriety of fitting out another expedition in the same direction, to complete the work begun by destroying the lower Mississiniwa towns. The project was abandoned.

The whole effective force in the Northwest did not exceed six thousand three hundred infantry,³ and a small artillery and cavalry force; yet Harrison determined

¹ See page 251.

² William Eustis was born in Cambridge, Massachusetts, on the 10th of June, 1753. He was graduated at Harvard College at the age of nineteen, and chose the practice of medicine for his profession. He entered the Continental Army of the Revolution as a regimental surgeon, and served in that capacity during the war. He was a representative of Massachusetts in the National Congress, of the Republican party, from 1801 till 1806. President Madison appointed him Secretary of War in 1809, and he retained the office until the autumn of 1812, when he resigned. He was appointed minister to Holland in 1814. After his return he was chosen to a seat in Congress again, which he held for nearly two terms from 1820. In 1828 he was chosen governor of Massachusetts. He was then seventy years of age. He died in 1825, while holding that office, in the seventy-second year of his age.



He commenced the practice of his profession at Boston at the close of the war. He was an ardent politician,

³ Harrison's Letter to the Secretary of War, January 4, 1813.

to press forward to the Rapids, and beyond if possible. From Lower Sandusky he dispatched Ensign Charles S. Todd, then division judge advocate of the Kentucky troops, to communicate instructions to Winchester. He was accompanied by two white men and three Wyandottes. He bore oral instructions from General Harrison to General Winchester, directing the latter to advance toward the Rapids when he should have accumulated twenty days' provisions, and there commence building huts, to deceive the enemy into the belief that he intended to winter there; at the same time to prepare sleds for an advance toward Malden, but to conceal from his troops their intended use. He was also to inform Winchester that the different lines of the army would be concentrated at the Rapids, and all would proceed from thence toward Malden, if the ice on the Detroit River should be found strong enough to bear them. Young Todd performed this dangerous and delicate duty with such success that he received the highest commendations of his general.

Meanwhile Leslie Combs, another Kentuckian, a brave and spirited young man of scarcely nineteen years, who had joined Winchester's army as a volunteer on its march from Fort Wayne to Defiance, had been sent by Winchester to Harrison on an errand fraught with equal peril. He bore a dispatch to Harrison communicating the fact that the left wing had moved toward the Rapids on the 30th of December. Combs traversed the pathless wilderness on foot, accompanied by a single guide (A. Ruddle), through snow and water, for at least one hundred miles, enduring privations which almost destroyed him. He, too, performed his mission so gallantly and satisfactorily that his general thanked him. These two messengers, who passed each other in the mazes of the great Black Swamp fifty years ago—young, ambitious, patriotic, and daring—performed other excellent service during the war, as we shall have occasion to observe. Combs and Todd are still [1867] living; both residents of Kentucky, enjoying a green old age, and wearing the honors of their country's gratitude. I had the pleasure of meeting them both during 1861, and listening to interesting narrations of their experiences in that war. Portraits and biographical sketches of these heroes may be found in future pages of this work.¹

While on his march toward the Rapids, Winchester received a letter from Harrison recommending him to abandon the movement, because, if, as Lieutenant Colonel Campbell, in his second dispatch,^a had been informed, Tecumtha was on the Wabash with five or six hundred followers, he might advance rapidly and capture or destroy all the provisions in Winchester's rear. It was this second dispatch of Campbell, as we have seen, that sent Harrison in such haste back to Chillicothe, to consult with Governor Meigs.

Winchester did not heed the cautious suggestions of his superior, but pressed on toward the Rapids. General Payne, with six hundred and seventy men, was sent forward to clear the way. Payne went down the Maumee several miles below old Fort Miami, but saw no signs of an enemy. The remainder of the army arrived at the Rapids on the 10th of January, 1813, and established a fortified camp on a pleasant eminence of an oval form, covered with trees and having a prairie in the rear. This was a little above Wayne's battle-ground in 1794, opposite the camp-ground of Hull at the close of June, 1812, and known as Presque Isle Hill.² On the day of their arrival, an Indian camp, lately deserted, was discovered. Captain Williams, with a small detachment, gave chase to the fugitives, whom he overtook and routed.

¹ Combs's sufferings were very severe. He carried a heavy musket and accoutrements, a blanket, and four days' provisions. The snow commenced falling on the morning after his departure, and continued without intermission for two days and nights. On the third day of their march Combs and his companion found the snow over two feet deep in the dense forest. Ruddle had been a captive among the Indians in this region and knew the way, and the method of encountering such hardships as they were now called upon to confront. The storm detained them, their provisions became scarce, and for several nights they could find no place to lie down, and sat up and slept. Hunger came to both on the sixth day of their journey, and illness to young Combs. Nothing but his ever unflinching resolution kept him up. On the ninth evening they reached Fort M'Arthur, and were well cared for by General Tupper. Combs lay prostrated with sickness for several days.

² See page 257, and map of the Maumee in this vicinity, page 66.

Troops re-enlisted.

The Settlement of Frenchtown threatened.

Winchester sends them Defenders.

The enlistments of the Kentucky troops would expire in February, and Harrison had requested Winchester to endeavor to raise a new regiment among them to serve six months longer. Inaction and suffering had greatly demoralized them. There was so much insubordination among them that Winchester had little confidence in their strength. Harrison, on the contrary, believed that active service would quicken them into good soldiers, and did not hesitate to include them in those on whom he would most rely in his expedition against Malden. Events justified that faith and confidence.

Winchester was now satisfied that the pleadings of humanity would speedily summon him to the Raisin. First came rumors that the enemy, exasperated by their want of success in their recent movements, were preparing at Malden an expedition to move upon Frenchtown, on the Raisin, for the purpose of intercepting the expedition from Ohio on its way to Detroit. These rumors were speedily followed by messengers from Frenchtown,^a made almost breathless by alarm and rapid traveling, bringing intelligence that the Indians whom Williams had scattered had passed them on their way to Malden, uttering threats of a sweeping destruction of the inhabitants and their habitations on the Raisin. Others soon followed,^b deeply agitated by alarm, and, like the first, earnestly pleaded for the shield of military power to avert the impending blow. The troops, moved by the most generous impulses, were anxious to march instantly to the defense of the alarmed people. Harrison, the commander-in-chief, was at Upper Sandusky,¹ sixty-five miles distant, and could not be consulted. Winchester called a council of officers. The majority advised an immediate march toward the Raisin, between thirty-five and forty miles distant by the route to be traveled. This decision was approved by Winchester's judgment and humane impulses, and on the morning of the 17th he detailed Colonel Lewis and five hundred and fifty men in that direction. A few hours afterward Colonel Allen was sent with one hundred and ten men. Lewis's instructions were "to attack the enemy, beat them, and take possession of Frenchtown and hold it." These overtook Lewis and his party at Presque Isle, a point on Maumee Bay a little below, opposite the present city of Toledo, about twenty miles from the Rapids. There Lewis was told that there were four hundred British Indians at the Raisin, and that Colonel Elliott was expected with a detachment from Malden to attack Winchester's camp at the Rapids. This information was sent by express to General Winchester, whose courier was on the point of starting with a message to General Harrison, informing him of the movement toward the Raisin, and suggesting the probable necessity of a co-operating force from the right wing.

Colonel Lewis remained all night at Presque Isle. The weather was intensely cold, and strong ice covered Maumee Bay and the shore of Lake Erie. On that glittering bridge the Americans moved early and rapidly on the morning of the 18th, and were within six miles of their destination before they were discovered by the scouts of the enemy. On the shore of the lake, in snow several inches in depth, the little army calmly breakfasted, and then marched steadily forward through timber lands to an open savanna in three lines, so arranged as to fall into battle order in a moment. The right, composed of the companies of McCracken, Bledsoe, and Matson,

¹ Upper Sandusky, the present capital of Wyandot County, Ohio, is not the place above alluded to. The "Upper Sandusky" made famous during the Indian wars, and as the rendezvous of Americans in the war of 1812, was at Crane Town (so called from an eminent chief named Tarhe or Crane), four miles northeast from the court-house in the present village of Upper Sandusky. After the death of Tarhe in 1818, the Indians transferred their council-house to the site of the modern Upper Sandusky, gave it its present name, and called the old place Crane Town.

Old Upper Sandusky was a place of much note in the early history of the country. It was a favorite residence of the Wyandot Indians, and near it Colonel Crawford had a battle with them and was defeated in June, 1782. Crawford was murdered by fire and other slow tortures which the savages inflicted on leading prisoners. A full account of events in this vicinity may be found in Howe's *Historical Collections of Ohio*.

General Harrison built Fort Ferree, a stockade about fifty rods northeast of the court-house in the present Upper Sandusky.

Frenchtown and its suffering Inhabitants.

Arrival of Winchester's relief Party.

Battle and Massacre.

was commanded by Colonel Allen; the left, led by Major Green, was composed of the companies of Hamilton, Williams, and Kelley; and the centre, under Major Madison, contained the corps of Captains Hightown, Collier, and Sebreus. The advanced guard was composed of the companies of Captains Hickman, Glaives, and James, and were under the command of Captain Ballard, acting as major. The chief of the little army was Colonel Lewis.

Frenchtown,¹ at the time in question, was a flourishing settlement containing thirty-three families, twenty-two of whom resided on the north side of the Raisin. Gardens and orchards were attached to their houses, and these were inclosed with heavy pickets, called "puncheons," made of sapling logs split in two, driven in the ground, and sometimes sharpened at top. The houses were built of logs of good size, and furnished with most of the conveniences of domestic life. Two days after the surrender of Detroit, as we have seen, this place was taken possession of by Colonel Elliott, who came from Malden for the purpose with authority from General Brock. The weapons and horses of the inhabitants were left on parole, and protection to life and property was promised. The protection was not given, and for a long time the inhabitants were plundered not only by the Indians, but by Canadians, French, and British,² and were kept in a state of almost continual alarm by their threats. In the autumn two companies of the Essex (Canadian) militia, two hundred in number, under Major Reynolds, and about four hundred Indians, led by Round-head and Walk-in-the-water,³ were stationed there, and these composed the force that confronted Colonel Lewis when he approached Frenchtown on the 18th of January, 1813, and formed a line of battle on the south side of the Raisin, within a quarter of a mile of the village. Lewis's force numbered less than seven hundred men, armed only with muskets and other light weapons. The enemy had a howitzer⁴ in position, directed by bombardier Kitson, of the Royal Artillery.

When within three miles of Frenchtown Colonel Lewis was informed that the enemy was on the alert and ready to receive him; and as the Americans approached the village on the south side, the howitzer of the foe was opened upon the advancing column, but without effect. Lewis's line of battle was instantly formed, and the whole detachment moved steadily forward to the river, which was hard frozen, and in many places very slippery. They crossed it in the face of blazing muskets, and then the long roll was beaten, and a general charge was executed. The Americans rushed gallantly up the bank, leaped the garden pickets, dislodged the enemy, and drove him back toward the forests. Majors Graves and Madison attempted to capture the howitzer, but failed. Meanwhile the allies were retreating in a line inclining eastward, when they were attacked on their left by Colonel Allen, who pursued them more than half a mile to the woods. There they made a stand with their howitzer and small-arms, covered by a chain of inclosed lots and groups of houses, and having in their rear a thick, brushy wood, full of fallen timber. While in this position Majors Graves and Madison moved upon the enemy's right, while Allen was sorely pressing his left. The enemy fell back into the wood, closely pursued, and the conflict became extremely hot on the right wing of the Americans, where both whites and Indians were concentrated. The contest lasted from three o'clock until dark, the enemy all the while slowly retreating over a space of not less than two miles, gallantly contesting every foot of the ground. The detachments returned to the village in the evening, and encamped for the night on the ground which the ene-

¹ The Raisin, on which Frenchtown was situated, was called Sturgeon River by the Indians, because of the abundance of that fish in its waters. It flowed through a fertile and attractive region, and late in the last century a number of French families settled upon its banks, and engaged in farming, and trading with the Indians. Because of the abundance of grapes on the borders of the stream they called it *Rivière aux Raisins*, and on account of the nationality of the settlers the village was called Frenchtown. It is now Monroe, Michigan.

² Statement to the author by the Hon. Laurent Durocher, of Monroe (Frenchtown), who was an actor in the scenes there during the war of 1812.

³ See note 3, page 270.

⁴ A *howitz* or *howitzer* is a kind of mortar or short gun, mounted on a carriage, and used for throwing bomb-shells.

Frenchtown to be held.	Winchester arrives with Re-enforcements.	Position of Troops there.
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my had occupied. American officers occupied the same buildings in which the British officers had lived. The troops had behaved nobly. There had not been a single case of delinquency. "This amply supported," as was said, "the double character of Americans and Kentuckians," and fully vindicated the faith and judgment of General Harrison. Twelve of the Americans were killed and fifty-five wounded. Among the latter was Captain B. W. Ballard,¹ who gallantly led the van in the fight; also Captains Paschal, Hickman,² and Richard Matson.³ The loss of the enemy must have been much greater, for they left fifteen dead in the open field, while the most sanguinary portion of the conflict occurred in the wood. That night the Indians gathered their dead and wounded, and, on their retreat toward Malden, killed some of the inhabitants and pillaged their houses.

As soon as his little army was safely encamped in the village gardens, behind the strong "puncheon" pickets, and his wounded men comfortably housed, on the night of the battle,^a Colonel Lewis sent a messenger to General Winchester with a brief report of the action and his situation.⁴ He arrived at Winchester's camp before dawn, and an express was immediately dispatched to General Harrison with the tidings. ^a January 18,
1813.

Lewis called a council of officers in the morning, when it was resolved to hold the place and wait for re-enforcements from the Rapids. They were not long waiting. From the moment when intelligence of the affair at Frenchtown was known in Winchester's camp, the troops were in a perfect ferment. All were eager to press northward, not doubting that the victory at the Raisin was the harbinger of continued success until Detroit and Malden should be in the possession of the Americans. It was also apparent that Lewis's detachment was in a critical situation; for Malden, the principal rendezvous of the British and Indians in the Northwest, was only eighteen miles from Frenchtown, and that every possible method would be instantly put forth to recover what had been lost, and bar farther progress toward Detroit. Accordingly, on the evening of the 19th,^b General Winchester, accompanied by Colonel Samuel Wells, of Tippecanoe fame, marched from the Maumee toward Frenchtown with less than three hundred men, it being unsafe to withdraw more from the camp at the Rapids. He arrived at Frenchtown at three o'clock in the afternoon of the next day, crossed the river, and encamped the troops in an open field on the right of Lewis's forces,^c excepting a small detachment under Captain Morris, left behind as a rear-guard with the baggage. Leaving Colonel Wells in command of the re-enforcements, after suggesting the propriety of a fortified camp, Winchester, with his staff, recrossed the Raisin, and established his head-quarters at the house of Colonel Francis Navarre, on the south side of the river, and more than half a mile from the American lines.⁶ ^b January.

¹ Captain Bland W. Ballard was a son of Captain Ballard, of Winchester's army. He was acting major at the time when he was wounded.

² Hickman led a party of spies under Wayne from December, 1794, until June, 1795.

³ Matson was afterward with Colonel R. M. Johnson in the battle of the Thames.

⁴ Colonel Lewis's full report to General Winchester was written two days afterward, dated "Camp at Frenchtown, January 20, 1813, on the River Raisin." The facts in our narrative of the battle were drawn chiefly from this report.

⁵ It is asserted that Colonel Lewis recommended the encamping of the re-enforcements within the picketed gardens, there being plenty of room on his left. Wells being of the regular army, precedence gave him the right of Lewis, and military rule would not allow him to take position on his left. This observance of etiquette proved to be exceedingly mischievous.

⁶ The view of Colonel Navarre's house, the head-quarters of Winchester, given on page 354, represents it as it appeared in 1813, with a "puncheon" fence in front. General Winchester occupied the room on the left of the entrance-door. The room was a long one, fronting east (we are looking at the house in a southeast direction), and had a large fireplace. In this room the Indians who came to trade with Navarre rested and slept. The trees seen on the west side of the house are still there—venerable pear-trees (originally brought from Normandy), which were planted there by the early settlers. Those which remain still bear fruit. In 1830 the old Navarre House was altered by the son of the owner in 1813. He made additions to it, and raised the roof so as to make it two stories in height. Like the original, the structure of 1830 was a log edifice. When I visited the spot in the autumn of 1860, it had undergone another change. The log-house of 1830 had been clap-boarded, and it was then the residence of the rector of the Episcopal church in Monroe. It stood back a little from Front Street, within the square bordered by Front, Murray, Humphrey, and Wads-



WINCHESTER'S HEAD-QUARTERS.

According to the testimony of an officer of the expedition, very little vigilance was exercised by General Winchester. Spies were not sent out to reconnoitre, nor any measures adopted for strengthening the camp. A large quantity of fixed ammunition, sent to Winchester's quarters from the Rapids, was not distributed, although the re-enforcements had only ten rounds of cartridges each; and the urgent recommendation of Colonel Wells that the quarters of the commander-in-chief and the principal officers should be with the troops was unheeded.¹

On the morning of the 21st Winchester requested Peter Navarre and his four brothers to go on a scout toward the mouth of the Detroit River. Peter was still living when I visited the Maumee Valley in the autumn of 1860, and accompanied me from Toledo to the Rapids. He was a young man at the time in question, full of courage and physical strength. He and his brothers complied with Winchester's request with alacrity. They saw a man, far distant, coming toward them on the ice. He proved to be Joseph Bordeau, whose daughter Peter afterward married. He had escaped from Malden, and was bringing the news that the British would be at the Raisin, with a large body of Indians, that night. Peter hastened back to Winchester with this intelligence. Jacques La Salle, a resident of Frenchtown, in the interest of the British, was present, and asserted, in the most positive language, that it must be a mistake. Winchester's fears were allayed. Peter was dismissed with a laugh, and no precautions to insure safety were taken by the general.² Another scout confirmed this intelligence during the afternoon. The general was still incredulous. Late in the evening news came to Lewis's camp that a very large force of British and Indians, with several pieces of heavy artillery, were at Stony Creek, only a few miles distant, and would be at Frenchtown before morning. The picket-guard was immediately doubled, and word was sent to the commanding general. He did not believe a word of it; but Colonel Wells, who did believe the first rumor brought by Bordeau, had meanwhile hastened to the Rapids with Captain Lanham for re-enforcements, leaving his detachment in charge of Major McClanahan.

When the late evening rumors had been communicated to Winchester, the field officers remained up, expecting every moment to receive a summons to attend a council at head-quarters. They were disappointed. The general disbelieved the alarming rumors; and before midnight a deep repose rested upon the camp, as if some trusted power had guaranteed perfect security. The sentinels, as we have observed, were well posted, but, owing to the severity of the weather, no pickets were sent out upon the roads leading to the town. All but the chief officers in Lewis's camp and some better-informed inhabitants seemed perfectly free from apprehension. At head-quarters the night was passed by the general and his staff in sweet slumber; but just as the *réveille* was benten, between four and five o'clock in the morning, and the drummer-boy was playing the *Three Camps*, the sharp crack of the sentinels'

worth Streets. I am indebted to the kind courtesy of Mrs. Sarah A. Nebel, of Monroe (Frenchtown), Michigan, for the foregoing facts, and for the above sketch of Winchester's quarters as it appeared in 1813.

¹ Major Elijah McClanahan to General Harrison, dated "Camp on Carrying River, January 26, 1813." Carrying River was eighteen miles from Winchester's camp, on the Maumee, on the way toward the Raisin.

² Oral statement of Peter Navarre to the author.

Attack on Frenchtown by Proctor and his Fellow-savages.

A terrible Struggle.

A Panic and Massacre.

muskets firing an alarm was heard by still dull ears. These were followed immediately by a shower of bombshells and canister-shot hurled from several pieces of ordnance, accompanied by a furious charge of almost invisible British regulars, and the terrible yell of painted savages. The sounds and missiles fell upon the startled camp with appalling suddenness, giving fearful significance to the warnings, and a terrible fulfillment of the predictions uttered the previous evening. Night had not yet yielded its gloomy sceptre to Day. The character and number of assailants were unknown. All was mystery, terrible and profound; and the Americans had nothing else to do but to oppose force to force, as gallantly as possible, until the revelations of daylight should point to strategy, skill, or prowess for safety and victory.

The exposed re-enforcements in the open field were driven in toward Lewis's picketed camp, after bravely maintaining a severe conflict for some time. At this moment General Winchester arrived, and endeavored to rally the retreating troops behind a "puncheon" fence and second bank of the Raisin, so that they might incline to the right, and find shelter behind Lewis's camp. His efforts were vain. The British and their savage allies were pressing too heavily upon the fugitives; and when at length a large body of Indians gained their right flank, they were thrown into the greatest confusion, and fled pell-mell across the river, carrying with them a detachment of one hundred men which Lewis had sent out for their support. Seeing this, Lewis and Allen joined Winchester in his attempt to rally the troops behind the houses and fences on the south side of the Raisin, leaving the camp in the gardens in charge of Majors Graves and Madison. But all efforts to stop the flight of the soldiers were vain. The Indians, more fleet than they, had gained their flank, and swarmed in the woods on the line of their retreat, while those who made their way along a narrow lane leading from the village to the road from the Rapids were shot down and scalped by the savages skulking behind the trees and fences. Others, who rushed into the woods hoping to find shelter there from the fury of the terrible storm, were met at every turn by the bloody butchers, and scarcely one escaped. Within the space of a hundred yards, near Plum or Mill Creek, nearly one hundred Kentuckians fell under the hatchets of hired savages, who snatched the "scalp-locks" from their heads, and afterward bore them in triumph to Fort Malden to receive the market price for that precious article of commerce.¹ Death and mutilation met the fugitives on every side, whether in flight or in submission, and all about that little village the snow was crimsoned with human blood. On that dreadful morning it was on the part of the allies of the British a war of extermination.²

¹ "Never, dear mother, if I should live a thousand years, can I forget the frightful sight of this morning, when handsomely-painted Indians came into the fort, some of them carrying half a dozen scalps of my countrymen fastened upon sticks, and yet covered with blood, and were congratulated by Colonel Proctor for their *bravery!* I heard a British officer, who, I was told, was Lieutenant Colonel St. George, tell another officer, who, I believe, was Colonel Vincent, that Proctor was a disgrace to the British army—that such encouragements to devils was a blot upon the British character."—Letter of A. G. Tustin, of Bardstown, Kentucky, to his mother, dated Fort Malden, January 28, 1813.

² No rule of civilized warfare was observed. Blood and scalps were the chief objects for which the Indians fought. They seemed disposed not to take any prisoners. A party of fifteen or twenty, under Lieutenant Garrett, after retreating about a mile, were compelled to surrender, when all but the young commander were killed and scalped. Another party, of forty men, were more than one half murdered under similar circumstances. Colonel Allen, who had been wounded in the thigh in the attempt to rally the troops, after abandoning all hope, and escaping about two miles in the direction of the Maumee, was compelled, by sheer exhaustion, to sit down upon a log. He was observed by an Indian chief, who, perceiving his rank, promised him his protection if he would surrender without resistance. He did so. At the same moment two other savages approached with murderous intent, when, with a single blow of his sword, Allen laid one of them dead upon the ground. His companion instantly shot the colonel dead. "He had the honor," says M'Atfee, "of shooting one of the first and greatest citizens of Kentucky."

John Allen was born in Rockbridge County, Virginia, on the 30th of December, 1772. His father emigrated with him to Kentucky in 1780, and settled about a mile and a half below the present town of Danville, in Boyle County. In 1784 the family removed to another part, five miles from Bardstown, and in a school in that then rude village young Allen received his education. He studied law in Staunton, Virginia, for four years, and commenced its practice in Shelbyville, Kentucky, in 1795. He was following his profession successfully there when the war broke out in 1812, when he raised a regiment of riflemen for service under Harrison. He was killed, as we have seen, at the massacre on the River Raisin, on the 22d of January, 1813, at the age of forty-one years. Allen County, Kentucky, was so named in his honor.

Winchester made Prisoner. Proctor repulsed. Winchester forced to surrender his Army. Major Madison.

General Winchester and Colonel Lewis were made prisoners by Round-head,¹ at a bridge about three fourths of a mile from the village, stripped of their clothes except shirt, pantaloons, and boots, and in this plight were taken to the quarters of the British commander, who proved to be Colonel Proctor, the unworthy successor of the worthy Brock in the command at Detroit and Amherstburg. He was in Fort Malden, at the latter place, when intelligence of Lewis's occupation of Frenchtown reached him, and he made immediate preparations to drive the Americans back. The British and Indians expelled from Frenchtown on the 18th had fallen back with their howitzer to Brownstown, where Proctor joined them, on the evening of the 20th, with a detachment of the 41st Regiment, one hundred and forty in number, under Lieutenant Colonel St. George; the Royal Newfoundland Regiment, under Colonel Vincent; and a part of the 10th Veteran Battalion and some seamen. These, with Reynolds's militia and a party of the Royal Artillery, with three three-pounders and the howitzer already mentioned, made a white force about five hundred strong. The Indians, under Round-head and Walk-in-the-Water, numbered about six hundred. With these Proctor advanced from Brownstown on the morning of the 21st, and halted at Swan Creek, twelve miles on the way. There he remained until dusk, when the march was resumed. So great was the lack of vigilance on the part of the Americans that Proctor's troops and guns were made ready for assault before their presence was positively known. Then followed the attack just recorded.

While the right wing of Lewis's army and Winchester's re-enforcements were suffering destruction, the left and centre, under Majors Graves and Madison, were nobly defending themselves in the garden picketed camp. They maintained their position manfully against the powerful assault of the enemy. The British had planted their howitzer within two hundred yards of the camp (and eastward of it), behind a small house about forty rods from the river, upon the road to Detroit. It was a formidable assailant, but it was soon silenced by the Kentucky sharpshooters behind the pickets, who first killed the horse and driver of the sleigh that conveyed ammunition, and then picked off thirteen of the sixteen men in charge of the gun. It was soon drawn back so far that its shot had no effect on the "puncheon;" and at ten o'clock, perceiving all efforts of his white troops to dislodge the Americans to be fruitless, Proctor withdrew his forces to the woods, with the intention of either abandoning the contest, or awaiting the return of his savage allies, who were having their feast of blood beyond the Raisin. When the assailants withdrew, the Americans quietly breakfasted.

While the troops were eating, a white flag was seen approaching from the British line. Major Madison, believing it to be a token of truce while the British might bury their dead, went out to meet it. It was borne by Major Overton, one of General Winchester's staff, who was accompanied by Colonel Proctor. He brought an order from General Winchester directing the unconditional surrender of all the troops as prisoners of war. This was the first intelligence received by the gallant left wing that their chief was a captive. Proctor had dishonorably taken advantage of his situation to extort that order from him: He assured Winchester that as soon as the Indians, fresh from the massacre from which he had escaped, should join his camp, the remainder of the Americans would be easily captured, concealing from him the fact that they had already driven the British back to the woods. He represented to the general that, in such an event, "nothing would save the Americans from an indiscriminate massacre by the Indians." Totally ignorant of the condition of the remnant of his little army, and horrified by the butchery of which he had just been a witness, Winchester yielded, and sent Major Overton with the orders just mentioned.

Madison, surprised and mortified, refused to obey the order except on conditions.

¹ See page 301. It was with great difficulty that Proctor persuaded Round-head to release his prisoner, or to give up the military suit he had stripped from him.

Proctor quails before a true Man.

His Perfidy, Cowardice, and Inhumanity.

A fearful Night at Frenchtown.

"It has been customary for the Indians," he observed, "to massacre the wounded and prisoners after a surrender; I shall therefore not agree to any capitulation which General Winchester may direct, unless the safety and protection of all the prisoners shall be stipulated." The haughty Proctor stamped his foot, and said, with a supercilious air, "Sir, do *you* mean to dictate to *me*?" "I mean to dictate for myself," Madison replied, with firmness. "We prefer selling our lives as dearly as possible rather than be massacred in cold blood." Proctor, who was scorned by Brock for his jealousy and innate meanness, and is remembered with dislike by the Canadians, who knew him as innately cruel and cowardly,¹ quailed before the honest, manly bravery of Madison, and solemnly agreed that all private property should be respected; that sleds should be sent the next morning to remove the sick and wounded to Amherstburg; that the disabled should be protected by a proper guard; and that the side-arms of the officers should be returned when the captives should reach Malden. Proctor refused to commit these conditions to writing, but pledged his honor as a soldier and a gentleman that they should be observed. Madison was ignorant of Proctor's poverty in all that constituted a soldier and man of honor, and trusted to his promises. On the conditions named, he and his officers agreed to surrender themselves and their men prisoners of war.

Before the surrender was fairly completed the Indians began to plunder, when Major Madison ordered his men to resist them, even with ball and bayonet. The cowardly savages quailed before the courage of the white captives, and none of the prisoners were again molested by them while on their way to Malden. Quite different was the fate of the poor wounded men who were left behind. Having secured his object, Proctor violated his word of honor, and left them exposed to savage cruelty. Rumors came that Harrison was approaching, and the British commander, more intent on securing personal safety than the fulfillment of solemn promises, left for Malden with most of his savage allies, within an hour after the surrender, leaving as a "guard" only Major Reynolds and two or three interpreters. Proctor did not even name a guard, nor spoke of conveyances for the wounded after leaving Frenchtown; and when both Winchester and Madison reminded him of his promises and the peril of the wounded, he refused to hear them. It is evident that from the first that inhuman officer intended to abandon the wounded prisoners to their fate. Among them was Captain Hart, brother-in-law of Henry Clay, and inspector general of the Army of the Northwest. He was anxious to accompany the prisoners to Malden, but Captain Elliott, son of the notorious Colonel Elliott, who had known Hart intimately in Kentucky, assured him of perfect safety at Frenchtown, and promised to send his own conveyance for him the next morning. Elliott assured all the wounded that they need not apprehend danger, and that sleds from Malden would come for them in the morning.

The wounded were taken into the houses of the kind-hearted villagers, and cared for by Drs. Todd and Bowers, of the Kentucky Volunteers, who were left behind for the purpose. In every mind there was an indefinable dread when Proctor and his motley crew departed; and when it was known that he had promised his savage allies a "frolic" at Stony Creek, only about six miles from the Raisin, not only the wounded soldiers, but the villagers, and Major Reynolds himself, felt a thrill of horror, for there could be no doubt that the drunken Indians, after their debauch, would return to Frenchtown to glut their appetites for blood and plunder. Even those who remained went from house to house, after Proctor's departure, in search of plunder.

The night following the battle was a fearful one at Frenchtown. * January 23, 1812.
Day dawned with hope, but the sun at his rising^a found the inhabitants

¹ Tecumtha, as we shall observe hereafter, regarded Proctor as a coward, and by threats compelled him to make a stand on the Thames; and the venerable Robert Reynolds, of Amherstburg, and other survivors of the British army in Canada with whom I have conversed, spoke of him with contempt as a boasting coward.

Massacre and Scalping of wounded Prisoners allowed by Proctor.

Incidents of the horrible Event.

and prisoners in despair. Instead of the promised sleds from Malden, about two hundred half-drunken savages, with their faces painted red and black in token of their



MOVEMENTS AT FRENCHTOWN.¹

fiendish purposes, came into the village. The chiefs held a brief council, and determined to kill and scalp all the wounded who were unable to travel, in revenge for the many comrades they had lost in the fight. This decision was announced by horrid yells, and the savages went out upon their bloody errand. They first plundered the village; then they broke into the houses where the wounded lay, stripped them of every thing, and then tomahawked and scalped them. The houses of Jean B. Jereau and Gabriel Godfrey, that stood near the present dwelling of Matthew Gibson, sheltered a large number of prisoners. In the cellar of Jereau's house was stored a large quantity of whisky. This the savages took in sufficient quantities to madden them, when they set both dwellings on fire. A number of the wounded, unable to move, were consumed. Others, attempting to escape by the doors and windows, were tomahawked and scalped. Others, outside, were scalped and cast into the flames, and the remainder, who could walk, were marched off toward Malden. When any of them sank from exhaustion, they were killed and scalped.

Doctor Todd, who had been tied and carried to Stony Creek, informed Elliott of what was going on at the Raisin, and begged him to send conveyances for the wounded, especially for Captain Hart; but that young officer coolly replied, "Charity begins at home; my own wounded must be carried to Malden first." He well knew that an hour more would be too late for rescue.²

Major Graves was never heard of after the Maumee. Captain Hickman was murdered in Jereau's house. Captain Hart was removed from that house by Doctor

¹ This is from a sketch sent to Colonel William H. Winder by Lieutenant Colonel Boerstler, in a letter dated "Buffalo, 17th February, 1818. I send you," he says, "a hasty sketch of the situation of the troops at Frenchtown." He obtained it from some subordinate officer among the prisoners from the Raisin, who were paroled, and passed through Buffalo. He says, "The prisoners have passed through to the number of four hundred and sixty-two. The general and field officers are not yet sent across."—*Autograph Letter.*

² Elliott had been in Lexington, where he was very ill of fever for a long time in the family of Colonel Thomas Hart, the father of Captain Hart. During that illness he had received many attentions from the young man whom he now basely deserted in his hour of greatest need.

The Death of Captain Hart.

Sketch of his Life.

The British ashamed to call the Indians their Allies.

Todd, before the massacre was commenced, to the dwelling of Jacques Navarre, about a mile up the river (now the Wadsworth brick house), under the charge of a friendly Pottawatomie chief. Hart offered him one hundred dollars to convey him in safety to Malden. The chief attempted it. Hart was placed on a horse, and when passing through the village, near the house of François La Salle¹ (who was suspected of com-



RESIDENCE OF LA SALLE.

licity with the British), a Wyandot savage came out, and claimed the captain as his prisoner. A dispute arose, and they finally settled it by agreeing to kill the prisoner, and dividing his money and clothes between them. So says the most reliable recorded history.² Local tradition declares that the Pottawatomie attempted to defend Captain Hart when the Wyandot shot and scalped him. There are many versions of the tragedy. He was buried near the place of his murder, but the exact spot is not known.

Proctor arrived with his prisoners at Amherstburg on the morning of the 23d of January, and on the 26th proceeded to Sandwich and Detroit.³ Some of

them were sent to Detroit, and others were forwarded to Fort George, on the Niagara, by way of the Thames. These suffered much from the severity of the weather and bad treatment of their guards. At Fort George they were mostly paroled, on condition that they should not "bear arms against his majesty or his allies during the war, or until exchanged." "Who are his majesty's allies?" inquired Major Madison. The officer addressed, doubtless ashamed to own the disgrace in words, said, "His majesty's allies are known." General Winchester, Colonel Lewis,⁴ and Major Madison,⁵ were sent to Quebec, and at Beauport, near that city, they were confined until the spring of 1814, when a general exchange of prisoners took place.

¹ I am indebted to Mrs. Sarah A. Noble for this sketch of La Salle's house, as it appeared at the time. It stood in front of the ford, was built of logs, and between it and the river was a "pincheon" fence. The "Laselle Farm" was known some time as the "Humphrey Farm." It is now (1867) the property of the Honorable D. A. Noble.

² Nathaniel G. T. Hart was a son of Colonel Thomas Hart, who emigrated to Kentucky from Maryland, and settled in Lexington. Captain Hart was born at Hagerstown, in Maryland. One of his sisters married Henry Clay, another married James Brown, long the United States minister at the French Court. Hart was making a fortune in mercantile pursuits when the war of 1812 broke out, when (at the age of about twenty-seven years) he was in command of the *Lexington Light Infantry*, a company which was organized by General James Wilkinson, who was its first captain, in 1787. Under its fourth captain (Beatty) it was with Wayne in the campaign of 1794. Hart was its seventh captain, and was at the head of it in the expedition to the Raisin. When I visited Lexington in April, 1861, I called on the then commander of the company, Captain Samuel D. McCullough, who showed me the crimson silk ash of Captain Hart in his possession, which was torn and had blood-stains upon it. Cassius M. Clay, now (1867) American minister to the Court of St. Petersburg, commanded this company in the United States army in Mexico. In the battle of Buena Vista its flag was the regimental color of the Kentucky cavalry. On the 18th of January, 1861, a flag was presented to this company (now called the "Lexington Old Infantry") at the Odd Fellows Hall in Lexington, by General Leslie Combs, in behalf of the donor, David A. Sayre. On that occasion the United States band from the barracks at Newport, Kentucky, performed the musical part of the ceremonies. The *Star-spangled Banner* was sung, and the roll of all the captains, from 1789 to 1861, was called. The only survivors of the company when Hart was captain, who were present, were, Thomas Smith, of Louisville; Lawrence Daly, of Fayette County; and Judge Levi L. Todd, of Indianapolis. The latter, who was Hart's successor as captain, gave the opening address.

³ A few days after the massacre at the Raisin Proctor ordered all the inhabitants there to leave their houses and move to Detroit. It was mid-winter and severely cold. The snow was very deep, and they suffered dreadfully. Some conveyances were sent down from Detroit for them. For a while Frenchtown was a desolation, and the remains of the massacred were unburied.

⁴ William Lewis was in Gathier's battalion at St. Clare's defeat in 1791. He was then captain, and was appointed to the same position in the 3d Regiment of Infantry the following year. He resigned in 1797. In August, 1812, he was commissioned Lieutenant Colonel of Kentucky Volunteers, and, as we have seen, behaved gallantly at Frenchtown. He was a native of Virginia. His death occurred near Little Rock, Arkansas, on the 17th of January, 1826.

⁵ George Madison was a native of Virginia, where he was born in 1763. He was a soldier in the Revolution, although he was only a lad of twelve years when it broke out. He was with General Clarke in the Northwest, and was at the head of a company in St. Clair's defeat in 1791, where he was wounded. He was also wounded in an attack by the In-

War-cry of the Kentuckians. Honor conferred on Proctor. Shamefulness of the Act. "Guardians of Civilization."

The loss of the Americans in the affair at the Raisin was nine hundred and thirty-four. Of these, one hundred and ninety-seven were killed and missing; the remainder were made prisoners. Of the whole army of about a thousand men, only thirty-three escaped. The loss of the British, according to Proctor's report, was twenty-four killed, and one hundred and fifty-eight wounded. The loss of their Indian allies is not known. The event was a terrible blow to Kentucky. It caused mourning in almost every family. The first shock of grief was succeeded by intense exasperation, and the war-cry of Kentucky soldiers after that was, *Remember the River Raisin!*

At Sandwich Proctor wrote his dispatch^a to Sir George Prevost, the commander-in-chief in Canada, giving an account of his expedition to Frenchtown, and highly commending the conduct of his savage allies.¹ His private representations were such that the evidently deceived Assembly of Lower Canada passed a vote of thanks to him and his men, and the equally duped Sir George promoted him to the rank of brigadier general "until the pleasure of the Prince Regent should be known."² That "pleasure" was to confirm the appointment, and thereby the British government indorsed his conduct.

I visited Frenchtown (now Monroe), in Michigan, early in October, 1860. I went down from Detroit by railway early in the morning, after a night of tempest—mingled lightning, wind, and rain. The air was cool and pure, and the firmament was overhung with beautiful cloud-pictures. I bore a letter of introduction to the Honorable D. S. Bacon, a resident of the place for almost forty years, who kindly spent the day with me in visiting persons and places of interest on that memorable spot.

Crossing the bridge to the north side of the stream, we passed down Water Street toward the site of La Salle's, the camp of Colonel Lewis, and other places connected with the battle and massacre already described. We met the venerable Judge Du-

dians in the camp of Major John Adair the following year. For more than twenty years he was auditor of public accounts in Kentucky. When Kentucky was asked for troops in 1812 he took the field. He was kept a prisoner at Quebec for some time. In 1816 he was nominated for the office of governor of Kentucky. He was so beloved and popular that his opponent withdrew in the heat of the canvass, declaring that nobody could resist that popularity. He was elected, but died on the 14th of October the same year.

¹ "The zeal and courage of the Indian Department," he said, "were never more conspicuous than on this occasion, and the Indian warriors fought with their usual bravery."

² It seems hardly possible that the Canadian Assembly or Sir George Prevost could have known the facts of the horrors of Frenchtown, and Proctor's inhuman abandonment of the prisoners, or they would have punished rather than rewarded the commander on that occasion. Sir George, in his general order announcing the promotion of Proctor, actually said, "On this occasion the gallantry of Colonel Proctor was most nobly displayed in his humane and unswerving exertions, which succeeded in rescuing the vanquished from the revenge of the Indian warriors!"

British writers, unable to offer the shadow of an excuse for Proctor's conduct, either avoid all mention of the massacre, or endeavor to shield him from the scourge of just criticism by affecting to disbelieve the fact that he agreed to give protection to the wounded, or accepted the surrender on any conditions whatever. "Indeed," says James, with an air of triumph in discussion, "General Winchester was not in a condition to dictate terms," because he was "stripped to his shirt and trowsers, and suffering exceedingly from the cold."—*Account of the Military Occurrences of the Late War, etc.*, i., 188. But the testimony of eye and ear witnesses to the fact are too abundant for any honest-minded man to doubt. Before all his men, in the presence of Colonel Proctor, not twenty rods from the house of François LaSalle, Major Madison declared the conditions that had been agreed upon. The late Judge Drocher, who was present, informed me that he heard these conditions announced, and that Proctor assented to them by his silence. This is in confirmation of Winchester's statement in his report, written at Malden on the 23d of January, the day after the surrender.

It gives the writer no pleasure to record the cruelties of savages and the unchristian conduct of British commanders who employed them. He would prefer to bury the knowledge of these things in oblivion, and let the animosities which they engender die with the generation of men who were actors in the scenes; but when a Pharisee, affecting to be the "guardian of civilization," preaches censorious homilies to an equal in virtue and dignity, it is sometimes a wholesome service to prick the bubble of his pride with the bodkin of just exposure. When the British government, in its pride or blindness, lectures that of the United States on lust for power, barbarity in warfare, and kindred subjects, as it did during the late civil war in the United States, an occasional lifting of the veil from the records of the censor's own shortcomings may be productive of a wholesome humility and a practical desire for reform. Posterity will point the finger of scorn toward the conduct of the government of that empire, and the journalists and publicists in its interest, during the trials of the government and loyal people of the United States in their late struggles against foul conspiracy and frightful rebellion, as unworthy of an enlightened and Christian nation. That conduct—the manifestation of the intense selfishness of the aristocracy of rank and wealth which have ever ruled England—will always appear darkly in the history of nations as a crime against humanity, and a libel upon the character of the overwhelming majority of the English people. The employment of bloody savages to butcher their relatives in America; the demonic treatment of captive Sepoys in India; the encouragement of frightful atrocities in China, and the open sympathy with conspirators against a beneficent government for the avowed purpose of establishing a despotism whose corner-stone should be HUMAN SLAVERY, should forever close the lips of the English government when it attempts to lecture others on humanity, or claims to be, *par excellence*, the "guardian of civilization."

Visit to the Raisin.

The historical Localities there.

Survivors of the War.

rocher, already mentioned in the narrative as one of the actors in the scenes there—a short, dark-complexioned man of French descent—who pointed out the spot, in an open lot between Water Street and the river, not far from where we were standing, a little westward of La Salle's house, where Captain Hart was murdered by the Indians. Promising me another and longer interview at his office, we left Judge Durocher, and passed on to the site of La Salle's dwelling, then the property of Hon. D. S. Noble, delineated on page 359, a part of which yet remains, with a pear-tree planted there during the last century. Not far below this we came to the railway and the common road leading from the Raisin to Detroit. On the corner of the latter, not far from the site of the houses of Godfrey and Jereau, where the wounded were burned and massacred, was a large brick house, the residence of Matthew Gibson. Very near it, in an orchard, might be seen the remains of the cellars of those buildings. From that point, around which the battle was fought, and near which the



MONROE, FROM THE BATTLE-GROUND.

Americans were driven across the Raisin just before the massacre on the south side of the stream, I made the above sketch (looking westward) of the river, the railway bridge, and the distant town. Gibson's house is seen in the foreground, on the right; the railway bridge, on four piers in the water, with the town beyond it, is seen in the centre; and by the distant trees, seen immediately beyond the point on the left, is indicated the spot near which Winchester was captured. Returning to the village, I called upon Judge Durocher, who, in the course of a pleasant interview of an hour, gave me many items of information concerning the events we have been considering. He spoke of Winchester as a "fussy man," quite heavy in person, and illy fitted for the peculiar service in which he was engaged. He also assured me that after the defeat of the Americans at Frenchtown, Proctor endeavored to persuade the Indians to destroy the French settlements there, because he believed the inhabitants to be favorable to the United States. It was even proposed to the Indians in council, and another cold-blooded massacre, not by the permission, but at the instigation of Proctor, was only prevented by the firmness of the friendship which the Pottawatomies bore to the inhabitants on the Raisin. Judge Durocher was seventy-four years of age when I visited him. A little less than a year afterward he was borne to the grave.¹

¹ Laurent Durocher was the son of a French Canadian, and was born at St. Genevieve Mission, in Missouri, in 1786. His father died when he was young, and his uncle sent him to a college in Montreal to be educated. At the close of his

The valiant James Knaggs.

His public Career.

His Relations with the Indians.

Our next visit was to the head-quarters of Winchester, delineated on page 354, which was occupied by the rector of the Protestant Episcopal church in Monroe. It was too unlike the original to claim the service of the pencil, and we proceeded to the house of James Knaggs, one of the oldest inhabitants of that region, and a remarkable character, who, as an Indian fighter and volunteer soldier, performed good service during the war of 1812. He had just returned from some toil at a distance, and, octogenarian as he was, he seemed vigorous in mind and body. He was a stout-built man, about eighty years of age. His birth-place was at Roche de Bout, on the Maumee, a little above the present village of Waterville. His father was an Englishman, and his mother a Mohawk Valley Dutch woman.¹ From early life he was familiar with the Indians and the woods. He had been a witness of the treachery and cruelty of the savages, and his family had suffered severely at their hands. When speaking of the Indians and his personal contests with them, his vengeful feelings could hardly be repressed, and he talked with almost savage delight of the manner in which he had disposed of some of them.²

Soon after Wayne's campaign Knaggs settled at Frenchtown, and became a farmer. In 1811 he established a regular ferry at the Huron River, on the road to Detroit, with only Indians as companions and neighbors. These, excited against all Americans by British emissaries, were very troublesome, and Knaggs had frequent conflicts with them in some form. When Hull was on his way toward Detroit, Knaggs joined the army as a private in Captain Lee's company of dragoons—"River Raisin men the best troops in the world," as Harrison said³—and became very expert and efficient in the spy, scout, or ranger service. He was engaged in the various conflicts near the Detroit River, already described, and in 1813 was in the battle of the Thames, under Colonel Richard M. Johnson. While with Hull at Sandwich, attached to Colonel M'Arthur's regiment, he performed important scout service. On one occasion, accompanied by four men, he penetrated the country as far as the site of the present village of Chatham, on the Thames, and there captured a Colonel M'Gregor, a burly British officer, and a Jew named Jacobs, and carried them to Hull's camp. He tied M'Gregor to a horse, and thus took him to the head-quarters of his chief. After the surrender M'Gregor offered five hundred dollars for the capture of Knaggs, dead or alive. The Indians were constantly on the watch for him, and he had many

studies, in 1805, he settled at Frenchtown. At the beginning of the war of 1812, he, with other young Frenchmen of that region, joined the army of General Hull for a year. They were at the Raisin when Hull surrendered, and gave themselves up to Captain Elliott. During the remainder of the war he was charged by the American member of the Territorial Council of Michigan, and in 1806 was a member of the Convention that framed the state Constitution. He was a member of the state Legislature, a justice of the peace, judge of probate, and circuit judge, and at the time of his death, on the 21st of September, 1861, was clerk of the city of Monroe. The funeral services at the time of his burial were held in St. Anne's Catholic church of Monroe, where Father Joos officiated.

¹ Knaggs's mother lived at or near Frenchtown at the time of the battle there, and was one of those whom Proctor ordered to Detroit. She was then eighty years of age. Thinly clad (having been robbed by the Indians), she proceeded in an open *traineau*, and reached Detroit in safety. When asked how it happened that she did not perish, she replied, "My spunk kept me warm."

² On one occasion, as he informed me, while he kept the ferry on the Huron, he flogged a troublesome Indian very severely. That night a brother of the savage came to Knaggs's cabin at a late hour to avenge the insult. Hearing a summons, but not knowing the visitor, Knaggs went out, when the gleam of a knife-blade in the starlight warned him of danger. He ran to a spot where he had a large club, pursued by a savage, who, in striking at him with his knife, cut off the skirt of the only garment that Knaggs had on. The latter seized the club, turned upon his assailant, felled him to the ground, and beat him until every bone in his body was broken. Although nearly fifty years had elapsed since the occurrence, Mr. Knaggs became much excited while relating it.

³ I am indebted to Mr. Lyon, of Detroit, for the following copy of the first muster-roll of the "Raisin men," under Cornet Isaac Lee:

Cornet, Isaac Lee. Sergeant, James Bentley. Corporal, John Ruland. Privates, James Knaggs, Louis Drouillard, Orrin Rhodes, Michael M'Dermot, Scott Rolle, Samuel Dibble, Robert Glass, Cyrus Hunter, James Rolle, Silas Lewis, Samuel Youngs, John Murphy, Thomas Noble, Francis Moffatt, Daniel Hull, John Reddull, John Creamer.

From October, 1813, to April, 1814, Captain Lee commanded a large company of dragoons. His lieutenants were George Johnson and John Ruland. The late Judge Laurent Durocher was cornet. Johnson was a very brave officer, and in the battle of Maguaga he actually commanded Smyth's dragoons.

Laurent Durocher

ican commander with several important trusts. When, in 1818, Monroe County was organized, Durocher was chosen its clerk. He held that office for about twenty years. He was for six years a

The patriotic Knaggs Family.

Harrison unjustly censured.

His Efforts to relieve Winchester at the Raisin.



Paul Knaggs

ember, 1860.¹

I returned to Detroit by the evening train, filled with reflections concerning the events of the day, and those which made the Raisin terribly conspicuous in the annals of the war. I remembered that some of the newspapers of the day censured Harrison for not promptly supporting Winchester; and that in the political campaign of 1840, when Harrison was elected President of the United States, his enemies cited his alleged shortcomings on this occasion as evidence that his military genius and services, on which his fame mostly rested, were myths. But contemporary history, and the well-settled convictions of his surviving companions in arms whom I met in the Northwest, as well as the gallant engineer, Colonel Wood, who afterward fell at Fort Erie,² fully acquit General Harrison of all blame or lack of soldierly qualities on that occasion. It was not until the night of the 16th that he was informed by a messenger that General Winchester had arrived at the Rapids, and meditated a forward movement. The latter intimation alarmed Harrison, and he made every exertion to push troops forward from Upper Sandusky, where he was then quartered, sixty miles from the Rapids by way of the Portage River, and seventy-six miles by Lower Sandusky. He immediately ordered his artillery to advance by way of the Portage, with an escort of three hundred men, under Major Orr, with provisions; and he pressed forward himself, as speedily as possible, by the way of Lower Sandusky, where one regiment and a battalion were stationed, under the command of General Perkins. This battalion was ordered to march immediately, under Major Cotgrove, and Harrison determined to follow it the next morning. He was just rising from his

narrow escapes. This made him feel bitterly toward them.

At the battle of the Thames, Knaggs identified the body of Tecumtha, it is said, he having been long acquainted with the great Shawnoe. He was absent in Ohio on his parole when the battle of the Raisin occurred. He was the youngest of five brothers, all of whom were active in military service. His four brothers served as spies with Captain Wells, who was killed at Chicago. One of them was captured in the war of 1812, and carried a prisoner to Halifax. They were all men of strong convictions, and each, until the day of his death, hated both the British and their Indian allies, for they had all suffered at their hands.

Mr. Knaggs seemed in fine health and spirits when I visited him; but, a little more than three months afterward, he died suddenly. His death occurred on the 23d of De-

¹ I am indebted to Mr. William H. Bowlsby, a photographer in Monroe, for the likeness of Mr. Knaggs. It was taken from life by that gentleman. The signature was written in my note-book by Mr. Knaggs when I visited him.

² Lieutenant Colonel Wood, then Harrison's chief engineer, with the rank of captain, afterward said, "What human means within the control of General Harrison could prevent the anticipated disaster, and save that corps which was already looked upon as lost, as doomed to inevitable destruction? Certainly none, because neither orders to halt nor troops to succor him [Winchester] could be received in time, or at least that was the expectation. He was already in motion, and General Harrison still at Upper Sandusky, seventy miles to his rear. The weather was inclement, the snow was deep, and a large portion of the Black Swamp was yet open. What would a Turenne or a Eugene have done, under such a pressure of embarrassing circumstances, more than Harrison did?"

Harrison at the Maumee Rapids.

He assists the Fugitives from the Raisin.

His Army at the Maumee Rapids.

bed when a messenger came with the tidings of the advance of Lewis upon Frenchtown. Perkins was immediately ordered to press forward to the Rapids the remaining troops under his command. After hastily breakfasting, he and Perkins proceeded in a sleigh. They were met on the way by an express with intelligence of Lewis's victory at the Raisin. This nerved Harrison to greater exertions. He pushed forward alone and on horseback, through the swamps filled with snow, in daylight and in darkness, and, after almost superhuman efforts, he reached the Rapids early on the morning of the 20th. Winchester had departed for the Raisin the previous evening, and Harrison could do nothing better than wait for his oncoming troops, under Perkins and Cotgrove, and the artillery by the Portage. What remained at the Rapids of Winchester's army, under Colonel Payne, were sent forward toward the Raisin, and Captain Hart, the inspector general, was sent to inform Winchester of the supporting movements in his rear.

Alas! the roads were so almost impassable that the troops moved very slowly. After the utmost exertions they were too late. News came to Harrison, at ten o'clock on the morning of the 22d, of the attack of the British and Indians on the Americans at Frenchtown. The fraction of Perkins's brigade which had arrived at the Rapids was sent forward, and Harrison himself hastened toward the Raisin. He met the affrighted fugitives, who told doleful stories of the scenes of the morning, and assured the commander that the British and Indians were in pursuit of the broken army of Winchester toward the Rapids. This intelligence spurred on the re-enforcements. Other fugitives were soon met, who declared that the defeat of Winchester was total and irretrievable, and that no aid in Harrison's power could win back the victory of the enemy. A council of officers was held at Harrison's head-quarters in the saddle, when it was decided that a farther advance would be useless and imprudent. A few active men were sent forward to assist the fugitives in escaping, while the main body returned to the Rapids. There another council was held, which resulted in an order for the troops, numbering not more than nine hundred men, to fall back to the Portage (about eighteen miles), establish there a fortified camp, wait for the arrival of the artillery and accompanying troops, and then to push forward to the Rapids again.

The latter movement was delayed on account of heavy rains. On the 30th of January Colonel Leftwich arrived with his brigade, a regiment of Pennsylvania troops, and a greater part of the artillery, and on the 1st of February General Harrison moved toward the Rapids with seventeen hundred men. He took post on the right bank of the river, upon high and commanding ground, at the foot of the Rapids, and there established a fortified camp, to which was afterward given, in honor of the governor of Ohio, the name of Fort Meigs. All the troops that could be spared from other posts were ordered there, with the design of pressing on toward Malden before the middle of February; but circumstances caused delay, and the Army of the Northwest tarried for some time on the bank of the Maumee before opening the campaign of 1813 in that region.



Events on the Northern Frontier.

First warlike Measures there.

Enforcement of the Revenue Laws.

CHAPTER XVIII.

"Oh! now the time has come, my boys, to cross the Yankee line,
We remember they were rebels once, and conquered John Burgoyne;
We'll subdue those mighty Democrats, and pull their dwellings down,
And we'll have the States inhabited with subjects to the crown."

SONG—THE NOBLE LADS OF CANADA.



IN preceding chapters the military events in the Northwest, where the war was first commenced in earnest, have been considered in a group, as forming a distinct episode in the history. By such grouping, in proper order, the reader may obtain a comprehensive view of the entire campaign of 1812 in that region, which ended with the establishment of General Harrison's head-quarters on the banks of the Maumee early in February, 1813.

We will now consider the next series of events, in the order of time, in the campaign of 1812, which occurred on the Northern frontier, from Lake Erie to the River St. Lawrence. The movements in the Northwest already recorded claim precedence, in point of time, over those on the Northern frontier of only seven days, Hull having initiated the former by the invasion of Canada on the 12th of July; and a squadron of British vessels having opened the latter by an attack on Sackett's Harbor on the 19th of the same month. The parties in these movements, between the scenes of which lay an almost unbroken wilderness of wood and water of several hundred miles, were absolutely independent of each other in immediate impulse and action.

When war was declared the United States possessed small means on the northern frontier for offensive or defensive operations. The first warlike measure was the construction, at Oswego, on Lake Ontario, of the brig *Oneida*, by Christian Berg and Henry Eckford, under the direction of Lieutenant Melancthon Woolsey, of the United States Navy. She was commenced in 1808, and was launched early in 1809. She was intended chiefly for employment in the enforcement of the revenue laws on the frontier, under the early embargo acts. For a similar purpose, a company of infantry and some artillery were posted at Sackett's Harbor, at the eastern end of Lake Ontario,¹ in 1808; and in March, 1809, militia detachments were stationed on the southern shores of the St. Lawrence, opposite Kingston, to prevent smuggling. This duty gave rise to many stirring scenes on the frontier in the violation and vindication of the revenue laws, which were generally evaded or openly defied until the spring of 1812, when a more stringent embargo act was passed.²

* April 4,
1812.

The Legislature of the State of New York, as vigilant as the national government, took measures early for enforcing the laws on the Canada frontier of that commonwealth. In February, 1808, the governor ordered five hundred stand of arms to be deposited at Champion, in the present county of Jefferson; and the following year an arsenal was built at Watertown,³ on the Black River, twelve miles

¹ The Indians gave this an almost unpronounceable and interminable name, which signified "Fort at the mouth of Great River." It received its name from Augustus Sackett, the first settler. It was constituted an election district in 1803, and in 1814 it was incorporated a village. During the war of 1812 it was the chief military post on the Northern frontier. Millions of dollars have been expended there for fortifications and war vessels, yet prosperly as a village seems not to have been its lot. It contains less than one thousand inhabitants.

² The engraving of the Arsenal Building on the following page is from a sketch made by the writer in 1866. It was erected at a cost of about two thousand dollars. It is still [1867] standing, on the south side of Arsenal (formerly Columbia) Street, between Benedict and Madison Streets. It was maintained by the state as an arsenal until 1850, when it was sold.

War Materials at Watertown. The Militia there in Command of General Brown. The detached Militia of the State.



ARSENAL BUILDING, WATERTOWN.

eastward of Sackett's Harbor, under the direction of Hart Massey,¹ where arms, fixed ammunition, accoutrements, and other war supplies were speedily gathered for use on the Northern frontier. In May, 1812, a regiment of militia, under Colonel Christopher P. Bellinger, was stationed at Sackett's Harbor, a part of which was kept on duty at Cape Vincent. Jacob Brown, an enterprising farmer from Pennsylvania, who had settled on the borders of the Black River about four miles from Watertown, and had been appointed a brigadier general of militia in 1811, was then in command of the first detachment of New York's quota of the one hundred thousand militia which the President was authorized to call out by act of Congress.² When war was declared he was charged with the defense of the frontier from Oswego to Lake St. Francis, a distance of two hundred miles.²

¹ Mr. Mansey was one of the earlier settlers of Watertown. The first religious meeting there was held in his house. He was collector of the port of Sackett's Harbor at the time in question, and held that office all through what was called "Embargo times" and the War. He died at Watertown in March, 1853, at the age of eighty-two years.

² By a General Order issued from the War Department on the 21st of April, 1812, the detached militia of the State of New York were arranged in two divisions and eight brigades. STEPHEN VAN RENSSELAER, of Albany, was appointed major general, and assigned to the command of the First Division; and BENJAMIN MOORE, of Plattsburg, was appointed to the same office, and placed in command of the Second Division.

The eight brigadiers commissioned for the service were assigned to the several brigades as follows: 1st brigade, GERRARD STRIDFORD, of the city of New York; 2d, REUBEN HOPKINS, of Goshen, Orange County; 3d, MIOAJAH PATER, of Queensbury, Washington County; 4th, RICHARD DODGE, of Johnstown, Montgomery County; 5th, JACOB BROWN, of Brownsville, Jefferson County; 6th, DANIEL MILLER, of Homer, Cortland County; 7th, WILLIAM WADSWORTH, of Genesee, Ontario County; 8th, GEORGE M'CLURE, of Bath, Steuben County.

This force was further subdivided into twenty regiments, and to the command of each a lieutenant colonel was assigned, as follows:

First Brigade: 1st regiment, Beckman M. Van Buren, of the city of New York; 2d, Jonas Mapes, of the city of New York; 3d, John Ditmas, of Jamaica, Queens County.

Second Brigade: 4th regiment, Abraham J. Hardenbergh, of Shawangunk, Ulster County; 5th, Martin Hoernanz, of Rhinebeck, Dutchess County; 6th, Abraham Van Wyck, of Fishkill, Dutchess County.

Third Brigade: 7th regiment, James Green, of Argyis, Washington County; 8th, Thomas Miller, of Plattsburg, Clinton County; 9th, Peter I. Fosburgh, of Kinderhook, Columbia County.

Fourth Brigade: 10th regiment, John Prior, of Greenfield, Saratoga County, and 11th, Colein Rich, of Sharon, Schoharie County, to be attached to the regiments from General Veeder's division; 12th, John T. Van Dalsen, of Cooyman's, Albany County, and 13th, Putnam Farrington, of Delhi, Delaware County, to be attached to the regiments from General Todd's division.

Fifth Brigade: 14th regiment, William Stone, of Whitestown, Oneida County; 15th, Thomas B. Benoliet, of De Kalb, St. Lawrence County.

Sixth Brigade: 16th regiment, Farrand Stranahan, of Cooperstown, Otsego County; 17th, Thomas Mead, of Norwich, Chenango County.

Seventh Brigade: 18th regiment, Hugh W. Dobbin, of Junius, Seneca County; 19th, Henry Bloom, of Geneva, Cayuga County; 20th, Peter Allen, of Bloomfield, Ontario County.

To the Eighth Brigade was assigned the regiment of light infantry under Colonel Jeremiah Johnson, of Brooklyn, Kings County, and the regiment of riflemen under Colonel Francis M'Clure, of the city of New York.

General Van Rensselaer assigned to the several brigades the following staff officers:

Brigade.	Brigade Majors and Inspectors.	Brigade Quartermasters.	Brigade.	Brigade Majors and Inspectors.	Brigade Quartermasters.
1	Theophilus Pierce.	Charles Graham.	5	Robert Shoemaker.	Henry Seymour.
2	John Dill.	Robert Heart.	6	Thomas Greenley.	Nathaniel R. Packard.
3	Michael S. Van der Crock.	Dean Edson.	7	Julius Keyes.	Henry Wells.
4	Moses S. Cantino.	Leon'd H. Gansevoort.	8	Joseph Lad.	Jeremiah Anderson.

I have compiled the above statement from General Van Rensselaer's first General Order, issued from his headquarters at Albany on the 18th of June, 1812.* The following paragraph from his second General Order, issued on the 13th of July, indicates the special field of operations to which General Van Rensselaer was assigned: "Major General Stephen Van Rensselaer having been requested to repair to the command of the militia heretofore ordered into the service, and to be heretofore ordered into the service of the United States for the defense of the Northern and Western frontiers of this state between St. Regis and Pennsylvania, enters upon his command this day." In the same Order General Van Rensselaer declared that all the militia comprehended in the brigades organized by his General Order of the 18th of June, "together with the corps commanded by Lieutenant Colonels Swift, Flemming, and Bellinger, were subject to his division orders."

* General Van Rensselaer's M.S. Order Book from June 18th to October 1st, 1812.

Seizure of British Vessels on Lake Ontario.

Retaliation expected.

Northern Militia called out.

In May, 1812, the schooner *Lord Nelson*, owned by parties at Niagara, Upper Canada, and laden with flour and merchandise, sailed from that port for Kingston. She was found in American waters, captured by the *Oneida*, under Lieutenant Commanding Woolsey, and condemned as a lawful prize for a violation of the Embargo Act. About a month later,^a another British schooner, the *Ontario*, was captured at St. Vincent, but was soon afterward discharged; and at about the same time, still another British schooner, named *Niagara*, was seized, and sold because of a violation of the revenue laws. These events, as was expected, soon led to retaliation. When news of the declaration of war reached Ogdensburg, on the St. Lawrence, eight American schooners—trading vessels—lay in its harbor. They endeavored to escape^b to Lake Ontario, bearing away affrighted families and their effects. An active Canadian partisan named Jones, living not far from the present village of Maitland, had raised a company of volunteers to capture them. He gave chase in boats, overtook the fugitive unarmed flotilla at the foot of the Thousand Islands,¹ a little above Brockville, captured two of the schooners (*Sophia* and *Island Packet*), and emptied and burned them. The remainder retreated to Ogdensburg.²

It was believed that this movement was only the beginning of more active and extensive ones, offensive and defensive, on the part of the British—that several of the Thousand Islands were about to be fortified, and that expeditions of armed men in boats were to be sent over to devastate the country along the northern frontier. General Brown and Commander Woolsey, vested with full authority, took active measures to repel invasion and protect the lake coast and river shores. In a letter to the former, Daniel D. Tompkins, Governor of New York, informed him of the declaration of war, and directed him to call out re-enforcements for Bellingher from the militia of Jefferson, Lewis, and St. Lawrence Counties, and to arm and equip them, if necessary, from the arsenals at Watertown, and at Russel, farther north on the Grosse River. Colonel Benedict, of St. Lawrence, was ordered to guard the frontier from Ogdensburg to St.

Ph. B. Benedict

Regis. Measures were also taken to concentrate a considerable force at Ogdensburg and Cape Vincent, for the twofold purpose of guarding the frontier and keeping Kingston in a state of alarm, that being the chief naval station where the British built vessels for service on Lake Ontario.

On the 11th of July the inhabitants on the frontier were alarmed by a rumor that Commander Woolsey and his *Oneida* had been captured by the enemy, and that a squadron of British vessels were on their way from Kingston to recapture the *Lord Nelson* and destroy Sackett's Harbor. General Brown immediately repaired to the Harbor. The rumor was a false one, but a part of it was the precursor of truth in a similar form. Eighteen days afterward Commander Woolsey saw from his mast-head, at early dawn, a squadron of five British vessels of war off Stony Island, beating toward the Harbor with the wind dead ahead. These proved to be the *Royal George*, 24; *Prince Regent*, 22; *Earl of Moira*, 20; *Simcoe*, 12; and *Seneca*, 4, under the command of Commodore Earle, a Canadian. On the way up they captured a boat returning from Cape Vincent; and by the crew (who were released), they sent word to Bellingher, the commandant at Sackett's Harbor, that all they wanted was the

¹ This group of islands, lying in the St. Lawrence River, just below the foot of Lake Ontario, fill that river for twenty-seven miles along its course, and number more than fifteen hundred. A few of them are large and cultivated, but the most of them are mere rocky islets, covered generally with stunted hemlocks and cedar-trees, which extend to the water's edge. Some of them contain an area of only a few square yards, while others present many superficial square miles. Canoes and small boats may pass in safety among all of them, and there is a deep channel for steamboats and other large vessels, which never varies in depth or position, the bottom being rocky. The St. Lawrence here varies from two to nine miles in width. The boundary-line between the United States and Canada passes among them. It was determined in 1818. The largest of the islands are *Grand* and *Howe*, belonging to Canada, and *Carleton*, *Grindstone*, and *Wells*'s, belonging to the United States. They have been the theatre of many historic scenes and legendary tales during two centuries and a half.

² *History of St. Lawrence and Franklin Counties*, by Franklin Hough, M.D., pages 620, 621.

Preparations for Battle. Approach of the British Squadron. A brief Skirmish. Captain Vaughan.

Oneida and the *Lord Nelson*, at the same time warning the inhabitants that if the squadron should be fired upon, the town should be burned.

Perceiving the peril to which the *Oneida* was exposed, Woolsey weighed anchor and attempted to gain the lake. He failed, returned, and moored his vessel just outside of Navy Point, on which the ship-house now [1867] stands, in such position that her broadside of nine guns might be brought to bear on the enemy. The remainder of her guns were taken out, to be placed in battery on land. An iron thirty-two-pounder, designed for the *Oneida*, but found to be too heavy, had already been placed on a battery of three nine-pounders upon the bluff at the foot of the main street of the village, on which the dwelling of the commander of the naval station there now stands. That heavy gun had been lying near the shore, partly imbedded in the mud, for some time, and from that circumstance had acquired the name of *The Old Sow*. These cannon, with two brass nine-pounders in charge of an artillery company under the command of Captain Elisha Camp, and two sixes fished out of the lake from the wreck of an English ship near Duck Island, composed the heavy metal with which to combat the approaching British squadron. The soldiers for the same purpose comprised only a part of Bellinger's regiment, Camp's Sackett's Harbor Artillery, which promptly volunteered for thirty days' service, the crew of the *Oneida*, and three hundred militia. At the first appearance of the enemy alarm-guns were fired, and couriers were sent into the country in all directions to arouse the militia. At sunset nearly three thousand had arrived or were near, but they were too late. Victory had been lost and won early in the day.

Woolsey, the best engineer officer present, left his brig in charge of his lieutenant, and took the general command on shore. He placed the 32-pounder in charge of Captain William Vaughan, a sailing-master of eminence then living at Sackett's Harbor,¹ and directed Captain Camp to manage the others in battery. Meanwhile the enemy were slowly drawing near; and by the time Woolsey was prepared to receive them, the British flag-ship *Royal George*, closely followed by the *Prince Regent*, were close enough for action. Vaughan opened



WILLIAM VAUGHAN.

it at eight o'clock by a shot from the big gun, which was harmless, and drew from the people on the *Royal George* a response of derisive laughter, which could be plainly heard on the shore. This was followed by some shots from those two vessels in the advance at the distance of a mile, which were quickly answered by Vaughan. The firing was kept up for about two hours, the squadron standing off and on, out of range of the smaller guns.

¹ From the widow of Captain Vaughan, yet [1867] living at Sackett's Harbor, I received the following brief sketch of his life: He was born in the middle of August, 1776, at Wilkes-Barre, in the Valley of Wyoming, Pennsylvania. He was two years old when the massacre took place there, and his mother fled with him over the mountains. At the age of eighteen years he visited Canada. The posts of Oswego, Fort Carleton, and Presentation, or Oswegatchie, were then held by the British, and he was compelled to have a passport to go from post to post on the soil of the United States. He returned to Canada in 1797, after these posts were given up, and engaged in lake navigation. He was a pilot on Lake Ontario for many years, and when the war broke out he was appointed a sailing-master. He served with great activity during the war. We shall meet him occasionally in the course of our narrative. After the war he returned to the occupation of mariner, and was master, at different times, of six steamboats on Lake Ontario. About the year 1860 his spine received an injury by his falling on the ice while rescuing a man and two women from destruction among floating ice agitated by high winds. He never recovered. He died at Sackett's Harbor on the 10th of December, 1867, aged eighty-one years.

Fatal Rebound of a British Shot.

The Squadron repulsed.

Preparations for War on Lake Ontario.

The most of the enemy's shot fell against the rocks below the battery. One of these (a thirty-two-pound ball) came over the bluff, struck the earth not far from Sackett's mansion (then occupied by Vaughan's family), and plowed a deep furrow into the door-yard.¹ It was immediately caught up by Sergeant Spier, who ran with it to Captain Vaughan, exclaiming, "I've been playing ball with the red-coats, and have caught 'em out. See if the British can catch back again." At that moment the *Royal George* was wearing to give a broadside, when Vaughan's gun sent back the captive ball with such force and precision² that it struck her stern, raked her completely, sent splinters as high as her mizzen top-sail yard, killed fourteen men, and wounded eighteen.³ The flag-ship had already received a shot that went through her sides, and another between wind and water. The *Prince Regent* had lost her fore-topgallant-mast, and the *Earl of Moira* had been hulled. The laughter of the enemy had been changed into wailing. Disaster suggested the exercise of discretion, and a signal of retreat was speedily given after the returned ball had made its destructive passage through the ship. The squadron put about and sailed out of the harbor, while the band on shore played Yankee Doodle, and the troops and the citizens greeted their departure with loud cheers. Nothing, animate or inanimate, on shore had been injured in the least by the cannonading of two hours' duration.⁴ It was a serene Sabbath morning, and the village at evening was as quiet as if nothing remarkable had happened.

The command of the waters of Lake Ontario was now an object of great importance to both parties. To obtain this advantage required the speediest preparation of armed vessels. The British had several afloat already; the Americans had but one. The only hope of the latter of securing the supremacy of the lake rested upon their ability to convert merchant vessels afloat into warriors. These were schooners varying in size from thirty to one hundred tons burden, and susceptible of being changed into active gun-boats. Eight of them, as we have observed, were at Ogdensburg when war was declared. Two had been destroyed, and six now remained. To capture and destroy them was an important object to the British; to save and arm them was a more important object to the Americans. To accomplish the former result, the British sent the *Earl of Moira*, 14, and *Duke of Gloucester*, 10, down the St. Lawrence to Prescott, opposite Ogdensburg, to watch or seize the imprisoned vessels. To accomplish the latter, the Americans sent a small force in the same direction, consisting of the schooner *Julia* (built by the late venerable Matthew M'Nair, of Oswego, and named in honor of his daughter), armed with a long thirty-two and two long sixes, bearing about sixty volunteers, under the command of Lieutenant H. W. Wells, from the *Oneida*, with Captains Vaughan and Dixon; also a rifle corps under Noadiah Hubbard, in a Durham boat. These sailed from Sackett's Harbor on the evening of the 30th of July, unmindful of the superior force of the enemy. "Our means are humble," General Brown wrote to Governor Tompkins on that day,^a "but, with the blessing of Heaven, this republican gun-

* July 30,
1812.

¹ One of Captain Vaughan's gunners was Julius Torrey, a negro, who was a great favorite, and known in camp as Black Julius. He served at his post with the greatest courage and activity. As the enemy was beyond the reach of small-arms, most of the troops were inactive spectators of the scene.—Hough's *History of Jefferson County*, page 404.

² Although the gun was well managed, the range of the shot had been a little wild because of their size. The gun was a thirty-two-pounder, but the largest balls to be found at Sackett's Harbor were twenty-fours. These were made to fit by wrapping them in pieces of carpet. The British thirty-two was just the shot needed for precision. The smaller shot used on that occasion were brought from the Taberg Works, near Rome, only a week before.

³ On my way to Sackett's Harbor in the summer of 1860, I saw at Big Sandy Creek an old seaman named Jehaziel Howard, who was at Sackett's Harbor at this time, and from him I learned some of the facts above stated. His statement concerning the number of killed and wounded by that last shot from the thirty-two-pounder was made on the authority of James Dutton, who deserted to the British a few days before the battle. Dutton told the British commander that the Americans were very weak, and had no cannon. Their experience in the action made them suspect him of being a spy. They threatened to have him tried as such. Taking counsel of his fears, he deserted from the British and returned to the American camp. He was on the *Royal George* at the time of the action.

⁴ *The War*, i., 82; Cooper's *Naval History of the United States*, ii., 326, 327; Hough's *History of Jefferson County*, 402-404; oral statements to the author by Captain (now Colonel) Camp, the late Amasa Trowbridge, M.D., and Jehaziel Howard.

A Fight on the St. Lawrence. Riflemen at Sackett's Harbor. Chauncey chief Commander on Lake Ontario.

boat may give a good account of the *Duke* and the *Earl*; and a successful termination of this enterprise will give us an equal chance for the command of the lake.¹

The *Julia* and her Durham consort went to the St. Lawrence that night. Although it was very dark, they arrived in safety at Cape Vincent. At early dawn, under a deeply-clouded sky, they pressed forward among the Thousand Islands, the wind

^a July 31, blowing down the river, and, at three o'clock in the afternoon,^a met the two ^{1812.} British vessels off Morristown, eleven miles above Ogdensburg. They anchored at once, and opened fire upon each other. The action lasted more than three hours, during which the cannonading was almost incessant, and yet the *Julia* was only slightly injured by a single shot, and not one of the Americans was killed or wounded. The *Earl of Moira* was hulled several times, and both of the British vessels withdrew toward the Canada shore. Night came with intense darkness, but frequent flashes of lightning in the southern horizon revealed surrounding objects for a moment. With the aid of the Durham and her own yawl, the *Julia* made her way

^b August 1. to Ogdensburg before morning,^b when Lieutenant Wells left her in charge of Captain Vaughan, and returned to Sackett's Harbor. The armistice that soon followed^c enabled the *Julia*, with the six schooners in her wake, to make her way to the lake.^c Meanwhile the guns of the *Earl* and *Duke* were

^e September 5. landed at Elizabethtown (now Brockville), and placed in battery there.² Early in August Captain Benjamin Forsyth arrived at Sackett's Harbor with a well-drilled company of riflemen. These were the first regular troops seen on that frontier, and were welcomed with much satisfaction. General Brown urged Forsyth to open a recruiting station at once, hoping to enlist two full companies of the sharpshooters. At the same time, the national government was putting forth vigorous efforts for acquiring the supremacy of the lakes. The appointment of a proper commander-in-chief of the navy to be created on them, who might properly superintend its formation, was the first and most important measure. Fortunately for the service, Captain Isaac Chauncey was chosen for this responsible and arduous duty. He was then at the head of the navy yard at Brooklyn, New York. He was one of the best practical seamen of his time, possessed a thorough knowledge of ships in whole and in detail, and was in the constant exercise of energy and industry of the highest order. On the 31st of August he was commissioned for that special service, and on the following day, Paul Hamilton, the then Secretary of the Navy, sent him a cipher alphabet and numerals, by which he might make secret communications to the Department.³

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z	o		/	1	2	3	d	^	v	r	r	q	d	a		d	o	4	5	6	a	r	z	y				
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x		y		z		.	*		1		2		3		4		5		6		7		8		9		0	

CIPHER ALPHABET AND NUMERALS.

¹ See note 2, page 293.
² Letter of General Brown to Governor Tompkins, August 4, 1812. Hough's *History of Jefferson County*, page 465, 466. Hough's *History of St. Lawrence and Franklin Counties*, page 622. Written Statement to the Author by the late Amasa Trowbridge, M.D.
³ "After your arrival upon the lakes," wrote Mr. Hamilton, "you may experience some difficulty and risk in sending your dispatches to me; and you may find it necessary to employ a cipher in your communications, especially such of them as might do the service an injury by falling into the hands of the enemy. Under such circumstances, you will communicate to me in cipher by the following alphabet whenever you may judge it expedient." Here follows the cipher alphabet and numerals, of which a fac-simile is above given. The original is in the possession of the New York Historical Society. It was presented by the Rev. Mr. Chauncey, a son of the commodore, on the 5th of February, 1861.

Paul Hamilton

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American and British Squadrons on Lake Ontario.

Elliott sent to Lake Erie.

Chauncey's first Cruise.

Chauncey entered upon his new duties immediately after the receipt of his orders. In the first week in September he sent forward forty ship-carpenters, with Henry Eckford at their head. Others soon followed; and Commander Woolsey was directed to purchase some merchant vessels for the service. On the 18th of the same month, one hundred officers and seamen, with guns and other munitions of war, left New York for Sackett's Harbor, and Chauncey arrived there himself on the 6th of October. The schooners *Genesee Packet*, *Experiment*, *Collector*, *Lord Nelson*, *Charles and Ann*, and *Diana*, were purchased, and manned and named respectively in the same order, *Conquest*, *Grouler*, *Pert*, *Scourge*, *Governor Tompkins*, and *Hamilton*. Their armament consisted principally of long guns mounted on circles, with a few lighter ones that could be of very little service. Add to these the *Oneida* and *Julia* already in the service, and the entire flotilla, exclusive of the *Madison*, 24 (whose keel was laid before Chauncey's arrival¹), mounted only forty guns, and was manned by four hundred and thirty men, the marines included. The *Oneida* carried sixteen guns, therefore there was an average of only five guns each among the remainder of the squadron. The British, at the same time, had made for service, on Lake Ontario, the ships *Royal George*, 22, and *Earl of Moira*, 14; and schooners *Prince Regent*, 16, *Duke of Gloucester*, 14, *Simcoe*, 12, and *Seneca*, 4. These, in weight of metal, were double the power of the American, while there was a corresponding disparity in the number of men.²

Lake Erie, over which also Chauncey was appointed commander, was separated from Ontario by the impassable cataract of Niagara, and vessels for use on the waters of the former had to be constructed on its shores, or at Detroit, where the unfinished brig *Adams*, captured at the surrender of Hull, had been built. For the purpose of creating a fleet there, Chauncey sent Lieutenant Jesse D. Elliott with orders for purchasing vessels similar to those given to Commander Woolsey. We shall consider some of Elliott's earlier operations presently.

Chauncey first appeared on Lake Ontario as the commander of a squadron on the 8th of November, a cold, raw, blustery day, with his broad pennant fluttering over the *Oneida*, his flag-ship, accompanied by six small vessels,³ and bound on an expedition to intercept the entire British squadron on their return from Fort George, on the Niagara River, whither they had gone from Kingston with troops and munitions of war. Chauncey took his station near the False Ducks, some small islands nearly due west from Sackett's Harbor, on the track to Kingston, and in the afternoon of the 9th^a fell in with the *Royal George*, Commodore Earl's flag-ship, making her way for the latter place. Chauncey chased her into the Bay of Quinté, and lost sight of her in the darkness of the night that soon followed. On the morning of the 10th^b he captured and burnt a small schooner, and soon afterward espied the *Royal George* headed for Kingston. He gave chase with most of his squadron,⁴ followed her into Kingston Harbor, and there engaged both her and five land batteries⁵ for almost an hour. These were more formidable than Chauncey supposed; and a brisk wind having arisen, and the night coming on, he withdrew and anchored. The breeze had become almost a gale the next morning,^c so Chauncey weighed anchor and stood out lakeward. The *Tompkins*, *Hamilton*, and *Julia* chased the *Simcoe* over a reef of rocks, and so

^a November, 1812.

^b November.

^c November 11.

¹ The *Madison* was launched on the 26th of November, only forty-five days after her keel was laid. Henry Eckford was her constructor.

² Cooper's *Naval History of the United States*, ii., 328.

³ The *Oneida* was commanded by Lieutenant Woolsey; the *Conquest* by Lieutenant Elliott; the *Hamilton* by Lieutenant M'Pherson; the *Governor Tompkins* by Lieutenant Brown; the *Pert* by Mr. Arundel; the *Julia* by Mr. Trant; and the *Grouler* by Mr. Mix. The last three named were sailing-masters.

⁴ In this chase Captain Elliott, in the *Conquest*, gallantly led, followed by the *Julia*, *Pert*, and *Grouler*. The *Oneida* brought up the rear. She allowed the smaller vessels to make the attack. When, at half past three, she opened her cannonades on the *Royal George*, that vessel was quick to cut her cables, and run up to the town.

⁵ There was a battery on both India and Navy Points. Three others guarded the town; and some movable cannon were brought to bear on the American vessels.

riddled her that she sank before reaching Kingston. Soon afterward the *Hamilton* captured a large schooner from Niagara. The prize was sent past Kingston under convoy of the *Growler*, hoping to bring out the *Royal George*, but that vessel had been so much damaged in the action that she was compelled to haul on shore to keep from sinking. She had received several shots between wind and water, some of her guns were disabled, and a number of her crew had been killed.

The gale continued on the 12th, and during the following night a heavy snow-storm set in. Chauncey was undismayed by the fury of the elements. He had set his heart on obtaining the supremacy of the lake at all hazards, and he continued his cruise. Informed that the *Earl of Moira* was off the Real Ducks, he attempted to capture her. She was on the alert. A schooner that she was convoying was seized, but the warrior escaped. During the day Chauncey saw the *Royal George*, and two schooners that he supposed to be the *Prince Regent* and *Duke of Gloucester*, but they did not seem disposed to meet him.

In this short cruise Commodore Chauncey captured three merchant vessels, destroyed one armed schooner, and disabled the British flag-ship, and took several prisoners,¹ with a loss on his part of only one man killed and four wounded.² The loss of the British is not found on record.

Leaving the *Governor Tompkins*, *Conquest*, *Hamilton*, and *Growler* to blockade Kingston harbor until the ice should do so effectually, Chauncey sailed on the 19th, in the *Oneida*, for the head of the lake, accompanied by the remainder of the squadron. "I am in great hopes," he wrote to Governor Tompkins, "that I shall fall in with the *Prince Regent*, or some of the royal family which are cruising about York. Had we been one month sooner, we could have taken every town on this lake in three weeks; but the season is now so tempestuous that I am apprehensive we can not do much more this winter." His anticipations were realized. He was driven back by a gale in which the *Growler* was dismantled, and the ice formed so fast that all the vessels were in danger. He retired to Sackett's Harbor, and early in December the lake navigation was closed by the frost.³

While Chauncey was commencing vigorous measures for the construction of a navy at the east end of Lake Ontario, the land forces there and on the St. Lawrence were not idle, although no very important service was performed there during the remainder of 1812. The vigilant Captain Forsyth made a bold dash into Canada late in September. Having been informed that a large quantity of ammunition and other munitions of war were in a British store-house at Gananoqui, on the shores of the Lake of the Thousand Islands, in Canada,⁴ and not heavily guarded, Forsyth asked and obtained permission of General Brown to make an attempt to capture them. He organized an expedition of one hundred and four men, consisting of seventy riflemen and thirty-four militia, the latter officered by Captain Samuel M'Nitt, Lieutenant Brown, and Ensigns Hawkins and Johnson. They set out from Sackett's Harbor on the 18th of September, and on the night of the 20th they left Cape Vincent in boats, threading their way in the dark among the upper group of the Thousand Islands. They landed a short distance from the village of Gananoqui, only ninety-five strong, without opposition; but as they approached the town they were confronted by a party of sixty British regulars and fifty Canadian militia drawn up in battle order, who poured heavy volleys upon them. Forsyth dashed forward with his men with-

¹ Among the prisoners was Captain Brock, brother of Major General Brock, who had been killed recently at Queens-town. He had some of his brother's baggage with him.

² Mr. Arundel, the commander of the *Pert*, was badly injured by the bursting of one of her guns, and a midshipman and three seamen were slightly wounded. Mr. Arundel refused to leave the deck, and was afterward knocked overboard by accident and drowned.

³ Chauncey's Letter to Governor Tompkins, November 15, 1812; Cooper's *Naval History*, ii., 333 to 337 inclusive.

⁴ Gananoqui is pleasantly situated at the mouth of the Gananoqui River, where it enters the upper portion of the St. Lawrence, known as the Lake of the Thousand Islands. It is in the town of Leeds, in Canada West, nearly opposite the town of Clayton (old French Creek), New York.

Spoils taken at Gananoqui.

General Brown sent to Ogdensburg.

Hostile Movements there.

out firing a shot until within a hundred yards of the enemy, when the latter fled pell-mell to the town, closely pursued by the invaders. There the fugitives rallied and renewed the engagement, when they were again compelled to flee, leaving ten of their number dead on the field, several wounded, and eight regulars and four militiamen as prisoners. Forsyth lost only one man killed and one slightly wounded. For his own safety, he broke up the bridge over which he had pursued the enemy, and then returned to his boats, bearing away, as the spoils of victory, the eight regulars, sixty stand of arms, two barrels of fixed ammunition comprising three thousand ball-cartridges, one barrel of gunpowder, one of flints, forty-one muskets, and some other public property. In the store-house were found one hundred and fifty barrels of provisions, but, having no means of carrying them away, Captain Forsyth applied the torch, and store-house and provisions were consumed.¹ The public property secured on this occasion was given to the soldiers of the expedition as a reward for their valor.

While Forsyth was away on his expedition, Brigadier General Richard Dodge arrived at Watertown^a with a detachment of Mohawk Valley militia. He outranked General Brown, and on his arrival he ordered that officer to proceed to Ogdensburg, at the mouth of the Oswegatchie River, to garrison old Fort Presentation, or Oswegatchie, at that place.² General Brown was chagrined by this unlooked-for order, but, like a true soldier, he immediately obeyed it. A part of Captain Forsyth's company went with him; and three weeks later, at the request of the governor, General Dodge sent to

Richard Dodge

October 12. Brown^b the remainder of the riflemen, and the artillery companies of Captains Brown, King, and Foot, in all one hundred and sixty men, with two brass 9-pound cannon, one 4, and an ample supply of muskets and munitions of war.



APPEARANCE OF FORT OSWEGATCHIE IN 1812.

General Brown arrived at Ogdensburg on the 1st of October. Already the militia had been employed in some hostile movements. At about the middle of September information reached Ogdensburg that some British bateaux, laden with stores, were ascending the St. Lawrence. It was resolved to capture them. A gun-boat, with a brass six-pounder and eighteen men, under Adjutant Daniel W. Church, accompanied by a party under Captain Griffin, in a Durham boat, went down the river in the night, and encountered the enemy near Toussaint Island. The Durham boat was lost in the affray, and the gun-boat was in great peril at one time. It was saved, however. The expedition was a failure. Five of Church's men were wounded, and one was killed. The British lost several in killed and wounded. They were led by Adjutant Fitzgibbon.³

On the day after General Brown's arrival at Ogdensburg,^c about forty British bateaux, escorted by a gun-boat, were seen approaching Prescott from below, and as they neared the town a battery at that place opened upon Og-

¹ Letter of General Brown to Governor Tompkins, September 23, 1812; Letter from Utica, September 20, 1812, published in *The War*, page 71. The same letter appears in Niles's *Weekly Register*, October 16, 1812.
² A particular account of this fort will be given hereafter.
³ Hough's *History of St. Lawrence and Franklin Counties*, page 624.

A British Expedition on the St. Lawrence.

It attacks Ogdensburg.

The British repulsed.

densburg to cover the flotilla.¹ The heavy guns at the latter place consisted of a brass six-pounder under the charge of Adjutant Church, and an iron twelve-pounder managed by Joseph York, sheriff of the county, and a volunteer citizen. These replied to the British battery for a while. On the following day the firing from Prescott was renewed, but was not answered; and on Sunday morning, the 4th,² two gun-boats and twenty-five bateaux, filled with about seven hundred and fifty armed men, under Colonels Lethbridge and Breckinridge, went up the river almost a mile, and then turned their prows toward Ogdensburg, with the evident intention of attacking it. Forsyth's riflemen were encamped at the time near the old fort on the west side of the Oswegatchie, and General Brown, with regulars and militia, were stationed in the town.³ The whole American force amounted to about twelve hundred effective men. These were immediately drawn up in battle order to receive the invaders. When the latter had approached to within a quarter of a mile of the town, nearly in mid-channel, the Americans opened such a severe fire from their two cannon that the enemy retreated in confusion and precipitation, with the loss of three men killed and four wounded.⁴ About thirty rounds were fired from each of the two cannon, and the action lasted two hours.⁴ Not one of the Americans was injured in the action, but some damage was done to the town by the cannon-shot of the British. "This enterprise," says Christie, a British author, "undertaken without the sanction of the commander of the forces, was censured by him, and the public opinion condemned it as rash and premature."⁵

Eighteen days after the repulse of the British at Ogdensburg, Major Guilford Dudley Young, and a small detachment of militia, who were chiefly from Troy, New York, performed a gallant exploit at St. Regis, an Indian village lying upon the boundary-line between the United States and Canada. The dusky inhabitants of that settlement were placed in a very embarrassing position when war was declared. Their village lay within the boundaries of both governments, and up to that time the administration of their internal affairs, managed by twelve chiefs, had been nominally independent of both. The annuities and presents from both governments were equally divided among them, and in all matters of business and profits every thing was in common. That this relation should not be disturbed, commissioners, appointed by the two governments, agreed that the Indians should remain neutral, and that the troops of both parties should avoid intrusion of their reservation. But they became objects of suspicion and dread. The settlers in that region had been horrified with tales of Indian massacres remotely and recently, and these people could not pass the boundaries of their domain without being regarded as possible enemies. So vigilant was this general fear that the Indians were compelled, when they went abroad, to carry a pass from some well-known white inhabitant, among the most prominent of whom, appointed by the chiefs, was Captain Polley, late of Massena Springs.⁶

¹ William E. Guest, Esq., whom I met at Ogdensburg in the summer of 1860, in some of his published "Recollections" of that place, speaking of the affair, says, "The villagers came out in large numbers, and stood in Washington Street, near the residence of Mr. Parish. Among them were a number of ladies, who felt safe, as no balls had as yet come into the village. While all were intently watching, with great excitement, the movements of the contending parties, a 12-pound shot, with its clear, singing, humming sound, passed over our heads, in the line of State Street, as near as we could judge, and fell in the rear of the village. A sudden change came over the scene. It became an intimate matter to all, and the ladies beat a rapid retreat." When I was in Ogdensburg in 1855, and made a sketch of the old Court-house, printed in a note in Chapter XXVII. of this work, I was informed that that ball passed through the building, and a hole made by it was pointed out to me.



² The subordinate commanders on this occasion were Colonel Benedict, Major Dimock, Adjutant Hoskin, and Captains Forsyth, Griffin, Hubbard, Benedict, and M'Nitt. — *Ogdensburg Palladium*, October 6, quoted in *The War*, i., 78.

³ One account says that one of their gun-boats was disabled, and another that "two of their boats were so knocked to pieces as to render it necessary to abandon them."

⁴ Hough's *History of St. Lawrence and Franklin Counties*, page 625. Letter from Plattsburg, dated October 9, in Niles's *Weekly Register*, iii., 126. Christie's *Military Operations in Canada*, page 61.

⁵ Christie's *Military Operations in Canada*, page 81.

⁶ These passes stated that the bearer was a quiet, peaceable person. It was their custom to hold these passes up on approaching a white person that they might not be alarmed. On the other hand,

The British violate a Neutrality Agreement. British Troops occupy St. Regis. Its Capture by the Americans.

These restrictions curtailed their hunting and fishing, and they were reduced to such great extremities that they were compelled to apply to Governor Tompkins for relief.¹ The governor listened to their request, and during the war they received about five hundred rations daily from the United States government stores at French Mills,² now Fort Covington, on the Salmon River.

The neutrality agreement was violated by Sir George Prevost, the British commander-in-chief in Canada, who placed Captain M'Donell and a party of armed Canadian voyageurs in the village of St. Regis "for the security of that post," to "guard against any predatory incursions of the enemy, to inspire confidence in the Indians," and to give "support and countenance" to "Monsieur de Montigny, captain and resident agent at the village."³ The real object appears to have been the seduction of the Indians from their neutrality by persuading them to join the British standard. In this they were successful, as the presence of more than eighty St. Regis warriors in the British army at different places on the frontiers subsequently fully proves.⁴

Major Young was stationed at French Mills when M'Donell took post at St. Regis, and he wished to attempt the capture of the whole party at about the 1st of October. William L. Gray, an Indian interpreter, was then running a mill on the site of the present village of Hogansburg, two miles above St. Regis, and consented to be Young's guide. He took him and his command along an unfrequented way, that brought them out suddenly upon the eastern banks of the St. Regis, opposite the village. The stream was too deep to ford, and, having no boats, Major Young was compelled to abandon the project at that time. The British intruders were alarmed; but as day after day wore away without farther molestation, M'Donell settled down into a feeling of absolute security. From that state he was soon aroused. Young left French Mills, with about two hundred men, on the night of the 21st of October, at eleven o'clock, crossed the St. Regis, at Gray's Mills, at half past three in the October 22,
1812. morning,^a in a boat and canoe and a hastily-constructed raft, and before dawn arrived within half a mile of St. Regis, where they concealed themselves, while taking some rest and refreshment, behind a gentle hill westward of the village. Having carefully reconnoitred the position, the little party moved in three columns toward the British part of the village, at the northern extremity of which, not far from the ancient and famous church, stood the houses of Montigny and M'Donell, in which the officers and many of the men of the British detachment were stationed. Captain Lyon, editor of the *Troy Budget*, moved with his company along the road upon the bank of the St. Regis, so as to gain the rear of Montigny's house and a small block-house, while Captain Tilden and his company made a detour westward, partly in rear of M'Donell's, for the purpose of reaching the St. Lawrence and securing the boats of the enemy. Major Young, with the companies of Captains Higbie and M'Neil, moved through the village in front. Thus the enemy was surrounded. Lyon was first discovered by the British sentinel and attacked. Young was then within one hundred and fifty yards of Montigny's house. At that instant an ensign of the enemy, attempting to pass in front after being ordered to stand, was shot dead; and a few minutes afterward complete success crowned the enterprise of the gallant major. Forty prisoners (exclusive of the commander and the Catholic priest), with their arms and accoutrements, thirty-eight muskets, two bateaux, a flag, and a quantity of bag-

the Indians required persons traveling across their domain to exhibit passes. As few of these Indians could read, a device (see preceding page) was adopted to obviate the difficulties which that deficiency might give rise to. If a person was going through to French Mills, a simple bow was drawn on the paper; if he was intending to visit St. Regis village, an arrow was added to the bow.

¹ The letter written to Tompkins for that purpose was signed by the mark and name of Lewis Cook, one of the chiefs of the St. Regis Indians, and a colonel in the service of the United States.

² Hough's *History of St. Lawrence and Franklin Counties*, page 156.

³ Letter of Adjutant Baynes to Captain M'Donell.

⁴ Le Clerc, who succeeded Montigny as agent, raised a company of warriors there, and crossed over to Cornwall. These participated in several engagements during the war.—Hough's *St. Lawrence and Franklin Counties*, page 156.

First Trophy-flag of the War taken on Land. Its public Reception at Albany. Sketch of Colonel G. D. Young.

gage, including eight hundred blankets found at the Indian agent's house, were the fruits of the victory. The British had seven men killed, including a lieutenant, ensign, and sergeant, while the Americans were all unhurt. The late distinguished civilian, William L. Marcy,¹ who was a lieutenant in Lyon's company, and assailed the block-house, was the captor of the flag that waved over it. He bore it in triumph back to French Mills, where Young and his party arrived the same day, at eleven o'clock, with the prisoners and spoils—the latter in the captured bateaux, by way of Salmon River.² The prisoners were sent to Bloomfield's head-quarters at Plattsburg. Early in January Major Young and his detachment returned to Troy, and with his own hand presented that British flag—the first trophy of the kind that had ever been taken on land—to the people of the State of New York in the capital at Albany.³



Soon after the affair at St. Regis the British retaliated by an expedition to French Mills, which captured the company of Captain Tilden stationed there. Le Clerc also captured Mr. Gray, the interpreter, and sent him to Quebec, where he died in the hospital.

During a brief sojourn at the Massena Springs, on the Racquette River, in the summer of 1855, I visited St. Regis, or *Ak-wis-sas-ne*, the place "where the partridge drums," as the Indians called it.⁴ I rode out to Hogansburg, ten miles eastward of

¹ The public career of Mr. Marcy is too well known to require more than a passing notice here. He was then twenty-six years of age, and had studied law, and was practicing it in Troy. He served with credit in the New York State militia during a greater part of the war. In 1821 he was appointed adjutant general of the state. In 1829 he was made a Justice of the Supreme Court of the state. In 1831 he was elected to a seat in the United States Senate, and in 1833, governor of the State of New York, which office he held, by re-election, six years. In 1845 President Polk called him to his cabinet as Secretary of War, and in 1853 he became one of President Pierce's constitutional advisers as Secretary of State. On the 4th of March, 1857, he retired to private life, and just four months afterward he died suddenly at Ballston, New York, while reading in his bed, at the age of seventy years.

² Major Young's dispatch to General Bloomfield, October 24, 1812; Thomson's *Historical Sketches*, etc.; Hough's *History of St. Lawrence and Franklin Counties*; statement of Rev. Eleazer Williams to the author.

³ That ceremony took place on the 6th of January, 1813, at one o'clock in the afternoon. Major Young, with a detachment of his Troy volunteers, entered Albany. The soldiers bore two fine living eagles in the centre of the detachment, and the trophy-colors in the rear, while a band played *Yankee Doodle*. They passed through Market Street (near Broadway), and up State Street, to the Capitol, where they were greeted by an immense crowd who thronged the building. The governor was too ill to be present, and Colonels Lamb and Lusk acted as his representatives. Major Young, after an appropriate speech, delivered the trophy to those gentlemen, and received from Colonel Lusk a complimentary response.

Gulford Dudley Young was born at Lebanon, Connecticut, in June, 1776, and in 1798 married Miss Betsey Huntington, of Norwich. In 1806 he settled in Troy, New York, where he engaged in mercantile pursuits. He raised a corps of volunteers in the summer of 1812, and joined the service on the St. Lawrence frontier under Colonel Benedict. Because of his exploit at St. Regis he was promoted to major in the 29th Regular Infantry in February, 1813, and was raised to the rank of lieutenant colonel two months afterward. He was disbanded in 1815, and soon afterward joined Miranda's Mexican expedition. He left New York for that purpose in July, 1816. In August, the following year, he was in Fort Sombbrero, with two hundred and sixty-nine men, when it was encircled by three thousand five hundred Royalists. While standing exposed on the ramparts on the 18th of August, 1818, a cannon-shot from the enemy took off his head.

⁴ During the colonial period, when the northern frontiers of New England were harassed by savages, three children, were carried off by them from Groton, Massachusetts. They consisted of two boys and a girl named Tarbell. The girl escaped and returned home, but the boys were taken to Canada and adopted into the families of their captors—some Caughnawaga Indians, near Montreal. In the course of time they married daughters of chiefs. Their intercourse with the savages was not very pleasant, and the village priest advised them to seek new homes. They, with their wives and wives' parents (four families) departed in a bark canoe, went up the St. Lawrence, and landed upon the beautiful point on which St. Regis stands. There they resolved to remain. They called the place, on account of the abundance of partridges, as above noticed. In 1760, when they had made themselves comfortable houses, with cultivated fields around them, they were joined by Father Anthony Gordon, a Jesuit priest, and a colony from Caughnawaga. Gordon named the place St. Regis. Gordon erected a church of logs and covered it with bark. This was burned two years afterward, when a small wooden church was erected in its place, and the first bell ever heard in St. Regis was hung in its tower. The common belief has been that this was the bell carried off from Deerfield by the Indians, after the destruction of that village by fire in 1704; and with that belief Mrs. Sigourney wrote her beautiful poem entitled *THE BELL OF ST. REGIS*, in which occurs these stirring lines:

"Then down from the burning church they tore
The bell of tuneful sound;
And on with their captive train they bore
That wonderful thing toward their native shore,
The rude Canadian bound.

Eleazer Williams, or "The Lost Prince."

A strange Story.

The Bell at St. Regis.

A Visit to St. Regis.

Massena, with some friends, over a newly cleared but pleasant country, with the great Wilderness of Northern New York lying on our right, and far in the southeast the blue summits of the Green Mountains bounding the horizon. We dined at Hogansburg in company with the late Rev. Eleazer Williams, the reputed "Lost Prince" of the house of Bourbon, who was then pastor of a little congregation of Episcopalians, whose



Eleazer Williams

the events of the war in that region, and showed me a portrait of himself, painted in water-colors in 1814, in which he appears in military costume, and his features and complexion not exhibiting the least indication of Indian blood. Mr. Williams's biography, written by the Rev. Mr. Hanson, and published under the title of *The Lost Prince*, is a remarkable book. It contains a most strange story.¹

From Hogansburg we rode up to St. Regis, a poor-looking village situated upon a gently elevated plain at the head of Lake St. Francis, just below the foot of the Long Saut Rapid, on a point between the mouths of the St. Regis and Raquette Rivers. It is surrounded by broad commons, used as a public pasture, with small gardens near the houses. In front of the village, in the St. Lawrence, lie some beautiful and fertile islands, upon which is raised the grain for the subsistence of the villagers; and on the opposite shore of the great river is the Canadian village of Cornwall. We first visited the remains of the cellar of Montigny's house, where Captain M'Donell and some of the British soldiers were captured by Young, at the mouth of the St.

place of worship had just been erected in a pleasant pine grove on the borders of that village of two hundred inhabitants. Mr. Williams was connected with the Indians in that region during the War of 1812. He was with Major Young in his first attempt to surprise the British at St. Regis, and was afterward in military service at Plattsburg, in a company of volunteer Rangers. He gave me some useful information concern-

* * * * *

It spake no more till St. Regis's tower
In northern skies appeared;
And their legends extol that pow-wow's power,
Which lulled that knell like a poppy-flower,
As conscience now slumbereth a little hour
In the cell of a heart that's scared."

The bell carried from Deerfield was taken to Caughnawaga, and hung in the church of St. Louis there, where it still remains.

¹ A dark mystery has ever brooded over the fate of the eldest son of Louis the Sixteenth, King of France, who was ten years of age at the time of his father's murder by the Jacobins. The Revolutionists, after the downfall of Robespierre and his fellows, declared that he died in prison, while the Royalists believed that he was sent to America. Curious facts and circumstances pointed to the Rev. Mr. Williams, a reputed half-breed Indian of the Caughnawaga tribe, as the surviving prince, who for almost sixty years had been hidden from the world in that disguise. The claim that he was the Dauphin—the "Lost Prince"—was set up for him, and the fact that he was not possessed of Indian blood was fairly established by physiological proof. Scars produced by scrofula and inoculation for the small-pox, described as marking the person of the Dauphin, marked the person of Mr. Williams with remarkable exactness. The book in question brings all of these proofs of identity to view. But the world was incredulous. The word of the Prince de Joinville, an interested son of Louis Philippe, was put in the balance against that of a poor missionary of the Episcopal church in America, and the latter was outweighed. Mr. Williams died in 1869, in that obscurity in which his life had been passed. The question that so excited the American public a few years ago—"Have we a Bourbon among us?"—has not been asked for a long time. The remains of the reputed "Lost Prince" rest in peace near the banks of the St. Regis.

Regis. We then called at the house of the parish priest (Father Francis Marcoux), but had not the pleasure of seeing him, he having gone over to Cornwall, his servant said, to attend a horse-race. The gray old church, built of massive stone, its walls five feet thick, its roof covered with shingles and its belfry with glittering tin-plate, stood near. Its portal was invitingly open, and we entered. We found it quite plain in general construction, but the altar and its vicinity were highly ornamented and gilded. Upon the walls hung some rude pictures. Across the end over the entrance was a gallery for the use of strangers. The Indian worshippers usually kneel or sit on the floor during the service. The full liturgy of the Roman Catholic Church was used there, and the preaching was in the Mohawk language.¹ The present church edifice was erected in 1792. The dilapidated spire had lately been taken down, and the belfry was covered with a cupola surmounted by a glittering cross. Near the vestry-room, within the inclosure, was a frame-work on which hung three bells; the two upper ones made of the first one ever heard in St. Regis, mentioned in note 4, page 378.² The lower and larger one was cast in Troy in 1852, and had not yet been placed in the tower.



THE CHURCH IN ST. REGIS.

While sketching the old church³ I was surrounded by the Indian children, all curious to know what I was about; while an old Indian woman stood in the door of a miserable log house near by, looking so intently with mute wonder, apparently, that I think she did not move during the half hour I was engaged with the pencil. The children kept up a continual conversation, intermingled with laughter, all of which came to the ear in sweet, low, musical cadences, like the murmuring of brooks. This is in the British portion of the town.

Just after leaving the church we met the venerable Captain Le Clerc, already mentioned, who had lived in St. Regis fifty-seven years. He accompanied us to the house of François Dupuy, one of the two merchants then in St. Regis. Dupuy's store and

¹ A full and interesting account of St. Regis may be found in Hough's *History of St. Lawrence and Franklin Counties*.

² This bell became cracked more than thirty years ago, and it was recast in two small ones. The Indians, suspicious that some of the (to them) sacred metal might be abstracted at the bell-founder's, sent a deputation to watch the process, and see that every particle of the old bell went into the crucible.

³ In this view is seen the old church on the right, a specimen of many of the houses in the village on the left, and in the extreme distance, near the centre, the dwelling of the parish priest. A tall flag-staff stands near the inclosure. The bells mentioned in the text are just behind the two Lombardy poplars on the right.

The Boundary Line between the United States and Canada.

Captain Polly.

Buffalo in 1812.

dwelling were on the forty-fifth parallel of north latitude, which is the dividing-line here between the United States and Canada. That line passed through his house; and while an attendant was preparing some lemonade for us within the dominions of Queen Victoria, we were sitting in the United States, but *in the same room*, waiting to be served. On the margin of the street opposite Dupuy's stood one of the cast-iron obelisks, three feet and a half in height, which are placed at certain intervals along that frontier line as boundary monuments. Upon its four sides were cast appropriate inscriptions, in raised letters.¹



BOUNDARY MONUMENT.

twilight I walked leisurely down to the springs on the margin of the swift-flowing Racquette, and under the pavilion that covers the principal fountain of health I met a venerable man, who informed me that he was one of the first settlers in that region. He was in the War of 1812 as a soldier, and fought in some of the battles on the Niagara frontier. He was badly wounded at Black Rock by the explosion of a bomb-shell that came from a battery on the Canada side. "I was knocked down," he said, "had

We left St. Regis toward the evening of a delightful day, and reached Massena just as the guests of the hotel were assembling at the supper-table. At three ribs broken." He was at Fort Erie at the time of the sanguinary sortie, but was unable to walk on account of his wounds. That veteran was Captain John Polley, already mentioned. He was then seventy-two years of age. He had seen all the country around him bloom out of the wilderness, and had outlived most of the companions of his youth.

Let us resume the historical narrative:

While active operations were in progress at the eastern end of Lake Ontario and along the St. Lawrence River, important events were transpiring toward the western end of the lake and on the Niagara frontier. That frontier, extending along the Niagara River from Lake Erie to Lake Ontario, a distance of thirty-five miles, was the theatre of many stirring scenes during the war we are considering. The Niagara River is the grand outlet of the waters of the upper lakes into Ontario, and divides a portion of the State of New York from that of Canada. Half way between the two lakes that immense body of water pours over a limestone precipice in two mighty cataracts, unequalled in sublimity by any others on the surface of the globe.

At the time we are considering that frontier was sparsely settled. Buffalo² was a little scattered village of about one hundred houses and stores, and a military post of sufficient consequence to invite the torch of British incendiaries at the close of 1813, when all but two dwellings were laid in ashes. It was only about sixty years ago that the tiny seed was planted of that now immense mart of inland commerce, containing one hundred thousand inhabitants. Where now are long lines of wharves, with forests of masts and stately warehouses, was seen a sinuous creek, navigable for small vessels only, winding its way through marshy ground into the lake, its low banks fringed with trees and tangled shrubbery. In 1814 it was a desolation, and the harbor presented the appearance delineated in the engraving on the following page.

A little south of Buffalo, stretching along Buffalo Creek, were the villages of the Seneca Indians, on a reservation of one hundred and sixty thousand acres of land, and then inhabited by about seven hundred souls. Two miles below Buffalo was Black Rock, a hamlet at the foot of Lake Erie and of powerful rapids, where there

¹ On the west face, "BOUNDARY, AUGUST 9, 1842." On the east, "TREATY OF WASHINGTON." On the north, "LIEUTENANT COLONEL I. B. B. ESFOCORT, H. B. M. COMMISSIONER." On the south, "ALBERT SMITH, U. S. COMMISSIONER."

² Buffalo was laid out by the Holland Land Company in 1801, and was called New Amsterdam.



THE PORT OF BUFFALO IN 1813.

was a ferry; and almost opposite was Fort Erie, a British post of considerable strength. Nine miles below, at the Falls of Elliott's Creek, was the village of Williamsville; and at the head of the rapids, above Niagara Falls, were the remains of



REMAINS AT FORT SCHLOSSER.

old Fort Schlosser, about a mile below Schlosser Landing, near which is yet standing an immense chimney that belonged to the English "mess-house," or dining-hall of the garrison that were stationed there several years before the Revolution.¹ Opposite Schlosser, at the mouth of the Chippewa Creek, was the small village of Chippewa, inhabited by Canadians and Indians. At the Falls, on the American side, was the hamlet of Manchester; and seven miles below, at the foot of the Lower Rapids, was Lewiston, a little village, with a convenient landing at the base of a bluff. Opposite Lewiston was Queenston, overlooked from the south by lofty heights, sometimes called The Mountain. It was the landing-place for goods brought over Lake Ontario for the inhabitants above. At the mouth of

¹ The English built a stockade here in the year 1786, and named it Fort Schlosser, in honor of the meritorious officer who was in command there at the time. It was about a mile from the Niagara River. The frame of the mess-house was prepared at Fort Niagara, at the mouth of the river, while the French were in possession there. It was intended for a Catholic church at that place. The English took it to the site of the new fort, and put it up there. It disappeared in the course of time, leaving nothing but the huge chimney. Around it a small building was erected, in which Judge Porter resided for several years after his removal to the Niagara frontier. The building was consumed when the British devastated that shore in 1813. Slight traces of old French works on the bank of the river, and of Fort Schlosser, more in the interior, may now be seen. I am indebted to the late Colonel P. A. Porter, of Niagara Falls village (who was killed in battle during the late Civil War), for the above sketch of the great chimney and the little building attached to it.

Schlosser Landing was made famous at the close of 1837 by the destruction there of the American steamer *Caroline* by a party of British from Canada. At that time a portion of both Canadian provinces were in insurrection against the British government. Navy Island, on the Niagara River, just above Schlosser, was made a rendezvous for the insurgents of that neighborhood and their American sympathizers, and the steamer *Caroline* was brought down from Buffalo to be used as a ferry-boat between the island and Schlosser Landing. On the night of the 29th of December, 1837, she was moored at Porter's store-house, Schlosser's Landing, having crossed the ferry several times during the day.

General Stephen Van Rensselaer.

Weakness of the Niagara Frontier.

General Dearborn's Instructions.

Niagara River, on the American side, was (and still is) Fort Niagara, a strong post, erected by the combined skill and labor of the French and English engineers and troops at different times.¹ Just above the fort was the little village of Youngstown; and opposite this, on the Canada shore, was Fort George. Between the fort and the lake was the village of Newark, now Niagara. Along both banks of the river, its whole length, a farming population was scattered. Such was the Niagara frontier at the opening of the war of 1812. The reader will have occasion frequently to refer to the map of it on the following page.

Major General Stephen Van Rensselaer, appointed by Governor Tompkins the commander-in-chief of the detached militia of the state, with Solomon Van Rensselaer, the adjutant general of New York, as his aid and military adviser,² and John Lovett, of Troy, as his secretary, arrived at Fort Niagara on the 13th of August,³ and assumed command of the forces on that frontier. On the following day he made his head-quarters at Lewiston, seven miles farther up the river. General Amos Hall, commander of the militia of Western New York, was then at the little hamlet of Manchester, at Niagara Falls, with a few troops; and detachments of the same kind were scattered along the whole line of the river, a distance of thirty-five miles. But the whole force in the field, to guard that frontier from a threatened invasion of the enemy, did not amount to more than a thousand men.⁴ These were scantily clothed, indifferently fed, and were clamorous for pay. There was not a single piece of heavy ordnance along the entire frontier, nor artillerists to man the light field-pieces in their possession. Of ammunition there were not ten rounds for each man. They had no tents. The medical department was in a most destitute condition, and insubordination was the rule and not the exception.⁵

General Dearborn had been instructed^a to make such demonstrations on the frontier as should prevent re-enforcements being sent to Malden by Hull at Detroit. This duty was wholly neglected, and, as late as the 8th of August, the commanding general wrote to the Secretary of War, saying, "Till now I did not consider the Niagara frontier as coming within the limits of my command." This extraordinary assertion was made in the face of no less than five dispatches from the War Department, in which such allusions were made to that frontier as to expressly, or by implication, give him to understand that the entire line of the Niagara River and the lakes were under his jurisdiction.⁶ And on the very next

the British, or ^{June 26,} 1812.

their making a formidable movement against

H. Dearborn

The tavern there being crowded, several persons went on the boat to lodge for the night. At midnight a body of armed men from the Canada shore came in a boat, rushed on board, exclaiming "Cut them down! give no quarter!" and chased the unarmed occupants astern. Some were severely injured, one man was shot dead on the wharf, and twelve more were never heard of afterward. The boat was towed out into the river, set on fire, and left to the current above the cataract. It sunk near Iris Island, and on the following morning charred remains of the vessel were seen below the Falls. It was supposed that more than one of the missing men perished in the flames or the turbulent waters. At one time the diplomatic correspondence between the two governments concerning this outrage threatened a war.

¹ A particular account of the fort will be given hereafter.

² General Stephen Van Rensselaer was not a military man. He was possessed of great wealth, extensive social influence, and was a leading Federalist. His appointment was a stroke of policy to secure friends to the war among that party. It was only on condition that Solomon Van Rensselaer, who had been in military service, should accompany him, that he consented to take the post. It was well understood that Colonel Van Rensselaer would be the general, in a practical military point of view.

³ On reaching Utica, on his way westward, General Van Rensselaer was called to Sackett's Harbor by rumors of hostile movements in that quarter. From there he went on a tour of inspection along the frontier to Ogdensburg, to learn the condition of troops, and the means for offensive or defensive operations along the St. Lawrence frontier.

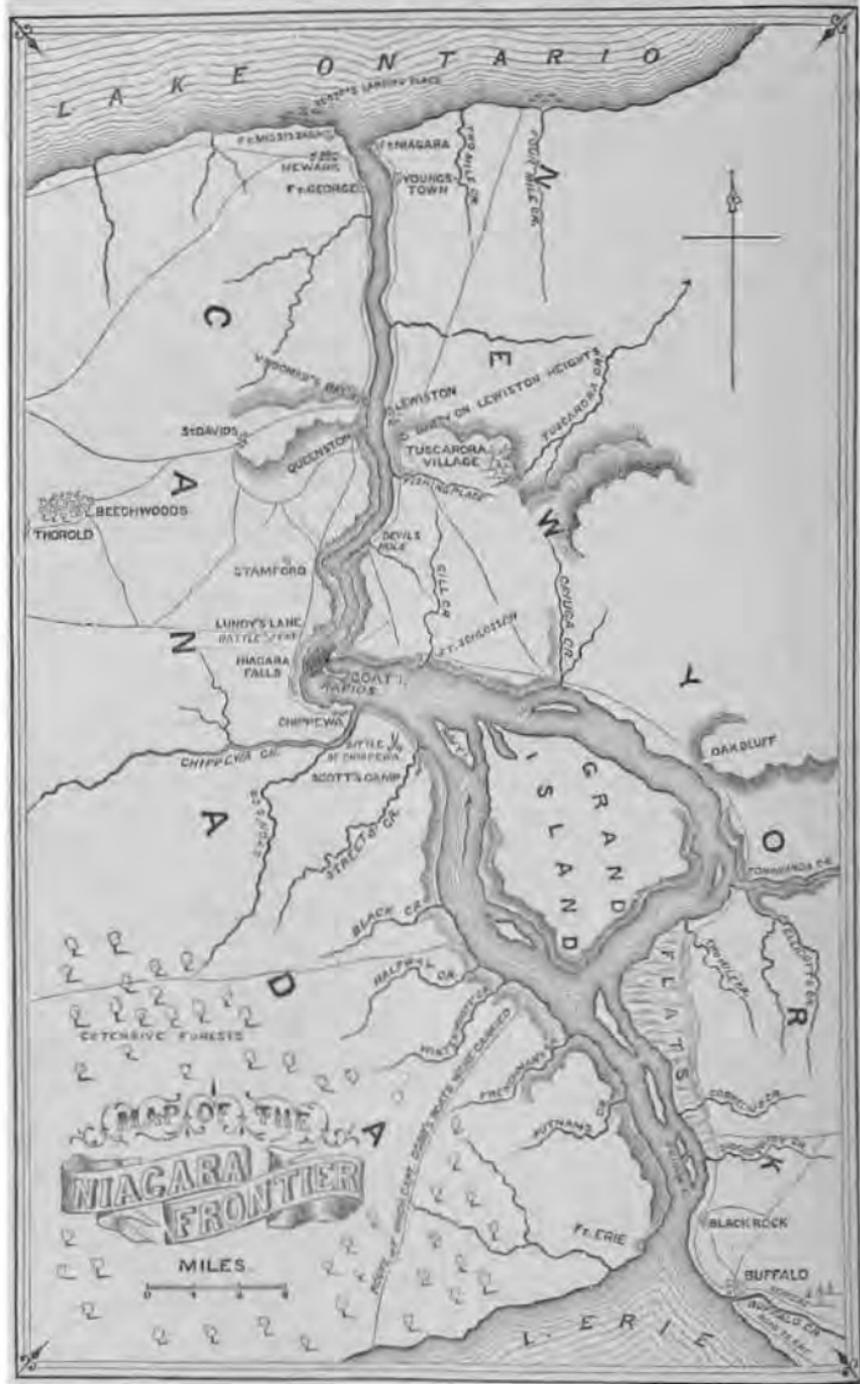
⁴ See note 2, page 366.

⁵ *Narrative of the Affair at Queenstown in the War of 1812*, by Solomon Van Rensselaer, page 10.

⁶ On the 26th of June the Secretary of War wrote to General Dearborn, then at Albany: "Your preparations, it is presumed, will be made to move in a direction for *Niagara, Kingston, and Montreal.*" On July 15th he wrote: "On your arrival at Albany your attention will be directed to the security of the *northern frontier by the lakes.*" On the 20th he wrote more explicitly, saying: "You will make such arrangements with Governor Tompkins as will place the militia detached by him for the *Niagara and other posts on the lake under your control.*" July 29th he wrote: "Should it be advisable to make any other disposition of these restless people [the warriors of the Seneca Indians], you will give orders to Mr. Granger and the *commanding officer at Niagara.*" On the 1st of August the same functionary wrote: "You will make a *diversion in favor of him [General Hull] at Niagara and Kingston* as soon as may be practicable." Yet, with these

PICTORIAL FIELD-BOOK

The Niagara Frontier.



letters in his possession, General Dearborn, on the 8th of August, declared that until then he did "not consider the Niagara frontier as coming within the limits of his command!"

Effect of the Armistice. Solomon Van Rensselaer's Diplomacy. Service expected of the Army on the Niagara Frontier.

day^a he signed an armistice agreeing to a cessation of hostilities along that entire dividing line between the two countries. That armistice still farther delayed preparations for offensive or defensive operations on the part of the Americans, and, on the 1st of September, the entire effective force under General Van Rensselaer on the Niagara frontier was only six hundred and ninety-one men, instead of five thousand, as he had been promised!¹ Notwithstanding Dearborn had been ordered peremptorily to put an end to the armistice, he continued it until the 29th of August,² for the purpose, as he alleged,³ of forwarding stores to Sackett's Harbor—a matter of small moment compared with the accruing disadvantages. Within the period of the armistice, Brock was enabled, after the capture of Hull and the Territory of Michigan, to return leisurely with his troops and prisoners to the Niagara frontier. When the armistice was ended, and Van Rensselaer was so weak in men and munitions of war, the British confronted him, on the opposite side of a narrow river, with a well-appointed and disciplined, though small army, commanded by skillful and experienced officers, while every important point from Lake Ontario to Lake Erie, along the British side of the Niagara, was carefully guarded or had been materially strengthened.

Some of the most disastrous effects of the armistice were parried by a successful effort at diplomacy on the part of Colonel Solomon Van Rensselaer, the commanding general's aid, who was sent to Fort George to confer with the British general, Sheaffe, on the details of the operations of that agreement. Van Rensselaer insisted upon the unrestricted navigation of Lake Ontario for both parties, and this point was unexpectedly yielded,⁴ restrictions upon the movements of troops, stores, etc., being confined to the country above Fort Erie. This was of vital importance to the Americans; for the much-needed supplies for the army, ordnance, and other munitions of war collected at Oswego could only be taken to the Niagara by water, the roads were in such a wretched condition. By this arrangement, the vessels at Ogdensburg, already mentioned, were released,⁵ to be converted into warriors; and Colonel Fenwick, at Oswego, moved forward over the lake to Niagara with a large quantity of supplies.

General Van Rensselaer⁶ was charged with the duty of not only defending the frontier from invasion, but of an actual invasion of Canada himself. This was a part of the original plan of the campaign. While Hull invaded the province from Detroit, it was to be penetrated on the Niagara and St. Lawrence frontiers. But Van Rensselaer found himself in a most critical situation, and doubtful whether he could even protect the soil of his own state from the foot of the invader. The arrival of

¹ Van Rensselaer's *Narrative*, etc., p. 10.

² On the 29th of August General Dearborn issued an order in which he declared the armistice at an end, and yet the express bearing the order to the Niagara frontier did not reach General Van Rensselaer until the 12th of September.—MS. Letter of Colonel Solomon Van Rensselaer to his Wife, dated Lewiston, September 12, 1812.

³ Dearborn to the Secretary of War, August 27, 1812.

⁴ This was on the 21st of August. Four days afterward General Brock arrived with Hull and the regulars of his army as prisoners.

⁵ As soon as Van Rensselaer obtained the concession, an express was sent to Oswego, Sackett's Harbor, and Ogdensburg, ordering those vessels up.

⁶ Stephen Van Rensselaer was the fifth in lineal descent from Killian Van Rensselaer, the earliest and best known of the American *Patroons*. He was born at the manor-house in Albany, New York, on the first of November, 1764. Being the eldest son, he inherited the immense estate of his father, and was the last of the *Patroons*. He was educated first at Princeton College and then at Harvard University. He was graduated at the latter institution in 1782. He became an active politician, and was a warm supporter of Washington and the national Constitution. In 1795 he was elected lieutenant governor of his native state, and held the office six consecutive years. He was a rising man in the political scale, when the overthrow of the Federal party in 1800 impeded his advancement. Although a Federalist and opposed to the war in 1812, when his country was committed to the measure he patriotically laid aside all party feelings and gave it his hearty support. He was not a military man, and his appointment to the major generalship of the detached militia was a stroke of policy rather than the deliberate choice of a good military leader. He did not long remain in the service. He was in Congress during several consecutive sessions, and by his casting vote in the delegation of New York he gave the presidency to John Quincy Adams in 1824. Then his political life closed. He was foremost in good works. The "Rensselaer School" at Troy, New York, attests his liberality, and his activity in religious societies was marked and useful. For many years he was President of the Board of Canal Commissioners. That was his position at the time of his death, which occurred on the 26th of January, 1840, in the seventy-fifth year of his age.

Van Rensselaer calls for Re-enforcements. They come. Proposition to invade Canada. Van Rensselaer's Letter.

Colonel Fenwick, on the 4th of September, with ordnance and stores gave some relief, but the evidence of preparations for invasion on the part of the British became daily more and more positive and alarming.



Van Rensselaer

At the middle of September Van Rensselaer informed both Governor Tompkins and General Dearborn of the gloomy prospects before him, and pleaded for re-enforcements, saying, "A retrograde movement of this army upon the back of that disaster which has befallen the one at Detroit would stamp a stigma upon the national character which time would never wipe away. I shall therefore try to hold out against superior force and every disadvantage until I shall be re-enforced."¹ But as late as the 28th of September General Dearborn could give him no sure promises of timely re-enforcements, while in the same letter that officer expressed a hope that Van Rensselaer would not only be able to meet the enemy, but to carry the war into Canada. "At all events," he said, "we must calculate on possessing Upper Canada before winter sets in."²

Soon after this regular troops and militia began to arrive on the Niagara frontier. The former assembled at Buffalo and its vicinity, the latter at Lewiston;

* October 6, and when, in the first week of October,³ General Van Rensselaer invited
1812. Major General Hall, of the militia of Western New York, Brigadier General Smythe, of the regular army and then inspector general, and the commandants of the United States regiments to meet him in council, he proposed a speedy invasion of Canada. "I propose," he said, "that we immediately concentrate the regular force in the neighborhood of Niagara and the militia here [Lewiston], make the best possible dispositions, and at the same time the regulars shall pass from Four-mile Creek to a point in the rear of the works of Fort George and take it by storm; I will pass the river here, and carry the heights of Queenstown. Should we succeed, we shall effect a great discomfiture of the enemy by breaking their line of communication, driving their shipping from the mouth of this [Niagara] river, leaving them no rallying-point in this part of the country, appalling the minds of the Canadians, and opening a wide and safe communication for our supplies. We shall save our land, wipe away part of the score of our past disgrace, get excellent barracks and winter quarters, and at least be prepared for an early campaign another year."³ This proposed council was not held, owing to the failure of General Smyth to comply with the request of General Van Rensselaer,⁴ and the latter was left wholly to the resources of himself and his military family in forming his plans. They were deliberately matured, and preparations for invading Canada went vigorously on. To

¹ Letter to Governor Tompkins, September 17, 1812.

² Dearborn to Van Rensselaer, September 26, 1812.

³ Letter of General Van Rensselaer to General Dearborn, Lewiston, October 8, 1812.

⁴ This will be noticed in the next chapter.

ward the middle of October the American forces on the frontier were considered sufficient to warrant the undertaking.

While these preparations were in progress, a daring and successful exploit was performed near Buffalo, that won great applause for the actors and infused new spirit into the troops. We have already observed that Lieutenant Jesse D. Elliott, of the United States Navy, was sent by Commodore Chauncey to superintend the erection of a fleet on Lake Erie. By a letter from the commander, dated the 7th of September, he was instructed to report himself to General Van Rensselaer, on the Niagara frontier, consult with him as to "the best position to build, repair, and fit for service" such vessels as might be required to retain the command of Lake Erie, and, after selecting such place, to "purchase any number of merchant vessels or boats that might be converted into vessels of war or gun-boats," with the advice of General Van Rensselaer, and to commence their equipment immediately. He was also instructed to take measures for the construction of two vessels of three hundred tons each, six boats of considerable size, and quarters for three hundred men. These, and a variety of other relevant duties, were committed to the charge of Lieutenant Elliott by Chauncey, who said, "Knowing your zeal for the service and your discretion as an officer, I feel every confidence in your industry and exertions to accomplish the object of your mission in the shortest time possible."¹ Elliott was then twenty-seven years of age.

Black Rock, two miles below Buffalo, was selected as the place for Lake Erie's first dock-yard in fitting out a navy. While busily engaged there, early in October, in the duties of his office, Elliott was informed that two British armed vessels had come down the lake, and anchored under the guns of Fort Erie. These were the brigs *Adams*, Lieutenant Rolette commander, and *Caledonia*, commanded by Mr. Irvine, the former a prize captured when Hull surrendered, and its name was changed to *Detroit*, the latter a vessel owned and employed by the Northwestern Fur Company on the Upper Lakes.² They were both well armed and manned,³ and it was understood that the *Caledonia* bore a valuable cargo of skins from the forest. They appeared in front of Fort Erie on the morning of the 8th of October, and the zealous Elliott, emulous of distinction, immediately conceived a plan for their capture. Timely aid offered. On that very day a detachment of seamen for service under him arrived from New York. They were unarmed, and Elliott turned to the military authorities for assistance. Lieutenant Colonel Winfield Scott was at Black Rock. He entered warmly into Elliott's plans, and readily obtained the consent of General Smyth, his commanding officer, to lend his aid. Captain Towson, of the Engineers' Corps (2d Regiment of Artillery), was detailed, with fifty men, for the service, and the cordial acquiescence of General Smyth was evinced by a note, marked "confidential," to Colonel Winder, of the 14th Regiment, then encamped near Buffalo, in which he said, "Be pleased to turn out the hardy sailors in your regiment, and let them appear, under the care of a non-commissioned officer, in front of my quarters, precisely at three o'clock this evening. Send also all the pistols, swords, and sabres you can borrow at the risk of the lenders, and such public swords as you have."⁴

Towson joined Elliott with arms and ammunition for the seamen, and both were accompanied by citizens. The combined force, rank and file, was one hundred and twenty-four men.⁵ All the preparations for the enterprise were completed by four

¹ Letter of Chauncey to Elliott, "Navy Yard, New York, September 7, 1812."

² See page 270.

³ The *Detroit* mounted six 6-pounders and mustered fifty-six men, besides thirty American prisoners. The *Caledonia* mounted two small guns and mustered twelve men, besides ten American prisoners.

⁴ Manuscript Letter of General Smyth to Colonel Winder, October 8, 1812. It is proper here to remark that, through the kind offices of Mrs. Aurelia Winder Townsend, of Oyster Bay, Long Island, daughter of General Winder, the papers of that gallant officer were placed in my possession. Free use has been made of them in the course of this work.

⁵ Lieutenant Elliott, in his official report to the Secretary of the Navy, October 9, 1812, says there were one hundred in the expedition—fifty in each boat. The list furnished by him, and here given in full, makes the number one hundred and twenty-four, as follows:

Commanders, Jesse D. Elliott, Isaac Chauncey.
Sailing-masters, George Watts, Alexander Sisson.

Capture of the <i>Adams</i> and <i>Caledonia</i> .	Names of the Captors.	Excitement at Buffalo.	Isaac Roach.
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o'clock in the afternoon. Two large boats had been fitted up at Shogeoquady¹ Creek, just below Black Rock, and then were taken to the mouth of Buffalo Creek in the evening. The expedition embarked at midnight, and at one o'clock in the morning^a it left the creek silently, while scores of people on shore, who knew that an important movement was on foot, waited with anxiety in the gloom. At three o'clock the sharp crack of a pistol, followed by the flash and roll of a volley of musketry, a dead silence, and the moving of two dark objects down the river, proclaimed that the enterprise had been successful. A shout of joy rang out upon the night air from the shore between Buffalo and Black Rock, and lanterns and torches in abundance flashed light across the stream to illuminate the way of the victors.² The surprise and success were complete. The vessels were captured and the men in them made prisoners. "In less than ten minutes," wrote Elliott, "I had the prisoners all seized, the topsails sheeted home, and the vessels under weigh."³ The *Detroit* was taken by the boat conducted by Elliott in person, assisted by Lieutenant Roach,⁴ of the Engineers, and the *Caledonia* by the other boat conducted by Sailing-master Watts,⁵ assisted by the military under Captain Towson. The first was taken with scarcely any opposition, the second after very brief resistance. The wind was light—too light to allow the vessels thereby to stem the current and reach the open lake; so they ran down the stream in the darkness, but not without annoyance. The turmoil of the capture, the shouts of the citizens at Black Rock and Buffalo, and the display of lights along the American shore, called every British officer and soldier to his post. The guns of Fort Erie, of two or three batteries, and of fy-

Captain of Engineers and Marines, N. Towson.

Lieutenant of Engineers and Marines, Isaac Roach.

Master's Mates, William Peckham, J. E. M'Donald, John S. Cummings, Edward Wilcox.

Ensign, William Presman.

Boatswain's Mates, Lawrence Hanson, John Rack, James Morrell.

Quarter Gunners, Benjamin Tallman, Bird, Hawk, Noland, Vincent, Osborn, M'Cobbin, John Wheeler.

Seamen, Edward Pollice, James Williams, Robert Craig, John M'Intire, Elisha Atwood, William Edward, Michael S. Brooks, William Roe, Henry Anderson, Christopher Bailey, John Exon, John Lewis, William Barker, Peter Davis, Peter Deist, Lemuel Smith, Abraham Patch, Benjamin Myrick, Robert Peterson, Benjamin Fleming, Gardiner Gaskill, Anthony De Kruse, William Dickson, Thomas Hill, John Reynolds, Abraham Fish, Jerome Sardie, John Tockum, William Anderson, John Jockings, Thomas Bradley, Hatten Armstrong.

Soldiers, Jacob Webber, Jesse Green, Henry Thomas, George Gladden, James Murray, Samuel Baldwin, John Hendrick, Peter Evans, William Fortune, Daniel Martin, John M'Guard, Samuel Fortune, John Garling, Zachariah Wise, John Kearns, Thomas Wallager, Thomas Houragua, Peter Peroe, Edward Mahoney, Daniel Holland, Mathias Wineman, Moses Goodwin, Lishurway Lewis, William Fisher, John Fritch, James Roy, James M'Gee, James M'Crossan, William Welmer, Thomas Leister, Joseph Davis, Benjamin Thomas, James M'Donald, Thomas Ruark, J. Wicklin, W. Richards, James Tomlin, James Boyd, James Neal, John Gidleman, William Knight, M. Parish, James M'Coy, Daniel Fraser, John House, Jacob Stewart, William Kemp, Hugh Robb, Anson Crosswell, Charles Lewis, John Shields, Charles Le Forge, John Joseph, Henry Berthold, James Lee, Isaac Murrows, George Eaton, Thomas C. Leader, William Cowenboven, John J. Lord, Charles Le Fraud, Elisha Cook, John Tolenson, John G. Stewart, William Fryer, Cyrenus Chapin, Alexander M'Comb, Thomas Davis, Peter Orenstock, William C. Johnson.

I am indebted to Colonel Gleason F. Lewis, of Cleveland, for the above "Roll of Honor," and I take pleasure in here acknowledging my indebtedness to that gentleman for many kind services in aid of my labors. His attention to the business of procuring pensions and bounties for the soldiers of the War of 1812 and their families for many years, gives him, probably, a more thorough knowledge of that subject, as relates to the Army of the Northwest, than any other man in the country.

¹ This is an Indian word, and is variously spelled Shogeoquady, Shojeoquady, SeaJaquady, and Skajoekuda.

² *Reminiscences of Buffalo*, by Henry Lovejoy.

³ Letter to the Secretary of the Navy, October 9, 1812.

⁴ Isaac Roach was born in the District of Southwark, Philadelphia, on the 24th of February, 1786. After the attack on the *Chesapeake* in 1807 [see page 167], Roach, then twenty-one years of age, organized an artillery company in Philadelphia. In 1812 he obtained the appointment of second lieutenant in the Second Regiment U. S. Artillery, and joined that regiment under Lieutenant Colonel Scott in July. He volunteered to accompany the expedition against the British brig, and led fifty of his associates in the attack. He was then adjutant of the regiment; and so anxious were the men to accompany him, that when he passed along the line to select them, his ears were saluted with the exclamations, "Can't I go, sir?"—"Take me, Adjutant!"—"Don't forget M'Gee!"—"I'm a Philadelphia boy," etc. Roach was wounded in the battle at Queenstown soon afterward, and he returned home. He soon afterward joined the staff of General Izard. He was made a prisoner at the Beaver Dams the next year. He had many adventures in attempts to escape, and was finally successful. He was about to take the field under General Scott as assistant adjutant general, when peace came. He commanded successively Forts M'Henry, Columbus, and Mifflin, until 1823, when he was commissioned major by brevet. He retired from the army in 1824. In 1838 he was elected Mayor of Philadelphia, and was appointed Treasurer of the Mint soon afterward. He died December 29, 1848.

⁵ Watts was killed on the 29th of November following, while assisting Lieutenant Holdup and others in spiking some cannon at the little village of Waterloo, on the Canada side of the Niagara, a short distance below Fort Erie. The ball that killed Watts passed through Holdup's hand. The former died in the arms of the latter.

A Struggle for the Possession of a Vessel.

Gallantry of the Combatants.

Losses of Men in the Conflict.

ing artillery, all guided by the lights that gleamed over the waters, were brought to bear upon the vessels.¹ The *Detroit* was compelled to anchor within reach of the enemy's guns, while the *Caledonia* ran ashore, and was beached under the protection of the guns of an American battery between Buffalo and Black Rock.² The guns of the *Detroit* were all removed to her larboard side, and a mutual cannonading was kept up for some time.³ Efforts were made by tow-line and warps to haul her to the American shore. These failed; and, regarding the destruction of the *Detroit* as certain in her exposed position, Elliott cut her cable and set her adrift. At that moment he discovered that his pilot had left. For ten minutes she went blindly down the swift current, and then brought up on the west side of Squaw Island, near the American shore, but still exposed to the guns of the enemy.⁴ The prisoners, forty-six in number, were immediately landed below Squaw Island, but the current was so strong that the boats could not return to the vessel. She was soon boarded by a party of the British Forty-ninth Regiment, then stationed at Fort Erie, but they were driven off by some citizen soldiers of Buffalo, who, with a six-pound field-piece, crossed over to Squaw Island in a scow and boldly attacked them.⁵ She was then placed in charge of Lieutenant Colonel Scott, at Black Rock, who gallantly defended her. Each party resolved that the other should not possess her, and the cannons of both were brought to bear upon the doomed vessel during the remainder of the day. At a little after sunset Sir Isaac Brock arrived, and made preparations to renew the attempt to recover the *Detroit*, with the aid of the crew of the *Lady Prevost*; but before these were perfected a party of the Fifth United States Infantry set her on fire and she was consumed.⁶ The *Caledonia* was saved, and afterward performed good service in Perry's fleet on Lake Erie.

In this really brilliant affair the Americans lost only two killed and five wounded. The loss of the British is not known.⁷ The *Caledonia* was a rich prize, her cargo

¹ The movements on the Canadian shore were under the direction of the gallant Major Ormsby, the British commandant there. The first shot from the flying artillery crossed the river and instantly killed the brave Major William Howe Cuyler, of Ontario, General Hall's aid-de-camp, who had taken a deep interest in the expedition. He had been in the saddle all night, and had just left a warehouse where rigging was procured for warping in the *Detroit*, and was guiding the vessels with a lantern in his hand, when the fatal ball struck him and he fell dead. His body was carried by Captain Benjamin Bidwell and others to the house of Nathaniel Sill. The death of the gallant and accomplished Cuyler was widely mourned. Obituary notices appeared in the newspapers; and "*The War*," printed in New York, published a poem "*To the Memory of Major Cuyler*," in six stanzas, in which the following lines occur:

Mr. "Howe Cuyler"

"In Freedom's virtuous cause alert he rose,
In Freedom's virtuous cause undaunted led;
He died for Freedom 'midst a host of foes,
And found on Erie's beach an honored bed."

² She was grounded a little above what is now the foot of Albany Street. The injured on board the *Caledonia* were brought on shore in a boat. It could not quite reach the land on account of shoal water, when Doctor Josiah Trowbridge, yet [1867] a resident of Buffalo, waded in and bore some of them to dry land on his back. They were taken to the house of Orange Dean, at the old ferry (now foot of Fort Street, opposite the angle in Niagara Street), and well cared for. While Doctor Trowbridge was taking a musket-ball from the neck of a wounded man, a twenty-four-pound shot entered the house, struck a chimney just over their heads, and covered them with bricks, mortar, and splinters. Another shot of the same weight demolished a trunk on the deck of the *Caledonia*, scattered its contents, consisting of ladies' wearing apparel, among the rigging, passed on, and was buried in the banks of the river. Two small boys (Cyrus K. St. John and Henry Lovejoy), who came down from Buffalo to see the fight, exhumed the shot and carried it home as a trophy of their valor.—*Narrative of Henry Lovejoy*.

³ Elliott, who was on board the *Detroit*, hailed the British commander, and threatened to place his prisoners on the decks if he did not cease firing. The enemy disregarded the menace. "One single moment's reflection," said Elliott in his official dispatch, "determined me not to commit an act that would subject me to the imputation of barbarity."

⁴ Her position was nearly opposite Pratt's Iron Works.

⁵ These were principally members of an independent volunteer company of Buffalo, of which the late Ebenezer Walden was commander. They first brought their six-pounder to bear upon the enemy at the point where the Black Rock Ice-house stood in 1860, Doctor Trowbridge acting as gunner. When the regular gunner came they crossed over to Squaw Island.—Statement of Doctor Trowbridge to the Author.

⁶ Through the intrepidity of Sailing-master Watts, some of her guns were taken out of her during the cannonade, and saved to do excellent duty in a land-battery between Black Rock and Buffalo.

⁷ Elliott's official Letter to the Secretary of the Navy, October 9, 1812; Cooper's *Naval History*, ii., 381; Letter of General Sir Isaac Brock to Sir George Prevost, October 11, 1812, quoted in Tupper's *Life of Brock*, page 313.

Elliott and his Companions.

Expression of the Gratitude of the Nation by Congress

being valued at two hundred thousand dollars. The gallantry of all—Americans and British—on this occasion was highly commendable. Elliott¹ made special mention of several of his companions,² and - Jan. 26, Congress,³ 1813, by a vote, awarded to that officer their thanks, and a sword, with suitable emblems and devices.⁴ The exploit sent a thrill of joy throughout the United States, because it promised speedy success in efforts to obtain the mastery of



JESSE D. ELLIOTT.

Lake Erie, while it produced a corresponding depression on the other side, for a similar reason. "The event is particularly unfortunate," wrote General Brock, "and may reduce us to incalculable distress. The enemy is making every exertion to gain a naval superiority on both lakes, which, if they accomplish it, I do not see how we can possibly retain the country."⁴

¹ Jesse Duncan Elliott was born in Maryland in 1788. He entered the naval service of the United States as midshipman in April, 1806, and in 1810 was promoted to lieutenant. After his gallant exploit near Buffalo he joined Chamney at Sachett's Harbor. In July, 1812, he was promoted to master commandant over thirty lieutenants, and appointed to the command of the brig *Niagara*, 20, built on Lake Erie. He was second in command in Perry's engagement on the 10th of September, 1813, and for his conduct on that occasion Congress voted him a gold medal. After that battle he returned to Lake Ontario, and was there actively

A large, elegant handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Jesse D. Elliott".

employed until November the same year, when he was assigned the command of the sloop-of-war *Ontario*, then just completed at Baltimore. This vessel was one of Decatur's squadron that performed good service in the Mediterranean Sea in 1816. Elliott was promoted to the rank of captain in 1816, and subsequently had command of squadrons on several stations, as well as of the navy yards at Boston and Philadelphia. On account of alleged misconduct in the Mediterranean, he was tried by a court-martial in 1840. The result was a sentence of four years' suspension from the service. In 1843 the President remitted the remainder of his suspension. He died on the 15th of December, 1845. Commodore Elliott became involved in a controversy concerning his conduct in the Battle of Lake Erie, which ceased only with his death. That controversy, and the excitement growing out of his placing an image of President Jackson on the *Constitution* frigate as a figure-head, will be noticed hereafter.

² He specially commended for their gallant services Captain Towson and Lieutenant Roach, of the Second Regiment of Artillery; Ensign Prestman, of the Infantry; Captain Chapin, and Messrs. John Macomb, John Town, Thomas Dale, Peter Overstocks, and James Sloan, residents of Buffalo. He also particularly noticed Sailing-master Watts, who commanded the boat that boarded the *Caledonia*.

³ Journal of Congress, January 26, 1813.

⁴ Letter of General Brock to Sir George Prevost, October 11, 1812.



Impatience of the People and the Troops. Bad Conduct of General Smyth. His Letter to General Van Rensselaer.

CHAPTER XIX.

"September the thirteenth, at midnight so dark,
Our troops on the River Niagara embark'd;
The standard of Britain resolved to pull down,
And drive the proud foes from the heights of Queenstown."

OLD SONG—THE HEROES OF QUEENSTOWN.



OR several weeks General Van Rensselaer had felt the pressure of public impatience, manifested by letters and the press. It had been engendered by the extreme tardiness displayed in the collection of troops on the frontier for the invasion of Canada, about which much had been said and written menacingly, boastfully, and deprecatory. That impatience had begun to be seriously manifested by his troops early in October.¹ Homesickness, domestic claims, idleness in the camp, and bodily sufferings

and growing inclemency of the season, combined to affect the temper of the men most injuriously. Their calls to be led to battle became daily more and more urgent and imperious, until the volcanic fires of mutiny completely undermined the camp, and threatened a total overthrow of the general's authority. He perceived the necessity of striking the enemy at once at some point, or allow his army to dissolve, and all the toils and expenses of the campaign to be lost. He formed his plans, and, as we have observed, endeavored to counsel with the field officers under his command, but failed. General Alexander Smyth, his second in command, had lately arrived.

He was a proud Virginian, an officer of the regular army (inspector general), and an as-

pirant for the chief command on the frontier. Unlike the true soldier and patriot, he could

not bend to the necessity of obedience to a militia general, especially one of Northern birth and a leading Federalist, who, for the time, was made his superior in rank and position. His temper was exhibited in his letter to Van Rensselaer² announcing his arrival on the frontier.² It was supercilious, dictatorial,

* September 20, 1812.

¹ General Van Rensselaer was placed in a most delicate situation. It was well known that, politically, both he and his aid, Colonel Solomon Van Rensselaer, had been opposed to the war, and the unavoidable delays were construed by some into intentional immobility in order to frustrate the designs of the government. These suspicions were unjust and ungenerous in the extreme, for no purer patriot and conscientious and truthful man than Stephen Van Rensselaer ever lived. "A flood of circumstances," wrote Lovett, Van Rensselaer's secretary, "such as a great desire for forage, for provisions, for every thing to make man comfortable: the most inclement storm which I ever experienced at this season of the year; indeed, innumerable circumstances had convinced the general, as early as the beginning of the month, that a blow must be struck, or the army would break up in confusion, with intolerable imputations on his own character."—Manuscript Letter to Abraham Van Vechten, Buffalo, October, 21, 1812.

² The following is a copy of General Smyth's letter:
"I have been ordered by Major General Dearborn to Niagara, to take command of a brigade of United States troops, and directed, on my arrival in the vicinity of your quarters, to report myself to you, which I now do. I intended to have reported myself personally, but the conclusions I have drawn as to the interests of the service have determined me to stop at this place for the present. From the description I have had of the river below the Falls, the view of the shore below Fort Erie, and the information received as to the preparations of the enemy, I am of opinion that our crossing should be effected between Fort Erie and Chippewa. It has, therefore, seemed to me proper to encamp the United States troops near Buffalo, there to prepare for offensive operations. Your instructions or better information may decide you to give me different orders, which I will await."

This letter was offensive, first, because the subordinate officer not only failed to report himself in person, as he was bound in duty to do, but assumed perfect independence by choosing his own theatre of action; and, secondly, because the writer, an entire stranger to the country, just arrived, went out of his way to intrude his opinions upon his commanding general as to military operations, when he knew that that general had been there for weeks, and was neces-

Smyth's Insubordination.

Van Rensselaer prepares to attack Queenston.

His effective Force.

and impertinent, and gave ample assurance that he would not cordially co-operate with the chief in command. So undutiful was his conduct that many were of opinion that coercive measures should be used to bring him to a sense of duty.¹ When politely requested by Van Rensselaer to name a day for a council of officers, he neglected to do so. Day after day passed, and Smyth made no definite reply, when the commanding general resolved to act upon his own responsibility, and "gratify his own inclinations and that of his army" by commencing offensive operations at once. On the 10th of October he prepared to attack the British at Queenston, opposite Lewiston, before dawn the next morning.²



QUEENSTON IN 1812.

Van Rensselaer considered his forces ample to assure him of success. They numbered more than six thousand. Sixteen hundred and fifty regulars, under General Smyth, were between Black Rock and Buffalo, commanded by Colonels Winder, Parker, and Milton, and Lieutenant Colonel Scott. In the vicinity were three hundred and eighty-six militia, under Lieutenant Colonels Swift and Hopkins. At Lewiston, where Van Rensselaer had his head-quarters, Brigadier General Wadsworth com-

mander familiar with every rood of the ground and every disposition of the enemy. Van Rensselaer, true gentleman as he was, quietly rebuked the impertinence by informing General Smyth that for many years he had had "a general knowledge of the banks of the Niagara River and of the adjacent country on the Canada shore," and that he had now "attentively explored the American side with the view of military operations." "However willing I may be," he said, "as a citizen soldier, to surrender my opinion to a professional one, I commonly make such surrender to an opinion deliberately formed upon a view of the whole ground. . . . All my past measures have been calculated for one point, and I now only wait for a competent force. As the season of the year and every consideration urges me to act with promptness, I can not hastily listen to a change of position, mainly connected with a new system of measures and the very great inconvenience of the troops."—*Van Rensselaer to Smyth*, 30th September, 1812.

Speaking of the conduct of General Smyth on this occasion, a contemporary officer says, "It is presumed this temper produced a spirit of insubordination destructive to the harmony and concert which is essential to cordial co-operation, and that the public service was sacrificed to personal sensibility."—*Wilkinson's Memoir*, I., 636. "Was I to hazard an opinion," says Wilkinson in another place, "it should be that his designs were patriotic, but that his ardor obscured his judgment, and that he was more indiscreet than culpable."—*Memoirs*, I., 681.

¹ *A Narrative of the Affair at Queenstown in the War of 1812*, by Solomon Van Rensselaer, page 19.

² Queenston (originally Queen's Town) was at this time a thriving little village, and one of the principal dépôts for merchandise and grain in that region. Its prosperity was paralyzed by the Welland Canal, which cut off most of its trade. The view here given is from a sketch made in 1812, from the north part of the village, looking southward up the Niagara River. On the right are seen the Heights of Queenston, and on the left the heights of Lewiston. The river is here about six hundred feet in width. The village was upon a plain of uneven surface at the foot of the Heights. This plain at Queenston is seventy feet above the river, and slopes gradually to the lake, where the bank is only a few feet above the water. The Heights rise two hundred and thirty feet above the river.

The British Force on the Niagara Frontier.

Van Rensselaer's Knowledge of the Situation.

manded a corps of militia almost seventeen hundred strong, and near him was the camp of Brigadier General Miller, with almost six hundred men. Five hundred and fifty regulars under Lieutenant Colonel Fenwick, and eight hundred of the same class of troops . . . under Major Mullany, were in garrison at Fort Niagara. There were, in the aggregate, three thousand six hundred and fifty regulars, and two thousand six hundred and fifty militia.

John R. Fenwick

The British force on the western bank of the Niagara River, regular militia and Indians, numbered about fifteen hundred. Their Indian allies, under John Brant, were about two hundred and fifty strong. Small garrisons held Fort Erie, at the foot of Lake Erie, and two or three batteries, on rising ground, opposite Black Rock. The erection of Fort Erie had then just been commenced, but for want of funds had been left unfinished. Major Armand commanded there. A small detachment of the 41st Regiment, under Captain Bullock, and the flank companies of the 2d Regiment of the Lincoln Militia, under Captains Hamilton and Roe, was at Chippewa, where there was a dilapidated old block-house called Fort Welland. The flank companies of the 49th Regiment, under Captains Dennis and Williams, and a considerable body of militia, were at Queenston, and, with the exception of detached parties of militia along the whole line of the river to watch the movements of the Americans, the remainder were



VIEW FROM THE SITE OF VROOMAN'S BATTERY.

at Fort George, the head-quarters of Major General Brock, under General Sheaffe. At every mile between Fort George and Queenston, batteries were thrown up. On Queenston Heights, south of the village, and half way up the mountain, was a redan battery, mounting some 18-pounders and two howitzers; and on Vrooman's Point,¹ about a mile below, was another battery, on which was mounted a twenty-four-pound carronade *en*

barbette. This gun commanded both Lewiston and Queenston Landing.

Van Rensselaer had made himself thoroughly acquainted with the condition of the enemy. His officers, while on official visits to the various posts, had been vigilant and observing,² and he was so well satisfied that a favorable time for an invasion of

¹ The picture represents a view of the Niagara River and shores from Vrooman's Point. In the foreground are the remains of the battery. On the right is seen Queenston and the Heights, with Brock's monument; on the left, Lewiston and its heights; and in the centre, Niagara River and the Lewiston Suspension Bridge. We are looking southward, up the Niagara River.

² Colonel Solomon Van Rensselaer, who visited the British head-quarters on business several times, says that on the last occasion he saw two beautiful brass howitzers, of small size, calculated to be carried on pack-horses, the wheels about the size of a wheel-barrow. He remarked to Colonel M'Donnell and other British officers who accompanied him, "These, at all events, are old acquaintances of mine. I feel partial to them, and must try to take them back." He recognized them as formerly belonging to Wayne's army when he was in service under him. They were among the

Preparations to cross the River. Treason or Cowardice of Lieutenant Sims. The Expedition delayed. A Council.

Canada had arrived that he made arrangements on the 10th of October to assail Queenston at three o'clock the next morning.¹ During that evening thirteen large boats, capable of bearing three hundred and forty full-armed and equipped men, were brought down on wagons from Gill's Creek, two miles above the Falls, and placed in the river at Lewiston Landing, under cover of intense darkness. The flying artillery under Lieutenant Colonel Fenwick, and a detachment of regulars under his command, were ordered up from Fort Niagara, and General Smyth was directed to send down detachments from his brigade at Buffalo to support the movement. Colonel Solomon Van Rensselaer was appointed to the command of the invading force,² an arrangement which seems to have given umbrage to some of the officers of the regular army on the frontier.

The river at Lewiston, at the foot of the lower rapids, is always a sheet of violent eddies, the middle current running about four miles an hour. To prevent confusion and disaster, experienced boatmen were procured, and the command of the flotilla was intrusted to Lieutenant Sims, who was considered "the man of the greatest skill for the service."³ Before midnight every thing was in readiness. Clouds had been gathering in immense masses all the evening, and at one in the morning a furious northeast storm of wind and rain was sweeping over the country. But the zeal of the troops was not cooled by the drenching rain. At the appointed hour they were all at the place of debarkation, with Van Rensselaer at their head. Lieutenant Sims entered the foremost boat, and soon disappeared in the gloom. The others could not follow, for he had taken nearly all the oars with him! They waited for him to discover and correct his mistake, but in vain. He went far above the intended crossing-place, moored his boat to the shore, and fled as fast as the legs of a traitor or coward could carry him. The soldiers endured the fierce blasts and the falling flood until almost daylight, when they were marched to their respective cantonments, and the enterprise was for a moment abandoned. The storm continued unabated twenty-eight hours, and during that time all the soldiers remained in their deluged camps.

The general-in-chief again determined to seek the council of his brother officers, hoping the patience of his troops would brook farther delay. He was mistaken. The miscarriage and the desertion of Sims increased their ardor, and Van Rensselaer found himself compelled to renew the attempt at invasion immediately. He was willing, for valuable re-enforcements were near. Lieutenant Colonel Chrystie had

John Chrystie

arrived at Four-mile Creek late in the evening of the 10th, with three hundred and fifty newly-enlisted regulars, a part of the Thirteenth Regiment of Infantry, com-

manded respectively by Captains Wool, Ogilvie, Malcolm, Lawrence, and Armstrong, with thirty boats and military stores. Chrystie had hastened to head-quarters, and offered the services of himself and men in the execution of the enterprise in hand, but he was too late. Every arrangement was completed. Colonel Van Rensselaer was

British trophies of victory taken at Detroit, and were brought down to be sent to England. Nicholas Gray, who was inspector general of New York the following year, with the rank of colonel, and who was then acting engineer, made a valuable reconnaissance of the whole frontier. His manuscript report to General Van Rensselaer is before me. His outline map, accompanying the report, I found useful in constructing the *Map of the Niagara Frontier* on page 382.

¹ Van Rensselaer was deceived by an erroneous report of a spy whom he had sent across the river on the morning of the 10th to gain information. He returned with the false report that General Brock, with all his disposable force, had moved off in the direction of Detroit.

² General Van Rensselaer's Letter to the Secretary of War, October 14, 1812.

³ On that evening Colonel Van Rensselaer wrote to his wife: "I go to storm an important post of the enemy. Young Lush and Gansevoort attend me. I must succeed, or you, my dear Harriet, will never see me again. If so, let me entreat you to meet my fall with fortitude; and be assured, my dear, lovely, but unfortunate wife, that my last prayer will be for you and my dear children."—MS. Letter, Lewiston, October 10, 1812. This letter is before me. It is much blotted by the tears of the soldier's wife, as I was informed by her daughter.

Second Attempt to invade Canada.

Military Etiquette.

Colonel Scott at Schlosser.

moving with his men to the landing-place, where only boats enough for the transportation of the troops appointed for the perilous service had been provided.

When the storm abated immediate preparations were made for the second attempt at invasion. Brock was watching the Americans with the eye of a vigilant and skillful commander. The river that divided the belligerents was narrow, and every open movement by each party might be observed by the other. Preparations were therefore made with great caution. Brock was deceived. The strong force at Fort Niagara, and the detention of Chrystie's troops at Four-mile Creek, made him suspect that an attack, if made soon, would be upon Fort George.

Three o'clock in the morning of the 13th was the appointed hour for the expedition to embark from the old Ferry-house at Lewiston Landing for the base of Queenston Heights. The command was again intrusted to Colonel Solomon Van Rensselaer. Lieutenant Colonel Chrystie was exceedingly anxious to have the honor of chief in the enterprise, and pleaded his rank and experience, as compared with that of the aid-de-camp of the general-in-chief, in favor of his claim. But Van Rensselaer would not change his general arrangements. It was agreed, however, that Colonel Van Rensselaer should lead a column of three hundred militia, and Lieutenant Colonel Chrystie should lead another composed of the same number of regulars, so that each might share in the hazards and glory of the expedition. Chrystie refused to waive his rank in favor of Van Rensselaer, but consented to receive orders from him. This technical distinction between waiving of rank and yielding obedience may be clear to military minds, but it is quite imperceptible to the common sense of a civilian.

At an early hour in the evening of the 12th,^a Chrystie marched with three hundred men from Fort Niagara by an interior road, and reached Lewiston before midnight. Lieutenant Colonels Stranahan, Mead, and Bloom, with three regiments, marched at about the same time from Niagara Falls,¹ and also reached Lewiston in good season. Meanwhile Lieutenant Colonel Scott had arrived at Schlosser, two miles above the Falls, at the head of his regiment, where he was informed that an expedition against the enemy of some kind was in motion at Lewiston.² Young,

^a October,
1812.

¹ To avoid attracting the attention of the British, these regiments left the Falls at different hours; Stranahan's started at seven in the evening, Mead's at eight, and Bloom's at nine.

² This fact was communicated to Scott by Colonel James Collier, now (1867) a citizen of Steubenville, Ohio. "He was adjutant of the same regiment (Colonel Henry Bloom's) wherein I was paymaster," wrote Arad Joy, Esq., of Ovid, New York, to the author in March, 1852. In a letter to me, written on the 20th of February, 1860, Colonel Collier says: "The regiment to which I was attached was stationed at the Falls. I had been down to head-quarters at Lewiston, seven miles below, on the 12th of October, and the orders for the marching of the troops at the Falls for that place were confided to me. About sunset I rode up to the head of the Rapids, a mile above our camp, and was surprised to see a detachment of troops pitching their tents. The officer in command, whom I did not then know, but who, I thought, was the finest specimen of a man I ever saw, was standing alongside of his horse near by. His rank I knew from his dress. I rode up to him and inquired if he was encamping for the night. 'Yes,' he replied. 'Then, sir,' I said, 'I think you can not know what is to be going on in the morning.' 'No, sir,' he said, 'I have not heard from head-quarters for several days. Is there any thing in the wind, sir?' I remarked that I included his command. 'I am Colonel Scott,' he said; 'will you allow me to look at your orders?' They were handed to him, and the moment he had read them he was in the saddle, his tents were struck, and his command under marching orders. The next I saw of the gallant soldier was on the Heights of Queenston in a perfect blaze of fire, and then, as now, head and shoulders taller than any man in the country."

Many years afterward, when Scott, as a major general, was bearing more years and many honors, Colonel Collier met him in Washington City, and the first words Scott addressed to him were, "I was indebted to you for my first fight. I have always felt under great obligations to you. If it had not been for you, colonel, what would have been my position? Seven miles from the battle-field, sir, and the first battle of a campaign! Why, sir, I should never have got over it during my life!" "It is pleasant now," wrote Colonel Collier, "in the sunset of my days, to recall this little incident, connected as it is with the greatest captain of the age in which he lives." A few months after receiving this letter, I had the pleasure of spending a day or two with Colonel Collier at Cleveland, on the occasion of the inauguration of the statue of Commodore Perry. He is a hale, erect gentleman, of what is called "the old school" in manners, and most delightful entertainer of company in conversation.

James Collier

Colonel Scott on Lewiston Heights. Passage of the River in the Dark. Landing at the Foot of Queenston Heights.

ardent, and eager for adventure and glory, he immediately mounted his horse, and dashed toward head-quarters as speedily as the horrid condition of the road would allow. He presented himself to the commanding general, and earnestly solicited the privilege of taking a part in the invasion with his command. "The arrangements for the expedition are all completed, sir," said General Van Rensselaer. "Colonel Van Rensselaer is in chief command. Lieutenant Colonels Chrystie and Fenwick have waived their rank for the occasion, and you may join the expedition as a volunteer, if you will do the same." Van Rensselaer wisely determined not to have a divided command. Scott was unwilling to yield his rank; but he pressed his suit so warmly that it was agreed that he should bring on his regiment, take position on the heights of Lewiston with his cannon, and co-operate in the attack as circumstances might warrant. Scott hastened back to Schlosser, put his regiment in motion, and by a forced march through the deep mud reached Lewiston at four o'clock in the morning.^a Again he importuned for permission to participate directly in the enterprise, but in vain. His rank would be equal, on the field, to that of Colonel Van Rensselaer, who had originated and planned the whole affair,¹ and who the commanding general resolved should have the honor of winning the laurels to be obtained by leadership.

The night of the 12th was intensely dark, yet every thing was in readiness for the invasion at a little after three o'clock in the morning.^b Mr. Cook, a citizen of Lewiston, had assumed the direction of the boats, and provided men to man them; Mr. Lovett, Van Rensselaer's secretary, had been placed in charge of an eighteen-pound gun in battery on Lewiston Heights, with instructions to cover the landing of the Americans on the Canada shore; and the six hundred men, under Van Rensselaer and Chrystie, were standing in a cold storm of wind and rain at the place of embarkation. It had been arranged for them to cross over and storm and take possession of Queenston Heights, when the remainder of the troops were to follow in a body and drive the British from the town. But there were only thirteen boats, and these were not sufficient to carry more than about one half of the troops intended for the capture of the Heights.² The regulars having reached the boats first, the companies of Wool, Malcolm, and Armstrong were immediately embarked, with forty picked men from Captain Leonard's company of artillery at Fort Niagara, under Lieutenants Gansevoort and Rathbone, and about sixty militia. When all were ready, Van Rensselaer gave the word to advance, and leaped into the boat containing the artilleryists. Major Morrison was ordered to follow with the remainder of the troops on the return of the boats.

The struggle with the eddies was brief. Within ten minutes after leaving Lewiston Landing the boats struck the Canada shore "at the identical spot aimed at," just above a huge rock now seen lying in the edge of the water under the Lewiston suspension bridge. There the militia were landed; the regulars debarked a little below the rock.³ Three of the thirteen boats had lost their way; the remaining ten now returned to the American shore.

The enemy were on the alert. The movements of the Americans had been discov-

¹ See note 2, page 381.

² This inadequate number of boats seems to have been owing to remissness in Quarter-master-general Porter's department. The quarter-master, then stationed at the Falls, had written to Van Rensselaer, "I can furnish you boats at two or three days' notice to carry over 1200 or 1400 men." A sufficient number for six or seven hundred were ordered, and the matter was left in charge of Judge Barton, the quarter-master's agent. He had forwarded only thirteen at the appointed hour. General Van Rensselaer has been censured for not having boats enough. It was no fault of his.

³ The view of the landing-place seen on the next page I sketched from a point a few yards below the Canadian end of the Lewiston Suspension Bridge. The rock mentioned in the text is a prominent object in the picture. It is at the foot of the rapids, where the river sweeps in a curve around Queenston Heights, a portion of which occupies a large part of the sketch. Above is seen the suspension bridge, with its steady-chains attached to the shore; and on the side of the opposite bank, looking up the river, the position of the railway, that lies upon a narrow shelf cut in the almost perpendicular shore of the river, is marked by a train of cars. The toll-house seen at the end of the bridge, on the right, shows the direction of the road from the bridge to the village of Queenston, not an eighth of a mile distant.

Opposition to the Invaders.

A Skirmish near Queenston Village.

American Officers killed and wounded.

ered by the sentinels, and Captain Dennis, of the Forty-ninth Regiment of British Regulars, stationed at Queenston, with sixty grenadiers of that corps, Captain Hatt's company of York volunteer militia,¹ a small body of Indians, and a three-pound field-piece, took position on the sloping shore, a little north of the site of the suspension bridge, to resist the debarkation. Their presence was first made known by a broad flash, then a volley of musketry that mortally wounded Lieutenant Rathbone, by the side of Colonel Van Rensselaer, be-



LANDING-PLACE OF THE AMERICANS AT QUEENSTON.

fore landing, and random shots from the field-piece along the line of the ferry at the moment when the boats touched the shore. These were answered by Lovett's battery on Lewiston Heights, when the enemy turned and fled up the hill toward Queenston, pursued by the regulars of the Thirteenth, under Captain Wool, the senior officer present, in the absence of Lieutenant Colonel Chrystie, who was in one of the missing boats.²

On the margin of the plateau on which Queenston stands Wool ceased pursuit, drew his men up in battle order, and was about to send to Colonel Van Rensselaer for directions, when that officer's aid, Judge Advocate Lush, came hurrying up with orders to prepare to storm the Heights. "We are ready," promptly responded the gallant Wool. Lush hastened back to the chief commander on the shore, and in a few minutes returned with orders for Wool to advance. He was moving rapidly over the plateau toward the foot of the Heights, when the order for storming was countermanded, and the troops were brought to a halt near the present entrance to the village from the bridge. Captain Dennis, meanwhile, had been strengthened by the arrival on the Heights of the Light Infantry under Captain Williams, and a company of the York militia under Captain Chisholm; and just as Wool's command had taken their resting position in battle order, Dennis and his full force, already mentioned, fell heavily on the right flank of the Americans. At the same time, Williams and Chisholm opened a severe fire in their front from the brow of the Heights. Without waiting for farther orders, Wool wheeled his column to the right and confronted the force of the enemy on the plain, where with deadly aim his men poured a very severe fire into their ranks. Van Rensselaer and the militia had taken a position on the left of the Thirteenth in the mean time. The engagement was severe but short, and the enemy were compelled to fall back to Queenston. Both parties suffered much—the Americans most severely. Of the ten officers of the Thirteenth who were present, two were killed and five were seriously wounded. The former were Lieutenant Vallean³ and Ensign Morris;⁴ the latter were Captains Wool, Malcolm, and Armstrong, and Ensign

¹ Captain Samuel Hatt was one of the most esteemed and richest men in the province. He entered the service under the impulse of the purest patriotism only, and took this subordinate station.

² The three missing boats were commanded respectively by Lieutenant Colonel Chrystie, Captain Lawrence, and an unknown subaltern. Chrystie's boat was driven by the currents and eddies upon the New York shore, and he ordered Lawrence's back, while the third fell into the hands of the enemy, it having struck the shore at the mouth of the creek, just north of Queenston.

³ John Vallean was commissioned first lieutenant of the Thirteenth Regiment on the 24th of March, 1812.

⁴ Robert Morris, appointed ensign in the Thirteenth Regiment March 12, 1812.

Van Rensselaer and Wool wounded. Van Rensselaer borne away. Wool takes the Command. Sketch of Wool.

Lent.¹ The militia suffered very little; but Colonel Van Rensselaer was so badly wounded in several places that he was compelled to relinquish the command. A bullet passed through both of Wool's thighs, and both Malcolm² and Armstrong³ were wounded in the left thigh. A considerable number of the Americans were made prisoners.

While Wool and his command were engaged with the enemy on the plain, those upon the Heights kept up a desultory fire upon the Americans, which the latter could not well respond to. Perceiving this, Van Rensselaer ordered the whole detachment to fall back to the beach below the hill, in a place of more security. They did so, but were not absolutely sheltered from the fire of the enemy above. One man was killed and several were wounded by their shots.

It was now broad daylight, and the storm had ceased. While the detachment was forming for farther action on the margin of the river, a fourth company of the 13th, under Captain Ogilvie, crossed and joined them. No time was to be lost. The Heights must be stormed and taken, or the expedition would be a failure. Lieutenant Colonel Chrystie had not been heard from. Van Rensselaer was disabled. All the other officers were young men. Not a single commission was more than six months old, and Captain Wool, the senior of them all in rank, was only twenty-three years of age—too young, Van Rensselaer thought, to be intrusted with an undertaking so important. He had never been under fire before that morning, and was already badly wounded. True, in the fight just ended, his metal had given out the ring of that of a true soldier. The alternative was great risk and a chance for honor, or total abandonment of the enterprise and the pointings of the finger of scorn. The choice was soon made. Wool had asked for orders; had been told that the capture of the Heights was the great object of the expedition; and, notwithstanding his severe flesh wounds and the inexperience of himself and his men, he had expressed his eagerness to make the attempt. Van Rensselaer ordered him to that duty, and at the same time he directed his aid-de-camp Lush to follow the little column and shoot every man who should falter, for symptoms of weak courage had already appeared.

Elated with the order, young Wool almost forgot his bleeding wounds. He was light and lithe in person, full of ambition and enthusiasm, and beloved by his companions in arms.⁴ All followed him cheerfully. Ordering Captain Ogilvie, with his

¹ James W. Lent, Jr., appointed ensign in the Thirteenth Regiment May 1, 1812. In March, 1813, he was promoted to first lieutenant of artillery. He was retained in 1815, and became active in the quarter-master's department in 1816. Left the service in 1817.

² Richard M. Malcolm was commissioned captain in the Thirteenth Regiment of Infantry on the 8th of April, 1812. In March, 1813, he was promoted to major, and in June, 1814, to lieutenant colonel of the same regiment. He was disbanded in June, 1815.—Gardner's *Dictionary of the Army*, page 307.

³ Henry B. Armstrong, yet (1867) living, is a son of General John Armstrong, the Secretary of War in 1814. He was commissioned a captain in the Thirteenth Regiment in April, 1812; promoted to major the following year; in June, 1813, distinguished himself at Stony Creek; became lieutenant colonel of the First Rifle Regiment in September, 1815; and was disbanded in June, 1815. Although nearly eighty years of age when the Great Rebellion broke out in 1861, he went to Washington City and tendered to the government the services of himself and two sons. He then resided on an ample estate in Red Hook, Dutchess County, New York.

⁴ John Ellis Wool, now (1867) a major general in the army of the United States, is a son of a soldier of the Revolution, and continued in that avocation until fire swept away all his worldly goods. He then commenced the study of law with John Russell, in Troy, in a small building recently standing on Second Street, nearly opposite General Wool's present residence. War with Great Britain was soon afterward looked upon as inevitable, and young Wool, feeling the old fire of his father stirring within him, left his books to seek usefulness and honor in the field. Upon the recommendation of De Witt Clinton he obtained a commission as captain in the 13th United States Regiment in the spring of 1812. It is dated March 14, 1812. War was declared in little more than ninety days afterward, and in September his regiment, under Lieutenant Colonel Chrystie, was ordered to the



RUSSELL'S LAW OFFICE.

Scaling Queenston Heights.

General Brock at Fort George.

His Expectation of an Invasion.



John Wool

by Sir James Craig. He had been in expectation of an invasion at some point for several days, and only the night before he had given each of his staff special instructions.¹

Niagara frontier. His gallant bearing there is recorded in the text. Because of his bravery at Queenston he was promoted to major in the 29th Regiment of Infantry in April, 1813. For his gallant conduct at Plattsburg, in September, 1814, he was promoted to lieutenant colonel in December following. He was retained in the army in 1815, and on the 29th of September, 1816, was appointed inspector general of division, and in 1821 inspector general of the army of the United States, with the rank of colonel. In 1826 he was made a brigadier general by brevet "for ten years' faithful service." His reports to the government on matters pertaining to the service were always models of their kind, and always elicited encomiums. His discipline was always perfect and most efficient, and his sleepless vigilance has made him on all occasions one of the most trusted officers in the service.

In 1822, General Wool was sent to Europe to collect information connected with military science. He received great attention, especially in France, where, on one occasion, he formed one of the suite of Louis Philippe at a grand review of 10,000 men. In November of the same year he accompanied the King of Belgium at a review of 100,000 troops, and visited the fortifications of Antwerp. In 1825, when hostilities with France were anticipated, General Wool made a thorough inspection of all the sea-coast defenses, and submitted an admirable report to government. In 1826 he was ordered to the service of removing the Cherokee Indians to Arkansas. In that mission he displayed some of the highest traits of a soldier and statesman. In 1838, while the Canadian provinces were disturbed by insurrection, Wool was sent to the wilds of Maine to look after the defenses of the border. In the Mexican war his services as a tactician, disciplinarian, and as an administrative and executive officer in the field were of incalculable benefit to the country. These are all recorded by the pen of the grateful historian. For his gallant conduct in that war he was breveted a major general, and on his return home he was every where met with the most enthusiastic greetings. As tokens of approbation, three swords were presented to him, one by the citizens of Troy, another by the State of New York, and a third by the United States.

Toward the close of 1835, when filibustering expeditions were fitted out on the Western coast, the command of the *Department of the Pacific* was intrusted to General Wool. It was a post of great labor and trust, involving as it did international questions of a delicate nature, and peculiar relations with Indian tribes. His activity, vigilance, and untiring energy in that field were wonderful. In the spring of 1855 he made a tour of inspection and reconnaissance through the distant Territories of Oregon and Washington. On the breaking out of hostilities in that region in the fall of 1855, Wool repaired to the scene of trouble, and was efficient in ending them. He remained in California until near the close of President Pierce's administration, when he was relieved, and placed in command of the *Department of the East*, comprising the whole country eastward of the Mississippi River. He was every where received with the greatest enthusiasm, and especially at Troy, his place of residence. He was there engaged in the quiet routine of his office when the rising tide of the great rebellion, that broke out at the close of 1860, commanded his attention. With his wonted energy, he warned and entreated the national government to prepare for a great emergency; and when, in April, 1861, Fort Sumter was attacked, and the national capital was menaced by the rebels, General Wool conceived and executed such efficient measures at New York, that it is not too much to say that he was one of the chief instruments in the salvation of the republic from the hand of the destroyer. In July he entered upon active service at Fortress Monroe as commander of that post, where he stood in the delicate and most important position of sentinel at the portal opening between the loyal and disloyal territories of the republic. He remained there almost a year, when he was commissioned a full major general in the army of the United States, and transferred to the command at Baltimore and vicinity. In 1863 he retired to private life.

¹ Beacons had been placed at convenient distances between Kingston and Fort George to give notice in the event of an invasion, but in the confusion they were not lighted. The late Honorable William Hamilton Merritt, M.P., then a

fresh troops to take the right of the column, he sprang forward and commenced the perilous ascent, guided by Lieutenants Gansevoort and Randolph, who were well acquainted with the way. The picked artillerymen led the column; and in many places the precipice was so steep that the troops were compelled to pull themselves up by means of bushes. They were concealed from the enemy by the shelter of the rocks and shrubbery; and near the top of the acclivity they struck a fisherman's path, which the enemy supposed to be impassable, and had neglected to guard it.

While Wool and his little band were scaling the Heights, the British were making movements under great uncertainty. The vigilant Sir Isaac Brock at Fort George, about seven miles distant, had heard the cannonading before dawn. He aroused his aid-de-camp, Major Glegg, and called for Alfred, his favorite horse, presented to him

Brock hastens toward Queenston.	His perilous Position.	Attack on Wool.	Death of Brock.
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But so confident was he that the attack would be made from Fort Niagara, that he considered the demonstration above as only a feint to conceal that movement; yet, as a vigilant soldier, he instantly resolved to obtain personal knowledge of the situation of affairs. Mounting Alfred, he pushed toward Queenston at full speed, followed by his aids, Major Glegg and Colonel M'Donell. The journey of seven miles was made in little more than half an hour. Arriving at Queenston, Sir Isaac and his companions rode up the Heights at full gallop, exposed to a severe enfilading fire of artillery from the American shore. On reaching the redan battery, half way up the Heights,¹ they dismounted, took a general view of affairs, and pronounced them favorable. Suddenly the crack of musketry in their rear startled them. Wool and his followers had successfully scaled the Heights, and were close upon them. Brock and his aids had not time to remount. Leading their horses at full gallop, they fled down the slope to the village, followed by the twelve men who manned the battery. A few minutes afterward the Stars and Stripes—the symbol of the Union—the insignia of the Republic—were waving over the captured redan, and greeting the rays of the early morning sun, then struggling in fitful gleams through the breaking clouds. This was the third time within three months that the standard of the United States had been victoriously displayed on the soil of Canada.² Wool's triumph for the moment was complete.

Brock immediately dispatched a courier to General Sheaffe at Fort George with orders to push forward re-enforcements, and, at the same time, open fire upon Fort Niagara. He then took command of Captain Williams's detachment of one hundred men, and hastened up the slope toward the battery, behind which Captain Wool had placed his little band, with their faces toward Queenston, to await an attack. Dennis soon joined Brock with his detachment, when a movement was made to turn the American flank. The vigilant Wool perceived it, and immediately sent out fifty men to keep the flanking party in check, and to take possession of the "Mountain," or crown of the Heights, where the monument now stands. But they were too few for the purpose, and even when re-enforced they were too weak to stem the steady advance of the veteran enemy. The whole detachment fell back with some confusion. The enemy, inspired by this movement, pressed forward, and pushed the Americans to the verge of the precipice, which overlooks the deep chasm of the swift-flowing river more than two hundred feet below. Wool's little band was in a most perilous position. Death by ball, bayonet, or flood seemed inevitable, and Captain Ogilvie raised a white handkerchief on the point of a bayonet in token of surrender. The incensed Wool sprang forward, snatched away that token of submission, addressed a few spirited words to his officers and soldiers, begging them to fight on so long as the ammunition should last, and then resort to the bayonet. Waving his sword, he led his inspired comrades to a renewal of the conflict with so much impetuosity that the enemy broke and fled down the Heights in dismay, and took shelter in and behind a large stone building near the edge of the river. Sir Isaac was amazed and mortified; and to his favorite grenadiers he shouted, "This is the first time I have seen the Forty-ninth turn their backs!" His voice and the stinging rebuke of his words checked them. At the same time Lieutenant Colonel M'Donell brought up two flank companies of York Volunteers, under Captains Cameron and Howard, which had just arrived from Brown's Point, three miles below. The fugitives had rallied, and Sir Isaac turned to lead them up the Heights. His tall figure was a conspicuous object for the American sharpshooters. First a bullet struck his wrist, wounding it slightly. A moment afterward, as he shouted "Push on the York Volunteers," another bullet entered his breast, passed out through his side, and left a

major at the head of a corps of cavalry, called the Niagara Dragoons, immediately dispatched a courier to Brock. He reached Fort George early, but found Brock about ready to take the saddle.

¹ A redan is a rampart in the following form, V, having its angle toward the enemy, and open in the rear.

² At Sandwich by Hull (see page 262); at Gananoqui by Forsyth (see page 373); and at Queenston by Wool.

Capture of Queenston Heights.

Character of the Exploit.

Passage of the River by Re-enforcements.

death-wound. He fell from his horse at the foot of the slope, and lived long enough to request those around him to conceal his death from the troops, and to send some token of his remembrance to his sister in England. But his death could not be concealed more than a few minutes. When it became known, the bitter words "Revenge the general!" burst from the lips of the Forty-ninth. M'Donell assumed the command, and, at the head of them and the York Militia, one hundred and ninety strong, he charged up the hill to dispute with Wool the mastery of the Heights. The struggle was desperate, and the Americans, doubtful of the issue, spiked the cannon in the redan. Both parties were led gallantly and fought bravely. But when M'Donell fell mortally wounded,¹ and Dennis and Williams were both severely injured, and were compelled to leave the field, the British fell back in some confusion to Vrooman's Point, a mile below, leaving the young American commander and his little band of two hundred and forty men masters of Queenston Heights, after three distinct and bloody battles, fought within the space of about five hours. Taking all things into consideration—the passage of the river, the nature of the ground, the rawness of the troops (for most of the regulars were raw recruits), the absence of cannon, and the youth and wounds of the American commander, the events of that morning were, "indeed, a display of intrepidity," as Wilkinson afterward wrote, "rarely exhibited, in which the conduct and the execution were equally conspicuous. . . . Under all the circumstances, and on the *scale* of the operations, the impartial soldier and competent judge will name this brilliant affair a *chef-d'œuvre* of the war."²

It was now about ten o'clock in the morning. Although bleeding and in much pain, Wool would not leave the field, but kept vigorously at work in preparations to defend the position he had gained. He drew his troops up in line on the Heights fronting the village, ordered Gansevoort and Randolph to drill out the spiked cannon in the redan, and bring it to bear upon the enemy near Vrooman's, and sent out scouts to watch the movements of the foe.

Meanwhile re-enforcements and supplies were slowly crossing the river. In the passage they were greatly annoyed by the fire from the one-gun battery on Vrooman's Point. The first that arrived on the Heights was a detachment of the Sixth Regiment under Captain M'Chesney; another, of the Thirteenth, under Captain Lawrence; and a party of New York state riflemen, under Lieutenant Smith. These were immediately detached as flanking parties. They were soon followed by others, and before noon Major General Van Rensselaer, Brigadier General Wadsworth, Lieutenant Colonels Scott, Fenwick, Strahan, and Major Mullany, were on the Heights, while a few militia were slowly

J. R. Mullany

¹ Lieutenant M'Donell was a brilliant and promising young man. He was the attorney general of Upper Canada, and was only twenty-five years of age. He was wounded in five places, one bullet passing through his body, yet he survived twenty hours in great agony. During that time he constantly lamented the fall of his commander.—Tupper's *Life*, etc., of Brock, page 322.

² *Wilkinson's Memoirs*, i., 577. The officers who participated with Captain Wool, and received from him, in his report to Colonel Van Rensselaer, special commendation, were Captain Peter Ogilvie, and Lieutenants Kearney, Huginin, Carr, and Sammons, of the Thirteenth, Lieutenants Gansevoort and Randolph, of the light artillery, and Major Lush, of the militia. Captain Ogilvie resigned in June, 1813. Lieutenant Stephen Watts Kearney, who was a native of New Jersey, was retained in the service in 1815, having risen to the rank of captain. He was made a major by brevet in 1823, and full major in 1829. In the spring of 1839 he was promoted to lieutenant colonel of dragoons, and to colonel of the same in 1836. In 1846 he was promoted to brigadier general, went into the war with Mexico, and made conquest of the province of New Mexico. For his gallant conduct there and in California he was made major general by brevet. In March, 1847, he was appointed Governor of California. He died in October, 1848. His brother, Philip Kearney, who lost an arm in the battles before the city of Mexico, was a brigadier general in the army raised to put down the Great Rebellion in 1861, and was killed in battle near Fairfax Court-house, in Virginia, September 1, 1862. Lieutenant Daniel Huginin was a representative in Congress for New York from 1825 to 1827. He died in Wisconsin in 1850. Lieutenant Gansevoort, who had been in the artillery service since 1806, was distinguished a little more than a month later at Fort Niagara. He became captain of artillery in May, 1813, and left the service in March, 1814. Lieutenant Thomas Beverly Randolph was aid-de-camp to General Carrington and captain of infantry in the spring of 1813. He resigned in 1815. He was lieutenant colonel of Hamtramck's regiment of Virginia volunteers in Mexico in 1847. Lieutenant Stephen Lush (acting major at Queenston) was aid to General Izard, and dangerously wounded before Chippewa in October, 1814.

Colonel Scott on Queenston Heights.	Wadsworth's Generosity.	Indians on the Field.	Influence of Scott.
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passing over the river. Van Rensselaer took immediate steps for fortifying the position, under the direction of Lieutenant Totten, of the Engineers, and dispatched an aid-de-camp to hasten the passage of the militia.

Lieutenant Colonel Scott, as we have observed, arrived at Lewiston with his command at four o'clock that morning. He placed his heavy guns in battery on the shore under the immediate command of Captains Towson and Barker. Having received permission from Van Rensselaer to cross over as a volunteer and take command of the troops on the Heights, he reached the Canada shore, with his adjutant Roach, just after Wadsworth, with a small detachment of volunteers, had crossed without orders. He unexpectedly found that officer upon the mountain, and immediately proposed to limit his own command to the regulars; but the generous and patriotic Wadsworth promptly waived his rank, and said, "You, sir, know professionally what ought to be done. I am here for the honor of my country and that of the New York militia." Scott at once assumed the general command, at the head of three hundred and fifty regulars and two hundred and fifty volunteers, the latter under General Wadsworth and Lieutenant Colonel Stranahan. Assisted by the skillful Lieutenant Totten, Scott placed them in the strongest possible position to receive the enemy and to cover the ferry, expecting to be re-enforced at once by the militia from the opposite shore. He was doomed to most profound mortification and disappointment.

While Scott was absent for a short time, superintending the unspiking of the cannon in the redan, a troop of Indians suddenly appeared on the left, led by Captain Norton, a half-breed, but under the general command of Chief John Brant, a young, lithe, and graceful son of the great Mohawk warrior and British ally of that name in the Revolution. Brant made his first appearance in the field on this occasion. He was dressed, painted, and plumed in Indian style from head to foot. His lieutenant and most valued companion was a dark, powerfully-built chief known as Captain Jacobs. Another was Norton, the half-breed just mentioned. They and their followers were the allies of the British, and came mostly from the settlements of the Six Nations, on the Grand River, in Canada.¹

It was between one and two o'clock in the afternoon when this cloud of dusky warriors swept along the brow of the mountain in portentous fury, with gleaming tomahawks and other savage weapons, and fell upon the American pickets, driving them in upon the main line of the militia in great confusion. The fearful war-whoop struck terror to many a white man's heart, and the militia were about to fly ignobly, when Scott appeared, his tall form—head and shoulders above all others—attracting every eye, and his trumpet-voice commanding the attention of every ear. He instantly brought order out of confusion. He suddenly changed the front of his line; and his troops, catching inspiration from his voice and acts, raised a shout and fell with such fury upon the Indians that they fled in dismay to the woods after a sharp, short engagement. But they were soon rallied by the dauntless Brant,² and contin-

¹ The British found considerable difficulty in inducing these Indians to join them. The authorities of the United States used every effort in their power to keep the Indians from the contest on both sides, knowing their cruel mode of warfare. Cornplanter, the venerable Seneca chief, did all in his power to keep his race neutral. At the request of the United States government, he induced their influential chiefs, named respectively Blue Eyes, Johnson, Silver Heels, and Jacob Snow, to visit the Indians on the Grand River, talk with them about remaining neutral, and bring back an answer. In a manuscript letter before me from Robert Hoops to Major Van Campen, is an interesting account of a meeting at Cornplanter's to hear their report. Mr. Hoops, Francis King, and John Watson were the white representatives present. Blue Eyes made the report. He said the Indians told him that they did not want to go to war, but remarked, "It is the President of the United States makes war upon us. We know not your disputes. The British talk much against the Americans, and the Americans talk much against the British. We know not which is right. The British say the Americans want to take our lands. We do not want to fight, nor do we intend to disturb you; but if you come to take our land, we are determined to defend ourselves." The three commissioners cautioned the Senecas not to use strong drinks, to keep quietly at home, and refrain from engaging in the war. Had the British been equally mindful of the claims of civilization, the historian would have many less atrocities to record.

² John Brant, whose Indian name was *Ahyowahgahe*, was a son of Joseph Brant, or *Thayendanegea*, and was born at the Mohawk village, on the Grand River, in Canada, on the 27th of September, 1794, and was only eighteen years of

Approach of British under Sheaffe.

Chrystie takes Wool's Place.

Sheaffe's Re-enforcements.

ned to annoy the Americans until Scott, at the head of a considerable portion of his army, made a general assault upon them, and drove them from the Heights. At the same time, General Sheaffe was seen cautiously approaching with re-enforcements from Fort George, his troops making the road near Vrooman's all aglow with scarlet. Lieutenant Colonel Chrystie had just arrived upon the battle-field for the first time. He had crossed and recrossed the river, but did not appear upon the Heights until in the afternoon,¹ when he took command of the Thirteenth Regiment, and ordered Captain Wool, who had endured toil and suffering for more than twelve hours, to the American shore to have his wounds dressed.

At Vrooman's, General Sheaffe, who had succeeded Brock in command, joined the fragments of the different corps who had been driven from the Heights when Brock was killed, with heavy re-enforcements.



John Brant

age when he appeared as leader on the battle-field at Queenston. He received a good English education at Ancaster and Niagara, and was a diligent student of English authors. He loved nature, and studied its phenomena with discrimination. He was manly and amiable, and at the time in question was in every respect an accomplished gentleman. On the death of his father in 1807, he became the *Tekarihoga*, or principal chief of the Six Nations, although he was the fourth and youngest son. As such he took the field in 1812 in the British interest, and was engaged in most of the military events on the Niagara frontier during the war. At the close of the contest he and his young sister Elizabeth took up their residence at the home of their father, at the head of Lake Ontario, where they lived in the English style, and dispensed hospitalities with a liberal hand. The reader will find a full account of this residence and of the family at the time in question in Stone's *Life of Joseph Brant*. Young Brant went to England in 1821 on business for the Six Nations, and there took occasion to defend the character of his father from aspersions in Campbell's *Gertrude of Wyoming*. He was successful in his proof, but the poet had not the generosity or manliness to strike the calumnies from his poem, and there they remain to this day. On his return Brant went to work zealously for the moral improvement of his people, in which he was successful. In 1827 Governor Dalhousie appointed him to the rank of captain in the represented in the engraving.



BRANT'S MONUMENT.

This monument will be noticed more particularly presently.

¹ The conduct of Lieutenant Colonel Chrystie on this occasion was not wholly reconcilable with our ideas of a true soldier. In a manuscript letter before me, written by Colonel Solomon Van Rensselaer to General Wilkinson in January, 1816, he accuses Chrystie with cowardice, and says Captain Lawrence, whose boat Chrystie ordered back at the crossing (see note 2, page 306), openly charged him with it. Van Rensselaer gives it as his opinion that much of the bad conduct of the militia in refusing to cross the river in the afternoon was owing to the example of this officer. On the other hand, General Van Rensselaer makes honorable mention of him in his report written the next day, and he

British army and Superintendent of the Six Nations. He was elected a member of the Provincial Parliament in 1832 for the county of Haldimand, which comprehended a good portion of the territory originally granted to the Mohawks. Technical disability gave the seat to another, after he had filled it for a while. But during that very summer the competitors were both laid in the grave by that terrible scourge, *Asiatic cholera*. He died at the Mohawk village where he was born, at the age of forty-eight years, and was buried in the same vault with his father, in the burying-ground of the Mohawk Church, a short distance from Brantford, in Canada, over which has been erected a substantial mausoleum,

He moved cautiously. Near Vrooman's he left two pieces of artillery to command the town, filed to the right, and crossed the country to the little village of St. David's, three miles westward of Queenston, and by that circuitous route, after marching and countermarching as if reconnoitring the American lines, he gained the rear of that portion of the Heights on which they were posted, and formed in Elijah Phelps's fields on the Chippewa road.¹ There he was joined by the 41st Grenadiers and some militia and Indians from Chippewa, when the whole British army confronting that of the Americans was more than one thousand strong, exclusive of their dusky allies.² The Americans, according to the most careful estimate, did not exceed six hundred in number.

When Sheaffe appeared, General Van Rensselaer was on the Heights. He immediately crossed the river to push forward re-enforcements. He failed. The militia, who had been so brave in speech and clamorous to be led against the enemy, refused to cross. The smell of gunpowder, even from afar, seems to have paralyzed their honor and their courage. Van Rensselaer rode up and down among them, alternately threatening and imploring. Lieutenant Colonel Bloom, who had been wounded in action and had returned, and Judge Peck, who happened to be at Lewiston, did the same, but without effect. Van Rensselaer appealed to their patriotism, their honor, and their humanity, but in vain. They pleaded their exemption as militia, under the Constitution and laws, from being taken out of their own state! and under that miserable shield they hoped to find shelter from the storm of indignation which their cowardice was sure to evoke. Like poltroons as they were, they stood on the shore at Lewiston while their brave companions in arms on Queenston Heights were menaced with inevitable destruction or captivity. All that Van Rensselaer could do was to send over some munitions of war, with a letter to General Wadsworth, ordering him to retreat if in his judgment the salvation of the troops depended upon such movement, and promising him a supply of boats for the purpose. But this promise he could not fulfill. The boatmen on the shore were as cowardly as the militia on the plain above. Many of them had fled panic-stricken, and the boats were dispersed.

Wadsworth communicated Van Rensselaer's letter to the field officers. They perceived no chance for re-enforcements, no means for a retreat, and no hope of succor from any human source except their own valor and vigorous arms. They resolved to meet the oncoming overwhelming force like brave soldiers. Scott sprang upon a log, his tall form towering conspicuous above all,³ and addressed the little army in a few stirring words as the British came thundering on. "The enemy's balls," he said, begin to thin our ranks. His numbers are overwhelming. In a moment the shock must come, and there is no retreat. We are in the beginning of a national war. Hull's surrender is to be redeemed. Let us, then, die arms in hand. The country demands the sacrifice. The example will not be lost. The blood of the slain will make heroes of the living. Those who follow will avenge our fall and their country's wrongs. Who dare to stand?" "All! all!" was the generous response; and in that spirit they received the first heavy blow of the enemy on their right wing.⁴

was promoted to the office of inspector general. He did not live long enough to test his mettle fairly. He died at Fort George, in Canada, on the 22d of July, 1813.

¹ MS. Journal of Captain William Hamilton Merritt.
² Sheaffe's re-enforcements, with whom he marched from Fort George, consisted of almost four hundred of the 41st Regiment, under Captain Derenzy, and about three hundred militia. The latter consisted of the flank companies of the 1st Regiment of Lincoln Militia, under Captains J. Crooks and M'Ewen; the flank companies of the 4th Regiment of Lincoln Militia, under Captains Nellis and W. Crooks; Captains Hall's, Durand's, and Applegarth's companies of the 5th Regiment of Lincoln Militia; Major Merritt's Yeomanry Corps, and a body of Swayzee's Militia Artillery under Captains Powell and Cameron. Those from Chippewa were commanded by Colonel Clark, and consisted of Captain Bullock's company of Grenadiers of the 41st Regiment; the flank companies of the 2d Lincoln Regiment, under Captains Hamilton and Rowe, and the Volunteer Sedentary Militia. Brant and Jacobs commanded the Indians. Two three-pounders, under the charge of Lieutenant Crowther, of the 41st Regiment, accompanied the troops.

³ General Scott was six feet five inches in height. He was then slender, graceful, and commanding in form; for several years before his death he was ponderous, yet exceedingly dignified in his appearance.

⁴ Scott was in full-dress uniform, and, being taller than his companions, was a conspicuous and important mark for

Battle on Queenston Heights.

Perils of the Americans.

Heroes and Cowards made Prisoners of War.

Sheaffe opened the battle at about four o'clock by directing Lieutenant McIntyre, with the Light Company of the 41st on the left of his column, supported by a body of militia, Indians, and negroes under Captain Runchey, to fall upon the American right. They fired a single volley with considerable execution, and then charged with a tremendous tumult, the white men shouting and the Indians ringing out the fearful war-whoop and hideous yells. The Americans were overpowered by the onslaught and gave way, for their whole available force did not much exceed three hundred men. Perceiving this, Sheaffe ordered his entire line to charge, while the two field-pieces were brought to bear upon the American ranks. The effect was powerful. The Americans yielded and fled in utter confusion toward the river, down the slope by the redan, and along the road leading from Queenston to the Falls. The latter were cut off by the Indians, and forced through the woods toward the precipices along the bank of the river. Others, who had reached the water's edge, were also cut off from farther retreat by a lack of boats. Meanwhile the American commander had sent several messengers with flags, bearing offers to capitulate. The Indians shot them all, and continued a murderous onslaught upon the terrified fugitives. Some of them were killed in the woods, some were driven over the precipices and perished on the rocks or in the rushing river below, while others escaped by letting themselves down from bush to bush, and swimming the flood. At length Lieutenant Colonel Scott, in the midst of the greatest peril, reached the British commanding general, and offered to surrender the whole force.¹ The Indians were called from their bloody work, terms of capitulation were soon agreed to, and all the Americans on the British side became prisoners of war. These, to the utter astonishment of their own commanders, amounted to about nine hundred, when not more than six hundred, regulars and militia, were known to have been on the Canada shore at any time during the day, and not more than half that number were engaged in the fight on the Heights. The mystery was soon explained. Several hundred militia had crossed over during the morning. Two hundred of them, under Major Mullany, who crossed early in the day, were forced by the current of the river under the range of Vrooman's battery, and were captured. Two hundred and ninety-three, who were in the battle, were surrendered; and the remainder, having seen the wounded crossing the river, the painted Indians, and the "green tigers," as they called the 49th, whose coats were faced with green, skulked below the banks, and had no more to do with the battle than spectators in a balloon might have claimed. But they were a part of the invading army, were found on British soil, and were properly prisoners of war. The British soldiers, after the battle, plucked them from their hiding-places, and made them a part of the triumphal procession with which General Sheaffe returned to Fort George.²

the enemy. He was urged to change his dress. "No," he said, smiling, "I will die in my robes." As in the case of Washington on the field of Monongahela, the Indians took special aim at Scott, but could not hit him.

¹ Scott fixed a white cravat on the point of his sword as a flag of truce, and, accompanied by Captains Totten (from whose neck the "flag was taken) and Gibson, made his way along the river shore, under shelter of the precipice, to a gentle slope, up which they hastened to the road leading from the village to the Heights, exposed to the random fire of the Indians. Just as they reached the road they were met by two Indians, who sprang upon them like tigers. They would not listen to Scott's declaration that he was under the protection of a flag and was going to surrender. They attempted to

The image shows two handwritten signatures in cursive ink. The top signature is "J. Totten" and the bottom signature is "A. Gibson".

wrench his sword from him, when Totten and Gibson drew theirs. The Indians, who were armed with rifles, instantly fired, but without effect, and were about to use their knives and tomahawks, when a British sergeant, accompanied by a guard, seeing the encounter, rushed forward, crying Honor! honor! took the Americans under his protection, and conducted them to the presence of General Sheaffe. — *Life and Services of General Winfield Scott*, by Edward Mansfield, page 44.

² The authorities consulted in compiling the foregoing account of events on the Niagara frontier, in this and the preceding chapter, are as follows: Official Reports of Generals Van Rensselaer and Sheaffe, Lieutenant Colonel Chrystie and Captain Wool; oral and written statements of Captain (now Major General) Wool to the Author; MS. Order and

The entire loss of the Americans during that eventful day, according to the most careful estimates, was ninety killed, about one hundred wounded, and between eight and nine hundred made prisoners, causing an entire loss, in rank and file, of about eleven hundred men. The British loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners (the latter taken in the morning), was about one hundred and thirty. The number of Indians engaged and their loss is not positively known.¹ Captain Norton was wounded, but not severely. All parties engaged in the fight on that day behaved with exemplary courage, and deserved, as they received, the encomiums of their respective generals, and the thanks of their respective governments.²

Brigadier General Wadsworth was in command when the army was surrendered. He delivered his sword to General Sheaffe in person. The ceremony of formal surrender occurred at near sunset, when the prisoners, officers, and men were marched to the village of Newark (now Niagara), at the mouth of the Niagara River. There the officers were quartered in a small tavern, and placed under guard. While waiting for an escort to conduct them to the head-quarters of General Sheaffe, a little girl entered the parlor and said that somebody in the hall wanted to see the "tall officer." Scott, who was unarmed, immediately went out, when he was confronted by the two Indians who had made such a violent assault upon him while bearing a flag of truce. Young Brant immediately stepped up to Scott and inquired how many balls had passed through his clothing, as they had both fired at him incessantly, and had been astonished continually at not seeing him fall. Jacobs, at the same time, seized Scott rudely, and attempted to whirl him around, exclaiming, "Me shoot so often, me sure

Letter Books of General Stephen Van Rensselaer; MS. correspondence of Colonel Solomon Van Rensselaer; Oral Narratives of Soldiers in the Battle at Queenston, living in Canada in 1860; Perkins's *History of the Late War*; Brackenridge's *History of the Late War*; Thornton's *Historical Sketches of the Late War*; Colonel Solomon Van Rensselaer's *Narrative of the Affair at Queenston*; Ingersoll's *Historical Sketch of the Second War, etc.*; Niles's *Weekly Register*; the *War*; Stone's *Life of Brant*; *Sketches of the War*, by an anonymous writer; Armstrong's *Notices of the War of 1812*; Mansfield's *Life and Services of General Winfield Scott*; Baylis's *Battle of Queenston*; *Files of the New York Herald*, or semi-weekly *Evening Post*; James's *Military Occurrences of the Late War*; Auchinleck's *History of the War of 1812*; Tupper's *Lives and Correspondence of Sir Isaac Brock*; Christie's *Military Operations in Canada*; Jarvis's *Narrative*; Manuscript Journal of Major Merritt; Symonds's *Battle of Queenston Heights*.

¹ British writers widely disagree in their estimates concerning the Indian force on that occasion. It is known that there were some with Dennis in the morning, that others accompanied Sheaffe from Fort George in the afternoon, and that he was joined on the Heights by others from Chippewa. I think the Six Nations were represented on that day by about two hundred and fifty warriors.

² General Sheaffe named almost every commissioned officer engaged in the battle as entitled to high praise. He specially commended Captain Holcroft, of the Royal Artillery, for his skillful and judicious use of the ordnance in his charge; also Lieutenant Crowther for similar service. He gave credit to Captain Glegg, Brock's aid-de-camp, for great assistance; also to Lieutenant Fowler, assistant deputy quarter-master general, Lieutenant Kerr, of the Glangery Fencibles, Lieutenant Colonels Butler and Clarke, and Captains Hall, Durand, Rowe, Applegarth, James Crooks, Cooper, Robert Hamilton, M'Ewen, and Duncan Cameron. Lieutenants Richardson and Thomas Butler, and Major Merritt, of the Niagara Dragoons, were all highly spoken of. He added to the list of honor the names of Volunteers Shaw, Thomson, and Jarvis. The latter (G. S. Jarvis) wrote an interesting account of the battle. He was attached to the light company of the Forty-ninth Regiment. Upon Major General Brock, his slain aid-de-camp (Colonel M'Donell), and Captains Dennis and Williams, he bestowed special and deserved encomium for their gallantry.

In contrast with this dispatch of General Sheaffe to Sir George Prevost, written at Fort George on the evening of the day of battle, is that of General Van Rensselaer to General Dearborn, written at Lewiston on the following day. He gives a general statement of important events connected with the battle, but when he comes to distribute the honors among those who are entitled to receive them, he omits the name of every officer who was engaged in storming and carrying the Heights of Queenston, the chief object of the expedition. The name of Captain Wool, the hero of the day until the tide of victory was turned against the Americans, is not even mentioned. Byron defined military glory as "being shot through the body, and having one's name spelled wrong in the gazettes." Worse fate than that would have been that of Wool and the storming-party had History confined her investigations to Van Rensselaer's report. He expressed his great obligations to General Wadsworth, Colonel Van Rensselaer, Lieutenant Colonels Scott, Christy, and Fenwick, and Captain Gibson, all of whom were gallant men, and performed their duties nobly in the after part of the day, but not one of them had a share in the capture of the Heights, the defeat of Major General Brock, and the winnings of victory. Van Rensselaer was wounded and taken to Lewiston before daylight. Fenwick was wounded while crossing the river and taken prisoner. Christy was not on the battle-field until the morning victories were all won under Wool. How General Van Rensselaer could have made such a report is a mystery. It is due to his candor and sense of justice to say that he was doubtless misled by the reports of interested parties, for as soon as he perceived the injustice that was done to brave officers, he did all in his power to remedy the evil. In his report to Colonel Van Rensselaer, on the 23d of October, Captain Wool made special mention of the officers who acted with him on that day, and these General Van Rensselaer took occasion to name in a special manner in a letter to Brigadier General Smyth announcing his resignation, written at Buffalo on the 24th. In a letter to Captain Wool in December following, General Van Rensselaer said, "I was not sufficiently informed to do justice to your bravery and good conduct in the attack of the enemy on the Heights of Queenston." He then expressed the hope that the government would notice his merits on that occasion.

Scott's Encounter with Indians. Object of their Visit. A combined Triumphal and Funeral Procession.

to have hit somewhere!" The indignant officer thrust the savage from him, exclaiming, "Hands off, you villain! You fired like a squaw!" Both assailants immediately loosened their knives and tomahawks from their girdles, and were about to spring upon Scott, while Jacobs exclaimed, "We kill you now!" when the assailed rushed to the end of the hall, where the swords of the captured officers stood, seized the first one, drew the blade from its steel scabbard as quick as lightning, and was about to bring the heavy weapon with deadly force upon the Indians, when a British officer entered, seized Jacobs by the arms, and shouted for the guard.¹ Jacobs turned fiercely upon the officer, exclaiming, "I kill you," when Scott, with the heavy sabre raised, called out, "If you strike I'll kill you both." For a moment the eyes of the group gleamed with fury upon their antagonist, and a scene was presented equal to any thing in the songs of the Troubadours or the sagas of the Norsemen. The gust of passion was momentary, and then the Indians put up their weapons and slowly retired, muttering imprecations on all white men and all the laws of war.² "Beyond doubt," says his biographer,³ "it was no part of the young chief's design to inflict injury upon the captive American commander. His whole character forbids the idea, for he was as generous and benevolent in his feelings as he was brave." It is believed that their visit to Scott was one of curiosity only, for, having tried so repeatedly to hit him with their bullets, they were anxious to know how nearly they had accomplished their object. But it can not be denied that the exasperation of the Indians against Scott, because of their losses on the Heights, was very great—so great that while he remained at Niagara he could not move from his lodgings in safety, even to visit the head-quarters of General Sheaffe,⁴ without a guard.

When General Sheaffe marched in triumph from Queenston to Newark, he took with him the body of the slain General Brock, which had been concealed in a house near where he fell. The march had a twofold aspect. It was a triumphal and a funeral procession. At Newark the body was placed in the government house,



NEW MAGAZINE AT FORT GEORGE.

and there it lay in state three days, when it was buried⁵ in a new cavalier bastion in Fort George, whose erection he had superintended with great interest. By the side of Brock's remains were laid those of his provincial aid-de-camp, Lieutenant Colonel M'Donell.⁶ The funeral ceremonies

¹ This was Colonel Coffin, who had been sent by General Sheaffe, with a guard, to invite the American officers to his table at his quarters. ² Stone's *Life of Brant*, II., 514; Mansfield's *Life of Scott*, page 46.

³ William L. Stone. At the close of his *Life of Joseph Brant*, Stone gives an interesting sketch of the life of John Brant.

⁴ Roger H. Sheaffe was a native of Boston, Massachusetts, and was a lad living there with his widowed mother at the opening of the Revolution. Earl Percy's head-quarters were at their house while the British occupied the town, and his lordship became much attached to the boy; so much so that, with the consent of his mother, he took him away with him at the evacuation in Canada at the breaking out of the war. He at once stated frankly his reluctance to serve against his native country, and solicited a transfer to some other field of duty. His request was not granted. For his gallant conduct, and winning victory on the Heights of Queenston, he was created a baronet, and ever afterward was known as Sir Roger Sheaffe. General Sheaffe was born on the 17th of July, 1763, and entered the British army on the 1st of May, 1778.

R. H. Sheaffe

He was taken to the nation to provide for him. He gave him a military education, placed him in the army, and procured commissions and promotions for him as fast as possible. His promotion to major general was acquired on account of meritorious service. He was stationed at the Cavalier Bastion where Brock and his aid were buried. It is near what is known as the new magazine, in Fort

⁵ The cavalier bastion where Brock and his aid were buried is near what is known as the new magazine, in Fort

Respect for Brock awarded by the Americans. Brock's Funeral. Honored by his Government and the Canadians.

were arranged by his other aid, Captain Glegg;¹ and when they were over, the Americans at Fort Niagara and at Lewiston fired minute-guns, as a mark of respect due to a brave enemy, by command of Major General Van Rensselaer. An armistice for a few days had been agreed upon by Van Rensselaer and Sheaffe, which gave the

George. That magazine is represented in the engraving on the preceding page. Behind it are seen the earthen ramparts of the fort as they appeared when I visited it in 1860. The place of the bastion is indicated by the hollow and opening in the fence on the right of the picture.

¹ The following was the order of the procession: 1. Fort-major Campbell. 2. Sixty men of the Forty-first Regiment, commanded by a subaltern. 3. Sixty of the militia, commanded by a captain. 4. Two six-pounders firing minute-guns. 5. Remaining corps and detachments of the garrison, with about two hundred Indians, in reverse order, forming a street through which the procession passed, extending from the government house to the garrison. 6. Band of the Forty-first Regiment. 7. Drums, covered with black cloth and muffled. 8. Late general's horse, fully caparisoned, led by four grooms. 9. Servants of the general. 10. The general's body-servant. 11. Surgeon Muirhead, Doctor Moore, Doctor Kerr, and Staff-surgeon Thorn. 12. Rev. Mr. Addison. Then followed the body of Lieutenant Colonel M'Donnell, with the following gentlemen as pall-bearers: Captain A. Cameron, Lieutenant Robinson (late chief justice of Canada), J. Edwards, Lieutenant Jarvis, Lieutenant Ridout, and Captain Crooks. The chief mourner was the brother of the deceased.

The body of General Brock followed, with the following pall-bearers: Mr. James Coffin, Captains Vigoresux, Derezy, Dennis, Holcroft, and Williams, Major Merritt, Lieutenant Colonels Clarke and Butler, and Colonel Claus, supported by Brigade Major Evans and Captain Glegg. The chief mourners were Major General Sheaffe, Ensign Coffin, Lieutenant Colonel Myers, and Lieutenant Fowler. These were followed by the civil staff, friends of the deceased, and the inhabitants.

General Brock had become greatly endeared to the Canadians. Gentlemanly deportment, kind and conciliating manners, and unrestrained benevolence were his prominent characteristics. He died unmarried, precisely a week after he had completed his forty-third year. His dignity of person has already been described. I have been unable, after diligent efforts, to obtain his portrait or his autograph. His contemporaries gave many tokens of respect to his memory after his death. "Canadian farmers," says Howison, in his *Sketches of Canada*, "are not overburdened with sensibility, yet I have seen several of them shed tears when a eulogium was pronounced upon the immortal and generous-minded deliverer of their country." The Prince Regent, in an official bulletin, spoke of his death as having been "sufficient to have clouded a victory of much greater importance." The muse was invoked in expressions of sympathy and sorrow. Among poetical effusions which the occasion elicited was the following, written by Miss Ann Bruyeres, "an extraordinary child of thirteen years old," the daughter of the general's warm friend, Lieutenant Colonel Bruyeres, of the Royal Engineers:

"As Fame alighted on the mountain's crest,
She loudly blew her trumpet's mighty blast;
Ere she repeated Victory's notes, she cast
A look around and stopped. Of power bereft,
Her bosom heaved, her breath she drew with pain,
Her favorite Brock lay slaughtered on the plain!
Glory threw on his grave a laurel wreath,
And Fame proclaims, 'A hero sleeps beneath.'"

Brock's biographer observes, in alluding to Fame being twice mentioned in the above lines, that it was singular that "the mournful intelligence of Sir Isaac Brock's death was brought from Quebec to Guernsey [his native county] by the ship *Fame*, belonging to that island, on the 24th of November, two days before it was known in London."—*Tupper's Life of Brock*, page 350.

By direction of a resolution of the House of Commons on the 20th of July, 1813, a military monument by Westmacott was erected to his memory in St. Paul's Cathedral, London, at a cost of nearly eight thousand dollars. It is in the western ambulatory of the south transept, and contains an effigy of the hero's body reclining in the arms of a British soldier, while an Indian pays the last tribute of respect. The monument bears the following inscription: "Erected, at the public expense, to the memory of MAJOR GENERAL SIR ISAAC BROOK, who gloriously fell on the 13th of October, MDCCCXII, in resisting an attack on Queenston, in Upper Canada." In addition to this, twelve thousand acres of land in Upper Canada were bestowed on the four surviving brothers of General Brock, and each were allowed a pension of one thousand dollars a year for life, by a vote of the British Parliament.

The Canadians could never seem to honor him enough. In 1816 they struck a small medal to his memory; and soon afterward steps were taken in the province to erect a suitable monument on Queenston Heights, not far from the spot where he fell. They raised a lofty Tuscan column, 135 feet in height from the base to the summit. The diameter of the base of the column was seventeen and a half feet. On the summit was a pedestal for a statue. Within was a spiral staircase around a central shaft. In the base was a tomb, in which the coffins containing the remains of Brock and M'Donnell were deposited on the 13th of October, 1824. Their remains were conveyed from Fort George to their last resting-place in a hearse drawn by four black horses, followed by an immense military and civic procession, while artillery fired a salute of minute-guns. This monument stood, the pride of the Canadians, until the middle of April, 1840, when a mercenary named Lett, a fugitive from Canada, who had become implicated in the disturbances there in 1837 and 1838, attempted to destroy it with gunpowder. He succeeded in so injuring it that it became necessary to pull it down. A meeting was held on the Heights in July following, at which the late Sir Allan M'Nab made a stirring speech, when it was resolved to erect a new monument. It was estimated that eight thousand persons were present, and a salute was fired by the Royal Artillery. That meeting and the new monument will be considered in the next chapter.



Lovett on Lewiston Heights. Transfer of Colonel Van Rensselaer from Queenston to Albany. His Reception.

two commanders an opportunity for the exchange of those humane courtesies which should never be lost sight of amid the tumults of war.¹

Let us turn back and consider for a moment what occurred on the American side in connection with the battle of Queenston. At Lewiston, Lovett,² as we have seen, was placed in charge of an eighteen-pounder in battery on the Heights,³ where he per-

formed good service in covering the party that crossed before daylight. It being dark, he stooped close to the gun to observe its aim, when it was discharged, and the concussion so injured his ears that he was much deaf ever afterward. Soon after this Colonel Van Rensselaer was brought over from the Canada shore with five bleeding wounds. He had been sick with fever, and had left his bed to attend to preparations for the invasion. The disease and his wounds so prostrated him that for several days his life was in extreme peril.⁴ It was not until five days after the battle that he could be moved from Lewiston. Then a cot was rigged with cross-bars and side-poles, on



October, 1812. 18th,⁵ to Schlosser by a detachment of Major Moseby's militia riflemen. On the following day he was taken by the same party by land and water to Buffalo.⁶ There he remained until the 9th of November, and was then conveyed to his home at Mount Hope, near Albany, accompanied, as he had been since his removal from Lewiston, by Mr. Lovett. They were met in the suburbs of Albany by a cavalcade of citizens, and Van Rensselaer was received with the honors of a victor.⁷

Sol. Van Rensselaer

¹ The correspondence between the generals may be found in Van Rensselaer's *Narrative*, already alluded to.
² John Lovett was a resident of Albany when the war broke out, and was a leading man in the profession of the law there. General Van Rensselaer, his early friend, invited him to become his aid and military secretary. "I am not a soldier," said Lovett. "It is not your sword, but your pen that I want," replied Van Rensselaer. Mr. Lovett was elected to a seat in Congress he was early cut off by the prevailing fever of the country. He died at Fort Meigs in August, 1818, at the early age of fifty-two years. For a more extended sketch of Mr. Lovett's life, see *Reminiscences of Troy*, by John Woodworth.

John Lovett

³ This battery was called Fort Gray, in honor of Nicholas Gray, acting engineer, under whose supervision it was arranged.

⁴ Arad Joy, Esq., who was paymaster of Colonel Henry Bloom's regiment, and acting quartermaster on the day of the battle, wrote to me on the 15th of March, 1852, giving me an account of his experience on the Lewiston side of the river. He had charge of the wagons that conveyed the wounded to the hospital on the ridge road, two miles from the village. Of Van Rensselaer he says: "The loss of blood caused him to be chilly. He sat upon a board across the top of the wagon-box, without a gown; and as we met the soldiers going to the river to cross, he would call out at the top of his voice, 'Go on, my brave fellows, the day is our own.' It cheered up and encouraged them. He was taken to good quarters in a private house. The head surgeon, with his instruments, was along. We carried him into the house and seated him on a chair. His boots were filled with blood, which was gushing from his thigh, and plainly to be seen through his pantaloons. The boots, at Van Rensselaer's request, were cut from his feet."

⁵ At Buffalo, on the 14th, Van Rensselaer used a pen for the first time since receiving his wounds, and wrote to his wife. That letter is before me. It is filled with expressions of gratitude toward General Van Rensselaer, and concludes by saying: "I congratulate you on the birth of our little boy. That this should have taken place on the same night I made the attack on the British is singular. He must be a soldier."

⁶ Solomon Van Rensselaer was born in Greenbush, opposite Albany, in the old house known as the Garret mansion.

in 1813, when he renewed his acquaintance with Governor Meigs, and through his influence purchased a tract of land on the Maumee, and commenced a settlement which he named Purrysburg, in honor of the gallant hero of Lake Erie. There he resided, but

While the stirring events at Queenston were in progress in the morning, there was a lively time at Forts George and Niagara.¹ So soon as Brock heard the state of affairs at Queenston, he sent down word to Brigade Major Evans, who had been left in charge of Fort George, to open a cannonade upon Fort Niagara. He did so, and received a sharp reply from the south block-house of the American fortress, which was in charge of Captain M'Keon. That officer turned his guns upon the village of Newark also when charged with hot shot, and several buildings were set on fire. The cannonade continued some time, when Evans, aided by Colonel Claus and Captain Vigoreux, of the Royal Engineers, opened a severe bombardment upon Fort Niagara. Already the bursting of a twelve-pounder had deprived the Americans of their best weapon. This fact, and the exposed condition of the fort under the attack of shells, caused Captain Leonard, the commandant of the garrison, to abandon it. The troops had not proceeded far when they observed British boats, filled with armed men, leaving the Canada shore for Fort Niagara, evidently with the intention of securing a lodgment there. M'Keon immediately returned with his little force, remained there unmolesed over night, and was joined by the remainder of the garrison the next morning.

The American militia officers and privates captured at Queenston were paroled and sent across the river, but those of the regular army were detained as prisoners of war for exchange.² These were sent to Quebec, and from there, in a *cartel*,³ to Boston; except twenty-three, who were claimed as British subjects, and were sent to England to be tried for treason.⁴ The energetic action of Lieutenant Colonel Scott then and

in 1774. His father was a brave officer of the Revolution (Henry Killian Van Rensselaer), who was severely wounded in the thigh in a battle near Fort Ann in 1777. He was then a colonel. The bullet, which was not extracted until after his death, forty years later, is still in the possession of the family. It was flattened by striking the thigh bone. His son Solomon inherited his military disposition, and at the age of eighteen years entered the army under Wayne as a cornet of cavalry in the same battalion with the late President Harrison. He was promoted to the command of a troop [July 1, 1798] before he was twenty. He was shot through the lungs in the battle at the Rapids of the Miami or Maumee in August, 1794. In 1798, when war with France seemed inevitable, Washington sent for Van Rensselaer, inquired about the state of his wounds, and soon afterward [January, 1800] he was appointed a major of cavalry. When the army was disbanded he went into civil pursuits, but was called to the responsible post of Adjutant General of New York in January, 1801. He held that office when the war broke out, and at the solicitation of his uncle, General Van Rensselaer, he took a position on his staff. His services at Queenston have been recorded in the text. That event closed his military life, except as major general of the militia in 1819. Monroe appointed him post-master at Albany, and he held that position until removed by Van Buren. He was a delegate to the Whig Convention that nominated his friend Harrison for the presidency in 1839. Harrison reinstated him in the post-office at Albany, from which he was removed by John Tyler. He died at his residence at Cherry Hill, about a mile south of State Street, Albany, on the 24th of April, 1853, in the seventy-eighth year of his age. Cherry Hill is a most beautiful spot, westward of the rural extension of Pearl Street. It overlooks the Hudson, and commands a fine view of the country eastward of the river. I remember a visit to that mansion several years ago (then occupied by his daughters) with much pleasure. His residence during the war of 1812 was called Mount Hope, and is a little south of Cherry Hill.

¹ Fort Niagara was commenced as early as 1679, when La Salle, a French explorer, inclosed a small spot there with palisades. In 1687, De Nonville, a French commander, constructed a quadrangular fort there with four bastions. The Senecas attacked, a fatal disease followed, and the fort was abandoned. In 1725, the French, who still occupied the spot, built quite a strong fortification there. It was taken from them by Sir William Johnson, with a force of British and Indians, in 1759. It then covered about eight acres, having been enlarged and strengthened from time to time until it had become a regular fort of great resisting power. It never again passed into the hands of the French. During the Revolution it was the rendezvous of the Tories and Indians, who desolated Central New York, and sent predatory parties into Pennsylvania. "It was the head-quarters," says Deveaux, "of all that was barbarous, unrelenting, and cruel. There were congregated the leaders and chiefs of those bands of murderers and miscreants who carried death and desolation into the remote American settlements. There civilized Europe reviled with savage Americans, and ladies of education and refinement mingled in the society of those whose only distinction was to wield the bloody tomahawk and the scalping-knife. There the squaws of the forests were raised to eminence, and the most unholy unions between them and officers of highest rank smiled upon and countenanced. There, in the strong-hold, like a nest of vultures, securely for some years they sallied forth and preyed upon the distant settlements of the Mohawk and Susquehanna valleys. It was the dépot of their plunder. There they planned their forays, and there they returned to feast until the time of action came again."—*Deveaux's Falls of Niagara*. Fort Niagara remained in possession of the British until 1796. It was then commanded by Colonel Smith, who led the British in the fight at Concord in 1775. It has been well observed that "Colonel Smith may with propriety be said to have participated in both the opening and closing acts of the American revolution."

² The following is a list of the regular officers who were surrendered: Colonel Scott, Lieutenant Colonels Christie and Fenwick (the former slightly, the latter badly wounded), Major Mullaney, Captains Gibson, M'Chesney, and Ogilvie, Lieutenants Randolph, Kearney, Sammons, Huginin, Fink, Carr, Turner, Totten, Bailey, Phelps, Clarke (wounded), and M'Carthy, and Ensign Reeve.

³ A cartel ship is a vessel commissioned in time of war to carry prisoners for exchange, or messages from one belligerent to another.

⁴ At the beginning of the war the American prisoners were cruelly treated. Much testimony on the subject was collected by a committee of Congress, appointed for the purpose, in the summer of 1813. It was in evidence that when

Scott's bold Protection of Fellow-prisoners. Retaliation authorized by Congress. Concerning Perpetual Allegiance.

afterward saved them from death. When the prisoners were about to sail from Quebec, a party of British officers came on board the *cartel*, mustered the captives, and commenced separating from the rest those who, by their accent, were found to be Irishmen. These they intended to send to England for trial as traitors in a frigate lying near, in accordance with the doctrine that a British subject can not expatriate himself¹ Scott, who was below, hearing a tumult on deck, went up. He was soon informed of the cause, and at once entered a vehement protest against the proceedings. He commanded his soldiers to be absolutely silent, that their accent might not betray them. He was repeatedly ordered to go below, and as repeatedly refused. The soldiers obeyed him. Twenty-three had already been detected as Irishmen, but not another one became a victim. The twenty-three were taken on board the frigate in irons. Scott boldly assured them that if the British government dared to injure a hair of their heads, his own government would fully avenge the outrage. He at the same time as boldly defied the menacing officers, and comforted the manacled prisoners in every possible way. Scott was exchanged in January, 1813, and at once sent a full report of this affair to the Secretary of War. He hastened to Washington in person, and pressed the subject upon the attention of Congress. A bill was introduced to vest "the President of the United States with powers of retaliation."² It originated in the Senate, and would have passed both houses but for the conceded fact that such powers were already fully contained in the general constitutional powers of the President to conduct the war. Fortunately for the credit of common humanity, the President never had occasion to exercise that power to the extent of life-taking, for the British government wisely and prudently abstained from carrying out in practice, in the case of American prisoners, its cherished doctrine of perpetual allegiance.³

prisoners arrived at Plymouth they were sent to Mill prison for one day and night, and all the food allowed them "for the twenty-four hours were three small salt herrings, or about the same weight of salted codfish, or half a pound of beef, one and a half pounds of black bread, a little salt, etc." On the second day they were paroled, and sent twenty-four miles from Plymouth, at the expense of the prisoners, where they were allowed scarcely sufficient to drive starvation away. It was testified that the prisoners were kept in a half-starved state, it being "the policy of the British government," according to the memorial of "James Orne, Joseph B. Cook, Thomas Humphries, and others," as they solemnly believed, "to select the sickly to be first sent in *cartels*, and keep the hale and hardy seamen until they become sickly, thus rendering the whole of these gallant sons of Neptune who escape death, when they return to their homes, at least for some time, perfectly useless to themselves, and quite so to their country, from their debilitated state."

American prisoners were actually hired out in the British service, as appears by the following advertisement in a Jamaica paper:

"Port Royal, 25th Nov., 1812.

"Masters of vessels about to proceed to England with convoy are informed that they may be supplied with a limited number of American seamen (prisoners of war) to assist in navigating their vessels, on the usual terms, by applying to
"GEORGE MAUDE, Agent."

¹ See page 85.

² Only two months after the passage of the act, Scott himself, as commander in the capture of Fort George, selected from his prisoners twenty-three, to be confined in the interior of the country, to abide the fate of those sent to England from Quebec.

³ The British government had a precedent not only in a notable case in its own history, but in the action of a neighboring nation. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Doctor Storey, a native of England, quitted his country and became a subject of Spain. He was received at the English Court as ambassador from his adopted country. He was indicted in England for treason, when he pleaded his Spanish citizenship. It availed him nothing. His plea was overruled, and he was condemned and executed. Colonel Townley, an Englishman born, became naturalized in France, but on being seized while bearing arms against England, was executed for treason. The French decree of Trianon declared that no Frenchman could be naturalized abroad without the consent of the emperor, and that such that may be naturalized abroad without his consent could not bear arms against France. The American judiciary had also furnished a precedent. Isaac Williams, an American, received a lieutenant's commission from the French government in 1792, and served in the French navy. In 1799 he was tried before Chief Justice Ellsworth for having accepted a privateer's commission from the French Republic to commit acts of hostility against Great Britain, contrary to the laws of the United States and of the late treaty with Great Britain. The judge decided that the prisoner was a citizen of the United States and that the emigration of a citizen implies no consent of the government that he should expatriate himself.—See Perkins's *History of the Political and Military Events of the Late War*, page 288. A farther notice of this subject, and the views of the government of the United States, expressed by Secretary Monroe, will be found in another portion of this work.—See Index.

The final result of Scott's humane and courageous conduct in this matter was very gratifying to himself. Almost three years after the event at Quebec he was greeted by loud huzzas as he was passing a wharf on the East River side of New York City. It came from a group of Irishmen who had just landed from an emigrant ship. They were twenty-one of the twenty-three prisoners for whom he had cared so tenderly. They had just returned after a long confinement in English prisons. They recognized their benefactor, and, says Scott's biographer, "nearly crushed him by their warm-hearted embraces."—Mansfield's *Life of Scott*.

General Van Rensselaer was disgusted with the jealousies of some of the regular officers and the conduct of the militia. He was also convinced that the profession of arms was not the sphere in which he would be most useful. On the 24th of October he resigned the command of the troops on the Niagara frontier to General Smyth, and soon afterward obtained from Governor Tompkins permission to leave the service.¹ Smyth's pride was gratified, and it was soon displayed in a series of pompous proclamations, which created both merriment and disgust. He promised so largely and performed so little that he became the target for ridicule and satire by all parties. In his first proclamation, issued on the 10th of November, he displayed a lack of common courtesy and good taste by offensive reflections upon Generals Hull and Van Rensselaer.² "One army," he said, "has been disgracefully surrendered and lost. Another has been sacrificed by a precipitate attempt to pass it over at the strongest point of the enemy's lines with most incompetent means. The cause of these miscarriages is apparent. The commanders were popular men, destitute alike of theory and experience in the art of war." "In a few days," he continued, "the troops under my command will plant the American standard in Canada. They are men accustomed to obedience, silence, and steadiness. They will conquer or they will die. Will you stand with your arms folded and look on this interesting struggle? Must I turn from you, and ask men of the Six Nations to support the government of the United States? Shall I imitate the officers of the British king, and suffer our ungathered laurels to be tarnished by ruthless deeds?³ Shame, where is thy blush? No. Where I command, the vanquished and the peaceful man, the child, the maid, and the matron, shall be secure from wrong. The present is the hour for renown. Have you not a wish for fame? Would you not choose in future times to be named as one of those who, imitating the heroes whom Montgomery led, have, in spite of the seasons, visited the tomb of the chief, and conquered the country where he lies?"

¹ General Van Rensselaer reached Albany on Saturday morning, the 31st of October, when he was honored by a public reception. On the 30th the Common Council of Albany appointed three of their members, namely, Teunis Van Vechten, Isaac Hansen, and Peter Boyd, a committee for the purpose. These on the same day issued a little handbill, calling upon the people to meet at the public square the next morning at eight o'clock. The committee also recommended that such "as are accommodated with horses or carriages to repair to the house of Widow Douw, on the Albany and Schenectady turnpike, for the purpose of escorting Major General Van Rensselaer to his mansion-house; and the residue of the citizens are requested to proceed to the hay-scales, and there join the escort." The reception was imposing, and highly gratifying to the general. Two days afterward he received a letter from the debtors in the Albany jail, who had experienced his bounty, congratulating him on his return.

² "I take the liberty," wrote a correspondent of General Van Rensselaer from Genesee, "to inclose you a copy of a handbill from General Smyth, which was circulated yesterday and the day before about Batavia. As far as I have been able to observe, *men of all parties* unite in reprobating the attack he makes upon other commanders. I suspect, indeed, that the attack is the main, *real* object of the handbill."—Autograph Letter of Samuel M. Hopkins, November 14, 1812.

³ Soon after the commencement of hostilities it was rumored at Buffalo that the British had taken possession of Grand Island, in the Niagara River, which belonged to the Senecas, one of the Six Nations. Red Jacket, the chief of the Senecas, called the nation to a council, and thereat a desire was expressed to go and drive the invaders off. At a subsequent council, where there was a large attendance of the nation, a formal declaration of war against the Canadas was made in these words:

"We, the chiefs and councilors of the Six Nations of Indians, residing in the State of New York, do hereby proclaim to all the war-chiefs and warriors of the Six Nations that war is declared on our part against the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada. Therefore we hereby command and advise all the war-chiefs and warriors of the Six Nations to call forth immediately the warriors under them, and put them in motion to protect their rights and liberties, which our brethren, the Americans, are now defending."⁴

This is believed to have been the first Indian declaration of war ever committed to writing. Although the services of the Indians were offered to General Smyth, he declined them, because the government of the United States, acting in the interest of common humanity, had resolved not to employ the savages in the war unless compelled to.

⁴ Alluding to this council, Mr. Lovett, General Van Rensselaer's military secretary, then in attendance at Buffalo on Colonel Solomon Van Rensselaer, said: "The spirit of insubordination seems to have wound its way among the sons of Belial, our red brethren. Without the leave or knowledge of Mr. Granger [the Indian Superintendent], they had had a great council back in the bush. To purge away this horrid sin of disobedience, Mr. G., the good Moses of these shabby Israelites, ordered them to tread back their steps unsanctified by his behests, and to cast to the wind the wampum, and the belts, and all the records of their abominable council, and to repair, one and all, before the high-priest of the temple at Buffalo, to have their souls scrubbed from all political sins. The day before yesterday hither they came—sachems, chiefs, and warriors—old and young, squaws and papposeses—with all of intermediate grades. Such a thorough shaking of the beggar-bag of poor motley human nature I never before saw. With great humility all confessed their sins, received absolution, and washed their souls in whisky. All got drunk, wallowed all night in the mud, and the next day went home to their wigwams pure and humble, chanting the praises of Moses."—Autograph Letter to General Van Rensselaer, November 6, 1812.

Smyth and his Proclamations ridiculed.

In another proclamation he said: "Companions in arms! the time is at hand when you will cross the stream of Niagara to conquer Canada, and to secure the peace of the American frontier. You will enter a country that is to be one of the United States. . . . Whatever is booty by the usages of war shall be yours." He offered two hundred dollars apiece for horses for artillery that might be captured. He then boasted of the superiority of the American soldiers and weapons, and unnecessarily offended the Federalists, many of whom were in the ranks, by saying to the volunteers, "Disloyal and traitorous men have endeavored to dissuade you from doing your duty." In his address to "The Army of the Centre," as he called the little force under his command, he said: "Soldiers of every corps! it is in your power to retrieve the honor of your country, and to cover yourselves with glory. Every man who performs a gallant action shall have his name made known to the nation. Rewards and honors await the brave, infamy and contempt are reserved for cowards. Companions in arms! you come to vanquish a valiant foe. I know the choice you will make. Come on, my heroes! and when you attack the enemy's batteries, let your rallying-word be, 'The cannon lost at Detroit, or death!'"

When these proclamations in quick succession appeared, the general's friends smiled, the enemy laughed, and the Opposition press teemed with squibs and epigrams. He was called "Alexander the Great," "Napoleon the Second," etc. A wag in the *New York Evening Post* wrote of "General Smyth's Bulletin No. 2:"

"Just so! (and every wiser head
The likeness can discover)
We put a *chestnut* in the fire,
And pull the embers over;
A while it waxes hot and hotter,
And eke begins to hop,
And after much confounded pother,
Explodes a mighty *Pop!*!"

General Smyth's invasion of Canada will be noticed presently.

¹ General Smyth's magniloquence was equaled only by Ross Bird's, a captain of the Third United States Infantry, who, in great indignation because of some offense, offered to resign his commission. His letter closed with the following words: "In leaving the service I am not abandoning the cause of Republicanism, but yet hope to brandish the glittering steel in the field, and carve my way to a name which shall prove my country's neglect; and when this mortal shall be closeted in the dust, and the soul shall wing its flight to the regions above, in passing by the pale-faced moon I shall hang my hat on brilliant Mars, and make a report to each superlative star, and, arriving at the portals of heaven's high chancery, shall demand of the attending angel to be ushered into the presence of Washington!"

"Washington, September 13, 1813.

"Rosa Bruo, Captain.

"To Lieutenant Colonel C. C. Russell."

Captain Bird had been in the army as early as 1791, and had lately been promoted to major of infantry in the new army.



CHAPTER XX.

"Alas for them! their day is o'er,
Their fires are out from shore to shore;
No more for them the wild deer bounds—
The plow is on their hunting-grounds."

CHARLES SPRAGUE.



In the middle of August, 1860, I visited the theatre of events described in the preceding chapter. I went down to Niagara Falls from Buffalo in a railway train on the afternoon of the 16th. A violent thunder-storm greeted our arrival at five o'clock. As business, not pleasure, was my errand to that great gathering-place of the fashionable and of tourists in summer, I rode to the northern part of the village, and took lodgings at the quiet "Niagara House," where I found room in abundance in chamber and at table. On the following morning, accompanied by the late Colonel P. A. Porter, then a resident of Niagara Falls village, I crossed the suspension bridge, rode up the western bank of the river to Street's Creek, opposite Navy Island, and visited the battle-ground of Chippewa with Colonel Cummings, a surviving aid of the British general Riall, who commanded in that engagement. Of that visit and its results I shall write hereafter.

I returned to the *Niagara House* in time for dinner, and at four o'clock started in an old, dusty light wagon, with a jaded horse, for Lewiston, seven miles down the river. It was at an hour when every body was on the road, and every horse and vehicle were employed. I was left without choice, and felt thankful that I was not compelled to go afoot. The driver was a rather rough-cast boy of sixteen years, with a freckled face, a turned-up nose, a mischievous gray eye, sandy hair, and rather intelligent, but uneducated. The horse seemed tipsy as well as tired, for he was constantly leaving the right lines of the highway. His coat was an uncertain brick color, and rough; the harness had dotted him with black bare spots; his tail and mane were thin and frizzled; one of his ears drooped, and his gait, at best, was decidedly "gawky." I was anxious to reach Lewiston in time to cross the suspension bridge to Queenston, and visit places of interest there before sunset, and at the start the boy commenced lashing the beast unmercifully. I remonstrated. "Hain't ye in a hurry?" he asked. "Yes, but you shall not torture the poor horse in that way," I replied. Such mercy surprised him. "Why, darn it," he said, impatiently, "I'm so used to whippin' I can't help it. I never knowed a man afore who cared a whip-snap for a hired hoss. He is lazy, mister—lazy," and he gave the poor animal another severe stroke. So inveterate was the boy's cruel habit that he would not relinquish it until I took the whip from him, and threatened to leave him by the road side. Even then he would rise occasionally and kick the horse; harmlessly, however, for his toes were ambitiously getting ahead of his shoes.

We joggled on at a fair rate of speed, and met numerous "turn-outs" superior to our own, of which we were not specially proud. Among them was a jaunty little wagon and a span of black ponies, driven at full speed by the owner, the wife of a New York city editor. Her establishment was the "observed of all observers," but we were not jealous; indeed, all thoughts of the road and its frequenters soon faded when, at five o'clock, we reached the brow of Lewiston Heights and beheld the mag-

Lewiston Heights, and the View from them.	Villages of Lewiston and Queenston.	The Suspension Bridge.
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nificent panorama before us. At the turn of the road, where it descends the Heights, I alighted, and from the site of Fort Gray,¹ now marked by slight mounds, I obtained a view of land and water both grand and beautiful. On the left was seen Queenston Heights, on which stands the new monument erected to the memory of General Brock. At their base lay the village of Queenston. Farther westward a glimpse of St. David's was obtained; and northwestward, as far as the eye could reach, the level country was dotted with woods and well-cultivated farms. At our feet lay the village of Lewiston; and stretching away to the northeast was the vast plain, much of it covered with the primeval forest. In the centre was the glittering line of the blue Niagara River. Near its mouth the eye could discern the spires of Niagara (old Newark), on the Canada side, and the village of Youngstown, with the mass of old Fort Niagara beyond, on the American side. The whole horizon northward was bounded by the dark line of Lake Ontario, over which was brooding a thunder-storm, flashing fire and bellowing angrily as it moved sullenly eastward.

Leaving this grand observatory with reluctance, we made our way down the sinuous road to Lewiston, every where meeting, in the descent, geological evidences that this bank was the shore of an ancient lake when the Falls of Niagara were doubtless at this place, and that the plain on which the village stands was its bed. The ridge is composed of sand and gravel, and the usual *débris* thrown up by a large body of water in character essentially different from the surrounding surface. The summit of the Heights is here thirty-four feet above the level of Lake Erie.²

We passed through Lewiston³ (a village of about one thousand souls, very pleasantly situated) without halting, and crossed the Niagara River to Queenston, over the suspension bridge, a magnificent structure, with a roadway eight hundred and fifty feet in length, twenty feet in width, and sixty feet above the water.⁴ We were at Wadsworth's Tavern, in Queenston, and had engaged lodgings for the night before six o'clock; and we immediately rode from there up the Heights to Brock's Monument, near the summit. A short distance above the residence of David Thorburn, Esq. (then the superintendent of the Six Nations of Indians in Canada), at the turn of the road from the highway to the Falls, well up the acclivity, we passed a burying-ground which marks the site of the redan battery.⁵ Soon after passing this, we came to the eastern entrance to the monument grounds (about forty acres in extent), and the lodge of the keeper, George Playter, a loyal old man, whose kind courtesies I remember with pleasure. The gate is of wrought iron, highly ornamented, with cut-stone piers surmounted with the arms of the hero. The lodge is also of cut stone. From the entrance an easy carriage-way winds up the hill to an avenue one hundred feet wide, which terminates at the monument in a circle one hundred and eighty feet in diameter.

¹ See note 3, page 407.

² Lake Ontario is 834 feet lower than Lake Erie. The current of the Niagara River that connects them is not very rapid above Schlosser and below Lewiston, and the river makes nearly the whole of that descent in the space of nine miles. It falls perpendicularly at the great cataracts, 154 feet on the Canada side of Goat Island, and 163 feet on the American side. It is supposed that the river originally flowed over the face of the precipice at Lewiston. By the gradual wearing away of the rocks in the lapse of ages, the Falls have receded seven miles, becoming continually lower. "The precipice over which the present Falls flow is composed of solid limestone, with shale above and below. The wearing away of the shale above has formed the Rapids, and the disintegration of that below has left the limestone in overhanging masses until they break off with their own weight."—French's *Gazetteer of the State of New York*.

³ Lewiston was so named in honor of Morgan Lewis, who was an officer in the Revolution, and governor of the State of New York in 1804.

⁴ This bridge was destroyed by a gale of wind at the close of 1863. Fortunately no life was lost. The *Lockport Journal* relates the following incident in connection with its destruction: "During the day upon which the Lewiston bridge was carried off by the wind, a boy, whose parents reside in Canada, but is at work in Lewiston, went over to Canada on a short visit to his parents. Just before the bridge went down, the boy proposed starting for his place of business in Lewiston. His father accompanied him. As they reached the bridge it was swaying to and fro over the boiling waters beneath. The boy hesitated a moment, but, as this motion of the bridge was not unusual, he stepped upon it, his father still with him, and proceeded to cross. They both went to about the middle, when the rapid and unusual motion of the bridge greatly increased their fear. The father turned about, and the boy went on, both running at their fastest speed for the opposite shore. They had just time to reach the shore on each side before the structure was borne away."

⁵ See page 308.

The monument is built of the limestone of the Heights, quarried near the spot. It is placed upon a slightly-raised platform within a dwarf-walled inclosure, seventy-five feet square, with a *fosse* around the interior. At each angle of this inclosure is placed massive military trophies, wrought out of the same stone as that of the monument, and about twenty feet in height. The monument is built upon a foundation of wrought stone forty feet square and ten feet thick, resting upon the solid rock of the mountain. Upon this stands, in a grooved plinth, a basement, thirty-eight feet square and twenty-seven feet in height, under which, in heavy stone sarcophagi, are the remains of General Brock and Lieutenant Colonel McDonell. On the exterior angles of this basement are placed well-carved lions rampant, seven feet in height, supporting shields with the armorial bearings of the hero. On the north

side of this basement is an inscription in bold letters,¹ and upon brass plates in the interior of the column are epitaphic inscriptions.²

Upon the basement is the pedestal of the column, little more than sixteen feet square, and just thirty-eight feet in height. Upon a panel on each of three sides of this pedestal is an emblem in low relief, and on the north side, facing Queenston, is a representation of a battle scene in high relief, in which Brock is represented at the head of his troops, wounded.

The column is of the



BROCK'S MONUMENT ON QUEENSTON HEIGHTS.

Roman composite order, ninety-five feet in height. The shaft is fluted, and is ten feet in diameter at its base, with an enriched plinth, on which are carved the heads of lions and wreaths in bold relief. The flutes terminate in palms. The capital of

¹ The following is a copy of the inscription:

"UPPER CANADA HAS DEDICATED THIS MONUMENT TO THE MEMORY OF THE LATE MAJOR GENERAL SIR ISAAC BROCK, K. B., Provincial Lieutenant Governor and Commander of the Forces in this Province, whose remains are deposited in the vault beneath. Opposing the invading enemy, he fell in action near these Heights on the 13th of October, 1812, in the forty-third year of his age. Revered and lamented by the people whom he governed, and deplored by the sovereigns to whose service his life had been devoted."

² On one plate is the following:

"In a vault underneath are deposited the mortal remains of MAJOR GENERAL SIR ISAAC BROCK, K. B., who fell in action near these Heights on 13th October, 1812, and was entombed on the 16th of October at the bastion of Fort George, Niagara, removed from thence, and reinterred under a monument to the eastward of this site, on the 13th October, 1834; and, in consequence of that monument having received irreparable injury by a lawless act on the 17th of April, 1840, it was found requisite to take down the former structure and erect this monument; the foundation-stone being laid, and the remains again reinterred with due solemnity, on 13th October, 1853."

The other plate has the following inscription:

"In a vault beneath are deposited the mortal remains of Lieutenant Colonel JOHN M'DONELL, P. A. D. C., and Aid-de-camp to the lamented MAJOR GENERAL SIR ISAAC BROCK, K. B., who fell mortally wounded in the battle of Queenston, on the 13th October, 1812, and died on the following day. His remains were removed and reinterred with due solemnity, on 13th October, 1853."

Description of Brock's Monument. Ceremonies at the laying of the Corner-stone. Evening on Queenston Heights.

the column is sixteen feet square, and twelve feet six inches in height. On each face is sculptured a figure of Victory, ten feet six inches in height, with extended arms grasping military shields as volutes. The acanthus and palm leaves are enwreathed in antique style. From the ground to the gallery at the top of the column is a spiral staircase of cut stone, comprising two hundred and thirty-five steps, lighted by loop-holes in the flutings of the column. On the abacus is a cippus upon which stands a statue of BROCK, in military costume, seventeen feet in height, the left hand resting on a sword, and the right arm extended with a baton.¹ This monumental column is exceeded in height by only one of a similar character in the world. That is the one erected by Sir Christopher Wren, in London, to commemorate the great fire that desolated that city in 1666. It is only twelve feet higher than Brock's.²

It was sunset when I completed the sketch of the monument, in which is included a distant view of Lewiston Heights, seen on the right, and the village of Lewiston and the plain beyond, seen on the left. Heavy clouds rolling up from the west, and rumbling thunder in the distance, gave warning of an approaching storm. This fact and the lateness of the hour prevented my ascending the shaft to obtain the magnificent panoramic view from its summit, from which, it is said, small villages may be seen southward, the battle-ground of Lundy's Lane or Niagara, the white spray from the cataract, and the turmoil of the great whirlpool, in addition to the vast stretch of land and water seen at other parts of the compass.

We made our way down the Heights to the village just in time to avoid the storm which fell simultaneously with the darkness. It was severe, but short. The stars were visible soon after it passed by, and I found my way to the house of Mr. Joseph Winn, on the road to the suspension bridge. He was an old resident of Queenston, and familiar with every locality there connected with the battle, although he was not in the engagement. He kindly offered to be my guide in the morning. The night was a tempestuous one, but the sky was cloudless at dawn. At an early hour I visited the landing-place of the Americans near the suspension bridge, and made the sketch printed on page 395. I then followed the high bank of the river some distance, and made my way to the stone building in which the British took refuge after being repulsed by Wool;³ but the sketch I then made was lost a few days afterward.

¹ This monument was designed by W. Thomas, Esq., of Toronto, and was erected under his superintendance. The contractor was Mr. J. Worthington.

² We have observed that a former monument to the memory of Brock was shattered by powder in 1840. The act produced the greatest indignation throughout Canada. A meeting was held on Queenston Heights in June following, composed of about eight thousand people. One of the most active men on that occasion was the late Sir Allan M'Nab. There was a military parade and salutes with artillery. In Toronto the day was observed as a solemn holiday. All the public offices were closed, and business was generally suspended. Delegations and crowds of citizens flocked to Queenston from Kingston, Toronto, Cobourg, and Hamilton. The lieutenant governor, Sir George Arthur, and his staff, were there. Sir George presided. He addressed the meeting. Chief Justice Robinson, Sir Allan M'Nab, and several others, also made speeches. A number of Brock's surviving soldiers were also present. Resolutions were passed; and when the public proceedings were ended, six hundred persons sat down to a dinner under a pavilion erected on the spot where the hero fell, at which Chief Justice Robinson presided. The result of the affair was the formation of a building committee for the erection of a new monument, of which Sir Allan M'Nab was chairman.* The money for the purpose was raised by the voluntary subscriptions of the militia and Indian warriors of the province. A grant from the Provincial Parliament enabled the committee to lay out the grounds, and erect the gate and keeper's lodge. The foundation-stone was laid on the 13th of October, 1853, and on the same day the remains of Brock and M'Donnell were reinterred with imposing ceremonies. The day was very fine. There were pall-bearers and chief mourners.† When the remains were deposited in their last resting-place, the corner-stone was laid by Lieutenant Colonel M'Donnell, brother of one of the dead heroes. The late Honorable William Hamilton Merritt, M.P., delivered an address, in which he spoke highly of the character and services of the Indians in the War of 1812. Mr. Thorburn, Indian agent, responded in their behalf, and read an address from the chiefs present, which breathed sentiments of loyalty and affection for the English queen. As a mark of respect, an American steam-boat at Lewiston lowered its flag to half mast.

³ See page 398.

* The following named gentlemen constituted that committee: Sir Allan M'Nab, M.P.; Chief Justice Sir John Brush Robinson; Honorable Mr. Justice M'Lean; Honorable Walter H. Dickson, M. L. C.; Honorable William Hamilton Merritt, M.P.; Honorable Thomas Clark Street, M.P.; Colonel James Kerby; Colonel John M'Dougall; David Thorburn, Esq.; Lieutenant Garrett; Colonel Robert Hamilton; and Captain H. Munro.

† The pall-bearers were Colonels E. W. Thompson, W. Thompson, Duggan, Stanton, Kerby, Crooks, Zimmerman, Caron, Thorne, Servos, Clark, Wakefield, and Miller. Among the chief mourners were Colonel Donald M'Donnell, the deputy adjutant general for Canada East, Colonel Taché, Lieutenant Colonel Irvine, the survivors of 1812, and the chiefs of the Six Nations.

From the river I went up the Heights to the site of the *redan*, and then to the point where the Americans were crowded to the verge of the precipice. This was accomplished before breakfast.

When I came out of the dining-room at Wadsworth's, I found the venerable Major Adam Brown in the little parlor. He was a native of Queenston. At the time of the battle he was a lieutenant in the 1st Battalion of the Lincoln Militia under Colonel Claus, then at Fort George, and was not in the engagement. He was in command of a hundred men at the battle of Niagara (Lundy's Lane), and was in active service during a greater part of the war. While I was writing some memoranda of his conversation in my note-book, he spoke to a person behind me whom I had not noticed, and asked, "Were you the chief who was with the Indians at the dedication of the monument?" "I was, sir," replied a pleasant voice. I turned and observed a fine-looking, dark-complexioned, well-dressed man, whose features and expression revealed traces of the Indian race. We both arose at the same moment. I introduced myself and inquired his name. He informed me that he was George Henry Martin Johnson, a descendant, in the fourth generation, of Sir William Johnson, of the Mohawk Valley, and now *Tekarihogea*, or commander-in-chief of the Six Nations of Indians in Canada, his father having been the official successor of John Brant. To me this meeting was interesting and fortunate. I intended to visit the settlements of the Six Nations, on the Grand River, during this tour, but was doubtful concerning the best route, and the most important place for obtaining desired information. All was now plain, and, before we parted, arrangements were made for Mr. Johnson to meet me at Brantford a few days later.

On the day of my arrival at Queenston, a committee, appointed for the purpose,

had decided upon the exact spot where Brock fell. I visited it in company with Major Brown. A space sixty feet square, within which was to be placed a memorial-stone, had been staked out, and in the centre, the very spot, as the committee supposed, where the hero fell, was marked.¹ As early as 1821, John Howison, in his *Sketches of Upper Canada*, had said, "General Brock was killed close to the road that leads through Queenston village, and an aged thorn-bush now marks the place where he fell when the fatal ball entered his vitals." The spot marked by the committee is about twenty rods west of the "road that leads through Queenston," and a little eastward of the "aged thorn-bush," which had become a tree twenty feet in height, with two large stems, when I saw it. Near the site a workman was fashioning the blocks of freestone of which the monument was to be composed, and from him I obtained a sketch of it. After making



MONUMENT WHERE BROCK FELL.

¹ I was told that some old residents of the village declared that the place where Brock fell was westward of the thorn-tree, and at least twenty paces from the spot selected. James Cooper, a blacksmith, who was within six feet of Brock when he fell, said it was west of the thorn-tree; and Henry Stone, who lived in the stone house near the field, declared that he saw the blood of Brock on rocks west of the tree.

Journey from Queenston to Niagara.

Solomon Vrooman.

Appearance of the Country.

a drawing of the spot, showing the old thorn-tree on the right, and the stately monument on the Heights in the distance, I introduced, in proper place and proportions, the sketch of the memorial-stone to mark the place which Howison said "may be called classic ground." It is a small affair, being only about four feet in height. The ground around it was to be inclosed in an iron railing. The Prince of Wales (Albert Edward) was at that time^a making a tour in Canada, receiving tokens of loyalty every where. He visited Queenston very soon after I was there, and laid the corner-stone of the little monument with imposing ceremonies.¹

I left Queenston for Niagara at about nine o'clock, after riding to the point in the northern part of the village where the "old fort," or barracks, were situated, near the residence of Mr. E. Clements, of the Customs. We immediately passed a creek and deep ravine, and soon came to the first brick house below Queenston, on the left of the road, the residence of the venerable Solomon Vrooman, pleasantly situated, and surrounded by evidences of the highest and most thrifty cultivation. He was the owner of the point on which the battery bearing his name was situated,² and participated in the battle by assisting in manning the nine-pounder that was mounted there. I called to see him, and spent half an hour with him most agreeably. He was a slender man, seventy-six years of age. His native place was in the Mohawk Valley, but he had lived in Canada since the days of his young manhood. He went with me to the spot where the battery was, and pointed out the very prominent mounds that yet remain, near a barn, from which I made the sketch printed on page 391. He

Solomon Vrooman

told me that one hundred and sixty shot were thrown from that battery during the day, wholly for the pur-

pose of obstructing the passage of the river by the Americans.³ Its range of the old ferry and the new crossing-place at the present suspension bridge was point-blank and effectual. On one occasion during the afternoon, some Americans, trying to escape from Queenston by swimming the river, were brought by the current within rifle-shot distance of the battery, when one of the men in his company raised his piece to fire. Vrooman knocked up the piece, exclaiming indignantly, "Shame on you! none but a coward would fire upon men thus struggling for their lives!"

The road from Vrooman's to Niagara was one of the most delightful that I had ever traveled. Most of the way it skirted the high bank of the winding river, which was covered with stately trees, through which continual glimpses of the American shore could be obtained. Landward were seen broad fields, from which bountiful harvests were pouring into barns, or green waving Indian corn, or numerous orchards, whose trees were so heavily laden with fruit that they drooped like weeping willows. As we approached Niagara we passed through first an aromatic pine grove, and then a narrow forest of oaks, beeches, maples, and evergreens, and emerged upon an open plain, the property of the government, with the mounds of abandoned Fort George,

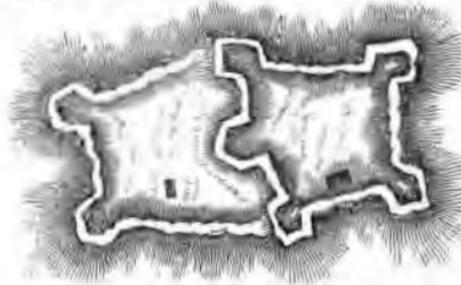
¹ The Prince of Wales arrived at Queenston on the 17th of September, and on the following day he laid the corner-stone of the little monument. Near the spot was erected a triumphal arch, on which, in large letters, were the words "VICTORIA—WELCOME." The veterans of 1812, who were present, formed a guard of honor for the young prince. In the background were the St. Catharine's Riflemen with a brass band. A silver trowel was presented to the prince with which to perform the ceremony. Upon it was engraved the following inscription: "Presented to His Royal Highness ALBERT EDWARD, Prince of Wales, by the Brock Monument Committee, on Queenston Heights, 18th September, 1860." On one side of the monument was placed the following inscription: "This stone was placed by his Royal Highness ALBERT EDWARD, Prince of Wales, on the 18th of September, 1860." On the other side, "Near this spot Sir Isaac Brock, K. B., Provisional Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada, fell on the 13th of October, 1812, while advancing to repel the invasion of the enemy."

² See Map on page 382.

³ The battery was crescent-shaped. Engineer Gray, in his manuscript report now before me, thus describes it: "It is built *en barbette* (that is, without embrasures), and has a high breastwork to the river. On the north, a frame house, intended for a barn: on the west is a gun, mounted *en barbette* (on the top of the breastwork), and flanked by the skeleton of a house. Within five rods of this runs the highway to Fort George."

on the bank of the river, breaking the monotony of the level far to the right. There were no fences to obstruct the view or the travel on the plain. Cattle were feeding on the short grass, and here and there a footman or a horseman might be seen. We

turned out of the beaten road to the right, and drove across the plain to one of the angles of the fort. There I left horse and driver, clambered up the steep grassy sides of the embankment, and commenced a hasty exploration of the interior of the fort. The breastworks in all directions were quite perfect, and the entire form of the fort could be traced without difficulty. There were two or three houses within the works, and the parade and other



PRESENT OUTLINES OF FORT GEORGE.

portions were devoted to the cultivation of garden vegetables.

In the most southerly part of the fort, about three hundred yards from the river, is an old powder magazine, built by the French within a stockade. It was occupied as a dwelling by the family of an English soldier named Lee when I was there in 1860. The higher building seen in the picture is the old magazine. It was covered with slate, and its walls, four and a half feet thick, were supported by three buttresses on each side. The buildings on the left are more modern. The interior of the magazine is arched, and the doors were originally covered with plates of copper fastened by copper nails.



FRENCH MAGAZINE AT FORT GEORGE.

The buildings on the left are more modern. The interior of the magazine is arched, and the doors were originally covered with plates of copper fastened by copper nails.

Mrs. Lee was an intelligent woman, very communicative, and free in the dispensation of the hospitalities of her humble abode. We were refreshed with cakes, harvest-apples, and cold spring-water. She filled a small basket with copper coins and other relics, and as I parted with her she wished me good luck in my journeyings. I clambered over an irregular and steep bank northward of the old magazine, visited the site of the "cavalier battery" where Brock and M'Donell were buried, and sketched the "new magazine," erected by the British in 1812, delineated on page 405. It is of brick. Near it was a small house occupied by an Irish family, and the magazine was used as a pig-sty.

From Fort George we rode to Niagara, half a mile below, halted long enough to obtain refreshments for ourselves and the horse, and then rode out over the garrison reservation, northeastward of the town, to Fort Mississauga,¹ a strong earth-work with a castle, which was constructed by the British during the war of 1812. Cattle were grazing upon the plain; the waters of Lake Ontario, ruffled by a breeze, were sparkling in the distance, and the whole scene was one of quiet and repose. Such, indeed, is

¹ *Mississauga* or *Mississauga* is the Indian name of a small black or dark brown rattlesnake, twelve or fourteen inches in length, which usually inhabits tamarack and cranberry swamps in Northwestern Ohio and Canada West. This is the name of an Indian tribe; also of a large stream in Canada West that empties into Lake Huron. In the little view of Fort Mississauga given on the next page, Fort Niagara is seen on the right in the distance, and Lake Ontario on the west.

Fort Mississaga in 1890.

Return to Niagara Falls.

Departure for the Grand River.

the impression on the mind in Canada, as compared with "the States." The turmoil and bustle that marks an American population in large or small numbers, was but slightly manifested there. I found apparent stagnation in Queenston; and Niagara, though a fine



DISTANT VIEW OF FORT MISSISSAGA.

was one of the oldest towns in the province, having been settled by Colonel Simcoe when he was the lieutenant governor.³ It was a place of considerable trade before the opening of the Welland Canal, about thirty years ago, and is now, * 1791. as then, the capital of the Niagara District.

We found the gate of Fort Mississaga wide open, and walked in without leave.



INTERIOR VIEW—FORT MISSISSAGA IN 1890.

Not a human face was visible. I went up to and around the ramparts, and, taking a position over the entrance-gate, from which I could see most of the interior and Fort Niagara beyond, I sketched the scene. In this view are seen the barracks and the castle, with Fort Niagara across the river in the extreme distance. The castle is built of brick. The walls are eight feet in thickness, and covered with stucco. While engaged with the sketch I was startled by a voice near me. It was that of the whole garrison, comprised in the person of Patrick Burns, who told me to make as many sketches as I pleased, for the fort was uninhabited except by his own family.

At an early hour we started on our return to Niagara Falls. I attempted to drive, but soon became discouraged by the eccentric movements of the horse, when the boy told me for the

first time that he was "as blind as a bat." But I have no reason to complain of the animal, for he carried us back in safety, and in time for dinner and for departure by the evening train for the West. Having placed my luggage in charge of a proper person at the suspension bridge station, I crossed that marvelous hanging viaduct on foot, along the carriage-road under the railway gallery, with my satchel in hand. As I left the bridge to ascend to the station on the Canada shore I was hailed by a custom-house officer, of whose business I had not the least suspicion until informed by him. Believing my assurance that the satchel contained nothing contraband, he allowed me to pass, after I had expressed a wish, good-naturedly, that the United States might soon be annexed to Canada, so that revenue officers might be allowed to engage in some other employment.

On entering the cars on the Canada side I met Chief Johnson. We traveled to-

gether as far as St. Catharine, eleven miles, where I intended to spend a day or two, and agreed upon the time when we should meet at Brantford. The impressions made by the time spent at St. Catharine, the persons I met at that famous gathering of invalids around a mineral spring, a visit to the battle-ground of the Beaver Dams, the journey to Hamilton, and a ride to Stony Creek, a place made famous in the annals of the war we are now considering by a conflict and the capture of two American generals, are always summoned by memory with great pleasure. Of these I shall hereafter write.

On Tuesday evening, the 20th of August, I arrived at Hamilton, at the head of Lake Ontario, by the Great Western Railway, and spent the night at the "Royal Hotel." Early on the following morning I rode out to Stony Creek, seven miles, and returned in time to take the cars at meridian for Paris in company with a young Quadroon chief of the Six Nations, named M'Murray, whose mother, wife of the Reverend Dr. M'Murray, of Niagara, was a half-breed Indian woman, and sister to the first wife of H. R. Schoolcraft, Esq. He was one of the finest formed and most attractive young men, in person and feature, I have ever met.

The road from Hamilton to Paris, nearly thirty miles, passes through a very picturesque country. For five miles it skirts the northern high bank of the great marsh that extends from Burlington Bay to Dundas, and follows, a greater portion of the way, a line parallel with Dundas Street, or the Governor's Road. At Paris, a large town, situated partly on a high rolling plain, and partly in a deep valley, on Smith's Creek and the Grand River, I left the Great Western Railway, and took passage for Brantford, seven miles southward, on the Buffalo and Huron Road, which here intersects it. The country was hilly most of the way, but at Brantford it spreads out into a beautiful plain, or high gravelly ridge, overhanging an extensive and well-cultivated region. The town derives its name from the great Mohawk² chief, the Indians having a ford across the Grand River here, which they called "Brant's Ford," it being near his residence.³ The situation of the town, on the north or right bank of the Grand River, is a healthful one. That river is navigable to within less than three miles of the village. The deficiency in that distance is supplied by a canal. The population is about four thousand.

Early on the morning after my arrival at Brantford I was met by Chief Johnson, who had come up to the village the previous evening for the purpose. We left at six o'clock for the Onondaga Station, about nine miles below, from which we walked to Mr. Johnson's house, half way between the villages of Onondaga and Tuscarora, the former inhabited by white people, and the latter wholly by the Indians. Onondaga is on the north side of the river, and Tuscarora on the south. We passed several pure-blooded Indians on the way, some of them, who remain pagans, wearing portions of the ancient savage costume; but most of them, men and women, were dressed in the style of the white people around them.

¹ Paris was so named on account of the gypsum, or "plaster of Paris," which abounds there.

² The word Mohawk, in that language, signifies "flint and steel."

³ Those of the Six Nations who joined the British during the Revolution were promised by the governors of Canada, Carleton and Haldimand, that they should be well provided for at the close of the war. But in the treaty of peace in 1783, no provision was made for the Indians. At that time the Mohawks, with Brant at their head, were temporarily residing on the American side of the Niagara River, near its mouth. The Senecas offered them a home in the Genesee Valley, but Brant and his followers had resolved not to live in the United States. He went to Quebec to claim from Governor Haldimand the fulfillment of his promise. He had fixed his eye upon a large tract of land on the Bay of Quinté. But the Senecas did not wish them to go so far away, and they chose a large tract on the Grand River. This matter being settled, Brant went to England at the close of 1775, and during the remainder of his life he devoted much of his time to the moral improvement of his people.

The grant of land on the Onise, or Grand River, which Brant, in the behalf of the Indians, procured in 1784, comprised an area of twelve hundred square miles, or, as Brant expressed it when asked how much would satisfy them, "six miles each side of the river from its mouth to its source." The whole country thus granted was fertile and beautiful. Of all that splendid domain, running up into the country from Lake Erie toward Lake Huron to the Falls of Elora, the Indians now retain only comparatively small tracts in the vicinity of Brantford. In 1830 the Indians made a surrender to the government of the town plot of Brantford, when it was surveyed and sold to actual settlers. It soon grew into a large and thriving village.

Mission-house on Grand River.

Costume of the Chief of the Six Nations.

Indian Weapons.

On our way we also passed the old mission-house, constructed of logs in 1827, for the residence of the Reverend Robert Luggier, the predecessor of the present missionary among the Indians there. It is near the left bank of the Grand River; and from the road where the sketch was made is a fine view of the beautiful valley through which that stream winds its way toward Lake Erie.



MISSION-HOUSE ON THE GRAND RIVER.

A walk of a mile and a half brought us to "Chiefswood," the residence of Mr. Johnson, situated on a gentle eminence, with beautiful grounds sloping to the banks of the Grand River, and surrounded by his farm of two hundred acres of excellent land. It is a modest, square mansion, two stories in height, built of brick, and stuccoed. There I was cordially welcomed by Mrs. Johnson, a handsome and well-educated woman, daughter of a clergyman of the Church of England, and the mother of three fine-looking, healthy children. While awaiting preparations for breakfast, Mr. Johnson proceeded to his business office, leaving me to amuse myself with the curiosities which adorned the little parlor. On a table were several rare Indian relics, and the daguerreotypes of some Indian chiefs. Among the latter was one of Mr. Johnson himself, in the military costume of commander-in-chief of the Six Nations, as seen in the engraving. In precisely this garb he appeared, in compliment to my curiosity, when he came to invite me to breakfast. The coat and breeches were white cloth, and the scarf and sash were rich specimens of Indian work, composed of cloth, ribbons, beads, and



*G. H. M. Johnson
Z. Chief.*

porcupine quills. In one hand he holds a handsome curled-maple handled, silver-mounted pipe-tomahawk,² and in the other a most formidable weapon, composed of the shank of a deer, with the bare shin-bone for a handle, dried in the angular position seen in the small engraving on the following page, and holding a thick glittering blade, which may be used either in giving deadly



ORNAMENTAL TOMAHAWK.

¹ It will be observed, in the signature of Mr. Johnson, that a character in the form of a Z precedes the word "chief." This indicates an arm bent at the elbow, and signifies that the head chief is the right arm of the nation.

² These ornamental tomahawks are not for practical use. The handle, fourteen inches in length, contains a tube that answers the purpose of the stem of a pipe, and the head of the tomahawk is arranged as a pipe-bowl. In this specimen the blade and handle are connected by a silver chain. The blade is brass except the steel edge.

blows or as a scalping-knife. These, with a silver *calumet*, or pipe of peace, compose a part of the regalia of the civil and military heads of the Six Nations. These arti-



DEER-SHANK WEAPON.



SILVER CALUMET.

cles had been long in possession of the nation.¹ On the table was also a daguerre-type of Oshawahnah, the lieutenant of Tecumtha at the battle of the Thames, and who in 1861 was yet living on Walpole Island, in Lake St. Clair, off the coast of Michigan. Mr. Johnson kindly presented to me the likeness of himself and of that venerable chief. That of the latter, with some facts concerning him, will be given hereafter.

By the side of the fireplace hung an undressed deerskin sheath which attracted my attention. I drew from it an ancient scalping-knife, half consumed by rust, as seen in the little picture.

Its history, as related to me by Mr. Johnson, is curious. When he was



ANCIENT SCALPING-KNIFE.

about to break ground for the foundation of his house, two or three years previous to my

visit,² the venerable Whitecoat, a centenarian chief then living at Tuscarora Village, came to him, and, pointing to the huge stump of a tree that had been felled within the prescribed lines of the building, said, "Dig there, and you will find a scalping-knife that I buried seventy years ago. You know," he continued, "that before the laws of the white man governed us, it was the duty of the nearest of kin of a wounded man to avenge his death by shedding the blood of the murderer in like manner, and that the weapon so employed was never afterward used, but buried. I thus took vengeance for my brother's blood, and at the foot of that tree I buried the fatal knife. Dig, and you'll find it." Johnson did so, and found nothing but the rusty blade, to which he has affixed a wooden handle, made like the original. Whitecoat was among the warriors who were in the battle at Queenston. More than twenty of his companions on that occasion were living in the Grand River settlements in 1860. The whole number of the Six Nations, with the Chippewas, in those settlements was about three thousand. Of these about five hundred were pagans. The latter are chiefly Cayugas, who are usually of purer blood than the others, and consequently retain more of the Indian feeling and dislike of the Christians—the personification of hated civilization.

¹ I saw and sketched these objects at the store of Mr. Allan Cleghorn, in Brantford, whose great interest in the welfare of the Indians in that vicinity caused him to be elected to a chieftaincy among them, according to the old Indian custom—a compliment equivalent to the presentation of the "freedom of a city" to meritorious men.

The silver *calumet*, or pipe of peace, used at councils and in making treaties, above delineated, was quite old. On the broad, ornamented silver plate under the bowl and part of the stem was the following inscription: "To the Mohawk Indians, from the Nine Patentees of the Tract near Schoharie, granted in 1769." On one side of the bowl was the figure of a white man, and on the other that of an Indian. These were connected with the representation of the sun on the front of the bowl by a union chain. Suspended from the stem in a festoon was, first, a silver chain, and then strings of wampum. The stem was eighteen inches in length.

The sword seen in the picture was presented to Mr. Johnson in 1845 by T. D. Beverly, Esq., of Three Rivers, Canada, because of the chief's speech to the Six Nations (when assembled on the queen's birthday), in deprecation of the action of the Canadian Parliament in paying Mr. McKenzie and "other rebels" for their losses during the civil war in 1812 and 1838. It was an elegant sword.

Mr. Johnson was born near Brantford on the 7th of October, 1818. He was a lineal descendant of Sir William Johnson, through Sir John Johnson, whose son Jacob was his grandfather. His military commission as chief of the Six Nations gave him the rank and pay of colonel. His influence was powerful, and he had the esteem of his people and of the white inhabitants.

Village of Onondaga and Mohawk.

The Mohawk Church.

Appearance of the Interior.

Immediately after breakfast I bade adieu to Mrs. Johnson and her interesting little family, and left "Chiefswood" for Brantford, accompanied by the kind-hearted leader in his own conveyance. We went by the way of Onondaga and Mohawk or "The Institute," where Brant first settled. Near the former village Mr. Johnson has a farm, on the verge of which, and close by the town, is a free Episcopal church, built of brick, and devoted to the use of the poor white people of that section. For that noble purpose Mr. Johnson gave the ground and a considerable sum of money. In the village, which is pleasantly situated on a plain, is a small Methodist chapel and some neat cottages. Only here and there an Indian family were seen, and these were found in a state of excitement and grief because of the death of a fine lad, a grandson of Brant, who had been killed by being thrown from a horse that morning.

We reached the old Mohawk church (the first of the kind erected in the province) toward noon, found the door open, and entered. Some carpenters were at work repairing the exterior, but in no way changing its form from what it was originally. It is of wood, and was erected in the year 1783. It is a very plain, unpretending structure within and without. The only ornament, except the



MOHAWK CHURCH.



INTERIOR OF MOHAWK CHURCH.

upholstery of the pulpit and the upper part of the frames inclosing the Ten Commandments, is a representation of the royal arms of England, handsomely carved and gilt, attached to the wall over the entrance-door, inside. Back of the pulpit are two black tablets with the Commandments inscribed upon them. On the right of it is another tablet, on which is written the Lord's Prayer, and on the left another, with the Apostles' Creed, all in the Mohawk language.¹ In front of the little chancel is a neat font. The seats have high backs. The one seen in

the corner, at the right of the pulpit, was pointed out to me as that which Brant and

¹ The following is a copy of the Lord's Prayer, as written upon the tablet in the old Mohawk church:
"Shoegwanlha Karouhyakouh teghelderoub, Wagwaghsanadokeeghdiete: Sayanertsherah aodaweghti; Tsineagh-
sereh egh neayaweanne ne oughweatsyake tsioni nityouht ne Karouhyakouh. Takyouh ne Keah weghntserate ne ni-
yadeweghtserake oegwanadarok: Neoni toedagwarighwyastea ne tsiniyogwatewatouh, tsiniyout ne oekyounha
tatsyakhrihwiyoesteanis ne waonkhiyatswatea. Neoni togha tagwagbharinet tewadadeanakeraghtoeke: Nok toe-

Building of the Mohawk Church.	Its Bell.	Tomb of the Brant Family.	The "Mohawk Institute."
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his family occupied when he resided there. The area of the interior is only about thirty by forty feet, and is lighted by four arched windows on each side. The timber for the church was floated down the Grand River, sawed and dressed by hand, and carried to the spot by the Indians. The communion service, still used in the church, was presented to the Mohawks by Queen Anne. It has been generally supposed that the bell was also a gift of the royal lady; but, on examination, I found the following "card" of the manufacturer cast upon it: "John Warner, Fleet Street, London, 1786." It was doubtless brought from England at about that time by Brant.

Near the south side of the church is the tomb of Brant and his son and official successors. His original family vault was built of wood. It fell into decay, and in 1850 the inhabitants of the vicinity erected a new and substantial tomb, composed of light brown sandstone. The public ceremonies on the occasion were conducted chiefly by the Freemasons (Brant being a member of that order), assisted by a large gathering of the people from the surrounding country and from the States, especially from the Mohawk Valley, full five thousand in number. Upon a massive slab which composes the top of the tomb are appropriate inscriptions commemorative of both father and son.¹ A picture of the tomb may be seen on page 401. In front of the church, near the entrance-gate to the grounds, is the grave of the maternal grandfather of Chief Johnson, who was in the train of young Brant at the battle of Queenston. A stone slab, with an appropriate inscription, covers his grave.²

After sketching the exterior and interior of the ancient church and Brant's tomb, and visiting the much-altered house, a few rods distant, where the great chieftain lived, we went to the "Mohawk Institute," the central point of missionary effort among the Six Nations, commenced and continued by "The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts."³ Their first missionary to the Mohawks was sent in the year 1702, and from that time to this they have followed the waning tribe and its confederates in the old league with motherly solicitude. This company have maintained a missionary among the Six Nations in Canada ever since their migration thither. They have contributed largely to the repairs of the old Mohawk church, erected a new one in Tuscarora Village, and now maintain at the "Institute" about sixty Indian scholars. These were under the charge of the Reverend Abraham Nelles, the missionary of the station, and his excellent wife, who had been in that useful field of labor since 1829. His family had had ecclesiastical connection with the Six

dagwayadakah tsinoewe niyodaxheah: Ikea lese saweak ne kayanertsherah, neoni ne kashatsteaghsers, neoni ne ceweseaghtshera, tsiniyeaheawe neoni tsiniyeaheawe. Amen."

¹ The following are copies of the inscriptions:

"This tomb is erected to the memory of THAYENDANEGEA, or Captain JOSEPH BRANT, Principal Chief and Warrior of the Six Nations Indians, by his Fellow-Subjects, admirers of his fidelity and attachment to the British Crown. Born on the banks of the Ohio River, 1749; died at Wellington Square,* U. C., 1807.

"It also contains the Remains of his Son ANYUWAIGHS, or Captain JOHN BRANT, who succeeded his Father as *Tekarihoga*, and distinguished himself in the war of 1812-15. Born at the Mohawk Village, U. C., 1794; died at the same place, 1838. Erected 1850."

The tomb is surrounded by a heavy wooden fence.

² The following is a copy of the inscription:

"In memory of GEORGE MARTIN, Mohawk Chief. Born at Kanajohara, U. S., Dec. 23, 1767; died at Grand River, C. W., Feb. 18, 1853, aged 86 years."

Chief Johnson has in his possession a silver medal, presented to his grandfather more than seventy years ago by George the Third. On one side is a profile of the king. On the other is a landscape. In the foreground is a lion in repose, and a wolf approaching him with awe. In the distance is a representation of the Mohawk church on Grand River and the mission-house near.

³ This society was incorporated by Parliament in 1701. It is the successor or continuation of an earlier one, in 1661, under the title of *The Company for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England and Parts Adjacent in America*. It was composed partly of members of the Church of England and partly of Protestant Dissenters.

* Wellington Square is a pleasant little village in Nelson Township, situated on Lake Ontario, eight miles from Hamilton, and now (1867) contains between four and five hundred inhabitants. There, north of the beach which divides Lake Ontario from Burlington Bay, Brant made his abode, in a handsome two-storied mansion, beautifully situated, long before the present village had existence. There he lived, in the English style, until his death. His widow (third wife), Catharine, was forty-eight years of age at the time of his death. She preferred the customs of her people, and soon after her husband's departure she left Lake Ontario and returned to Mohawk, on the Grand River. Her son and daughter remained at the "Brant house" on Lake Ontario, and lived in elegant style for several years.

The Work of the "Institute." The Communion Plate of the Mohawk Church. A pleasant Day with the Six Nations.

Nations for a century and a half. His faithfulness as a teacher of temporal and spiritual things merits and receives the highest commendations. He resided at the old mission-house, near Tuscarora, delineated on page 241, until 1837, when he took up his abode at Mohawk.

Unfortunately, our visit was at vacation time, and we were deprived of the coveted pleasure of seeing a group of threescore Indian children under instruction. We spent two hours very agreeably with the kind missionary and his family at the "Institute" and the parsonage at the glebe. These have each two hundred acres of fertile land, at the head of the Grand River, attached to them, and are separated by the canal, which carries the navigation of the river up to Brantford. We crossed the canal in a canoe, and at the parsonage, an old-fashioned dwelling near the old "Institute" building, with beautiful grounds



COMMUNION PLATE.

around it, we saw many curious things connected with the mission. Among them was one half of the massive silver communion plate presented by Queen Anne to the Mohawks in 1712. The other half, a duplicate of this, was lent to a church on the Bay of Quinté. Upon each was engraved the royal arms of England and "A. R."—Anne Regina—with the following inscription in double lines around them: "THE GIFT OF HER MAJESTY ANNE,

BY THE GRACE OF GOD, OF GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, AND IRELAND, AND OF HER PLANTATIONS IN NORTH AMERICA, QUEEN, TO HER INDIAN CHAPEL OF THE MOHAWKS." In addition to the three pieces given in the picture was a plate, nine inches in diameter, for receiving collections. Mr. Nelles also showed us a well-preserved folio Bible, which was printed in London in 1701, and was sent to the Mohawks with the communion plate. On the cover are the following words in gilt letters: "FOR HER MAJESTY'S CHURCH OF THE MOHAWKS, 1712."

We dined with the excellent missionaries, and then rode to Brantford, a mile and a half distant, where, after a brief tarry, I bade adieu to Mr. Johnson and the Six Nations, when I had only an hour in which to travel seven miles to Paris to take the evening train for Hamilton or Toronto. I had procured a fleet and powerful horse, and in a light wagon, with a small boy as driver, I traveled the excellent stone road, or "pike," between the two places on that hot afternoon with the speed of the trotting-course, yet with apparent ease to the splendid animal. I had four minutes to spare at Paris.

That beautiful day, spent with the Six Nations and their military chief and spiritual guide, will ever remain a precious treasure in the store-house of memory. I could think of little else while on my journey that evening from Paris to Toronto. Of my visit to that former capital of Upper Canada, known as York in the War of 1812, I shall hereafter write.¹

Let us return from our digression from the strict path of history to the Niagara frontier, which we so recently left, and consider the record of events there during the remainder of 1812, after the battle at Queenston.

The British had erected some batteries on the high banks, a little back of the Niagara River, just below Fort Erie, at a point where an invasion by the Americans

¹ The Indian name was *Darondo* or *Taronto*, signifying "Trees on the Water." This was in allusion to the long, low, sandy point (now an island), within which was the Bay of Toronto. On that point were, and still are, many trees. The distance is so great that from the shore at the city they seem to be on the water. When Colonel Simcoe became lieutenant governor of the Upper Province he endeavored to Anglicize the settlers by making them familiar with English names and things. With this object in view he gave English names to all places, and the Indian name of *Taronto* was changed to *York*, in honor of the Duke of York. It was known for many years as Little York.

Black Rock and Porter's Residence.

Attack on the Works there.

Bombardment of Fort Niagara.

might be reasonably expected. From these batteries they opened a severe fire on the morning of the 17th of November upon Black Rock opposite, then a place of quite as much importance as Buffalo in some respects. There were the head-quarters of the little army under General Smyth, and there was the fine residence of General Peter B. Porter, who was then in command there of a body of New York militia, and made



GENERAL PORTER'S RESIDENCE, BLACK ROCK.¹

that dwelling his head-quarters. There were some slight fortifications near Black Rock, but the heaviest cannon upon the breastwork was a six-pounder. All day long, at intervals, the British kept up the fire, at one time hurling a 25-pound shot against the upper loft of Porter's residence, and soon afterward dropping another ball, of

the same weight, through the roof, while he was there at dinner. At length a bomb-shell was sent into the east barrack with destructive power. It exploded the magazine, fired the buildings, and destroyed a portion of the valuable furs captured on October 9, board the *Caledonia* a few days before.² This exploit being one of the chief objects of the cannonade and bombardment, both ceased at sunset.

Very little noise was heard along that frontier for a month afterward except the sonorous cadences of General Smyth's proclamations. At length British cannon opened their thunders. Breastworks had been raised in front of Newark, opposite Fort Niagara, at intervals all the way up to Fort George, and behind them mortars and a long train of battery cannon had been placed. At six o'clock on the morning of the 21st of November these commenced a fierce bombardment of Fort Niagara, and at the same time a cannonade was opened from Fort George and its vicinity. From dawn until the evening twilight there was a continual roar from five detached batteries on the Canada shore, two of them mounting twenty-four-pounders. From these batteries two thousand red-hot shot were poured upon the American works, while the mortars, from five and a half to ten and a half inches calibre, were showering bomb-shells all day long. The latter were almost harmless, but the former set fire to several buildings within the fort, which, by the greatest exertions, were saved. The garrison, meanwhile, performed their duty nobly. They were quite sufficient in number, but lacked artillery and ammunition. The gallant Lieutenant Colonel George M'Feely² was the commander, and Major Armistead, of the United States Engineer Corps, performed the most important services at the guns and in extinguishing the flames. Captain M'Keon commanded a 12-pounder in the southeast block-house; Captain Jacks, of the 7th Regiment of Militia Artillery, was in charge of the north block-house, where he was greatly exposed to a raking fire of the enemy; and Lieutenant Rees, of the 3d United States Artillery, managed an eighteen-pounder in the southeast battery, which told heavily upon a British battery with a twenty-four-pounder *en barbette*. He was soon badly wounded in the shoulder by the falling of a part of the parapet. On the west battery an eighteen and a four pounder were directed by Lieu-

¹ This is from a sketch made by the writer in the summer of 1860, from a pier in the Niagara River. The house is upon the high shore of the river. It was then owned by Mr. Lewis F. Allen.

² M'Feely was commissioned a major in March, 1812, and in July was promoted to lieutenant colonel. He became colonel of infantry in April, 1814, and was disbanded in June, 1815.

Artillery Duel at Fort Niagara.

A heavy Force near Buffalo.

Orders for Invading Canada at that Point.

tenant Wendal, and on the mess-house,¹ Doctor Hooper, of the New York Militia, had charge of a six-pounder. South of Fort Niagara, and a dependency of it, was the "Salt Battery," so called, mounting an eighteen and a four pounder. It was directly in range of Fort George, and annoyed the garrison there exceedingly. It was commanded by Lieutenants Gansevoort and Harris, of the 1st Artillery. From these several batteries on the American side many a destructive missile went on terrible errands during the day. Newark was on fire several times before night, and the buildings in Fort George were also fired, and one of its batteries was silenced.² During the day an American twelve-pounder burst and killed two men. Two others were killed by the enemy's fire, and a lieutenant and four men were wounded. These were the casualties of the day on the American side. What injury was done to the British is not known. A shot from the Salt Battery sunk a sloop lying at the wharf on the Canada side. Night ended the artillery duel, and it was not renewed in the morning.

We have observed that General Smyth expressed his opinion to General Van Rensselaer, on his arrival on the frontier, that the proper place to cross the Niagara River for the invasion of Canada was somewhere between Fort Erie and Chippewa.³ A few days after the bombardment of Fort Niagara, Smyth attempted to act upon that opinion. His proclamation had stirred the people of Western New York, and large numbers had flocked to his standard; for his flaming sentences warmed their zeal, and they believed that all his glowing hopes would be realized and his flattering promises would be fulfilled. On the 27th of November, when Smyth called the troops to a general rendezvous at Black Rock, they numbered about four thousand five hundred. They were composed of his own regulars, and the Baltimore Volunteers under Colonel Winder, the Pennsylvania Volunteers under General Tannehill, and the New York Volunteers under General Peter B. Porter. With these he felt competent to invade Canada successfully.

As early as the 25th, General Smyth issued orders for "the whole army to be ready to march at a moment's warning." "The tents," he said, "will be left standing. Officers will carry their knapsacks. The baggage will follow in convenient time." After giving directions for the embarkation of the troops in the boats provided by Colonel Winder, to whom that important service was intrusted, he gave the following directions for forming the troops in battle order on the Canada shore: "Beginning on the right, as follows: Captain Gibson's Artillery; the Sixth and Thirteenth Infantry; Captain Towson's Artillery; the Fourteenth and Twenty-third Infantry as one regiment; Captain Barker's and Captain Branch's Artillery; the Twelfth and Twentieth Infantry; Captain Archer's Artillery; General Tannehill's Infantry; a company of Riflemen; the Infantry of Colonel Swift and Colonel McClure; a company of Riflemen; General Porter's Infantry; Captain Leonard's Artillery; a battalion of Riflemen on each flank, in a line perpendicular to that formed by the main army, extending to the front and rear."⁴

¹ The Indians were jealous of any attempts of the French to build any thing like a fort among them. The French succeeded by stratagem. They obtained permission to erect a great wigwam, or dwelling, and then induced the Indians to go on a long hunt. When they returned the walls were so advanced that they might defy the savages. They completed the building in a way that they might plant cannon on the top, and used it as a mess-house. Under it was a deep dungeon, and in that dungeon was a well. It is believed that political prisoners from France were confined in that dark prison. The water of the well was poisoned at one time, and a story was believed by superstitious soldiers that at midnight the headless body of a Frenchman might be seen sitting on the margin of the well, where he had been murdered.

² Thompson, in his *Historical Sketches of the Late War*, page 80, says, "Such was the spirited earnestness of both officers and men at this battery, that when, in the most tremendous of the bombardment, they had fired away all their cartridges, they cut up their flannel waistcoats and shirts, and the soldiers their trowsers, to supply their guns." He also speaks of the wife of an Irish artilleryman, named Doyle, who had been made a prisoner at Queenston, and to whom a parole had been refused, determined to resent the act by taking her husband's place as far as possible. On the occasion now under consideration she took her place at the mess-house, and supplied the six-pounder there with hot shot. Regardless of the shot and shell that fell around her, she never quitted her station until the last gun had been fired.

³ See Smyth's letter to Van Rensselaer, note 2, page 389.

⁴ Manuscript order, November 25, 1812: *Winder Papers*. In that order the directions for attack were given as follows:

Every thing was in readiness on the 27th^a for invasion, and arrangements were made for the expedition to embark at the navy yard below Black Rock at *réveille* on the morning of the 28th. Seventy public boats, capable of carrying forty men each; five large private boats, in which one hundred men each could be borne; and ten scows for artillery, with many small boats, were pressed into the service, so that three thousand troops, the whole number to be employed in the invasion, might cross at once. That evening Smyth issued his final order, directing Lieutenant Colonel Boerstler to cross over at three o'clock in the morning with the effective men of Colonel Winder's regiment, and destroy a bridge about five miles below Fort Erie, capture the guard stationed there, kill or take the artillery horses, and, with the captives, if any, return to the American shore. Captain King was directed to cross at the same time at the "Red House," higher up the river, to storm the British batteries. It was left to the discretion of Boerstler to march up the Canada shore to assist King, or to return immediately after performing his allotted work at the bridge. "It is not intended to keep possession," said the order. "Let the wounded be kept from the public eye to-morrow. You [Colonel Winder] will remain on this bank and give directions."¹

General Smyth had so long and loudly proclaimed his designs against Canada, and had so fairly indicated his probable point of invasion, that the authorities on the other side were prepared to meet him at any place between Fort Erie and Chippewa. Major Ormsby, of the Forty-ninth, with a detachment of that and the Newfoundland regiment, was at the fort. The ferry opposite Black Rock was occupied by two companies of militia under Captain Bostwick. Two and a half miles from Fort Erie, at a house on the Chippewa road, was Lieutenant Lamont, with a detachment of the Forty-ninth, and Lieutenant King, of the Royal Engineers, with a three and six pounder, and some militia artillerymen. Near the same spot were two batteries, one mounting an eighteen and the other a twenty-four pound cannon, also under Lamont. A mile farther down was a post occupied by a detachment under Lieutenant Bartley; and on Frenchman's Creek, four and a half miles from Fort Erie, was a party of seventy under Lieutenant M'Intyre. Lieutenant Colonel Cecil Bisshopp was at Chippewa with Hatt with a small detachment of militia. The whole number of British troops, scattered along a line of twenty miles, did not, according to the most reliable estimates, exceed one thousand men.

Cecil Bisshopp

Before the appointed hour on the morning of the 28th,^b the boats were in readiness under the general superintendence of Lieutenant Angus, of the navy, at the head of a corps of marines and seamen, assisted by Lieutenant Dudley, Sailing-master Watts, of *Caledonia* fame,² and several other naval officers. It was a cold and dreary night.

Sam. Angus

At three in the morning^c the advanced parties left the American shore for their respective destinations. One, under Lieutenant Colonel Boerstler, consisted of about two hundred men of Colonel Winder's regiment, in eleven boats; and the other, under Captain King, was composed of one hundred and fifty regular soldiers, and seventy sailors under Lieutenant Angus, in ten boats. King's party were discovered upon the water a quarter of a mile from the shore, and were

¹ "1. The artillery will spend some of their first shot on the enemy's artillery, and then aim at the infantry, raking them where it is practicable. 2. The firing of musketry by wings or companies will begin at the distance of two hundred yards, aiming at the middle and firing deliberately. 3. At twenty yards' distance the soldiers will be ordered to trail arms, advance with shouts, fire at five paces' distance, and charge bayonets. 4. The soldiers will be *silent*, above all things, attentive at the word of command, load quick and well, and *aim low*."

¹ Manuscript order of General Smyth to Colonel Winder, November 27, 1812: *Winder Papers*.

² See page 386.

so warmly assailed by volleys of musketry and shot from a field-piece at the Red House, that six of the ten boats were compelled to return. The other four resolutely landed in good order, in the face of the storm of bullets and grape-shot from flying artillery; and before King could form his troops on the shore, Angus and his seamen, with characteristic impetuosity, rushed into the hottest fire and suffered considerably. King formed his corps as quickly as possible, and the enemy were soon dispersed. He then proceeded to storm and take in quick succession two British batteries above the landing-place, while Angus and his seamen rushed upon the field-pieces at the Red House, captured and spiked them, and cast them, with their *caissons*,¹ into the river. In this assault Sailing-master Watts was mortally wounded while leading on the seamen.² Angus and his party returned to the landing-place, with Lieutenant King, of the Royal Artillery, wounded and a prisoner. Supposing the other six boats had landed (for it was too dark to see far along the shore), and that Captain King and his party had been taken prisoners, Angus crossed to the American shore in the four boats. This unfortunate mistake left King, with Captains Morgan and Sproull, Lieutenant Houston, and Samuel Swartwout, of New York, who had volunteered for the service with the little party of regulars, without any means of crossing. King waited a while for re-enforcements. None came, and he went to the landing-place for the purpose of crossing, with a number of the British artillerists whom he had made prisoners. To his dismay, he discovered the absence of all the boats. He pushed down the river in the dark for about two miles, when he found two large ones. Into these he placed all of his officers, the prisoners, and one half of his men. These had not reached the American shore when King and the remainder of his troops were taken prisoners by a superior force.

Boerstler and his party, in the mean time, had been placed in much peril. The firing upon King had aroused the enemy all along the Canada shore, and they were on the alert. Boerstler's boats became separated in the darkness. Seven of them landed above the bridge, to be destroyed, while four others, that approached the designated landing-place, were driven off by a party of the enemy. Boerstler landed boldly alone, under fire from a foe of unknown numbers, and drove them to the bridge at the point of the bayonet. Orders were then given for the destruction of that structure, but, owing to the confusion at the time of landing, the axes had been left in the boat. The bridge was only partially destroyed, and one great object of this advance party of the invading army was not accomplished. Boerstler was about to return to his boats and recross the river, because of the evident concentration of troops to that point in overwhelming numbers, when he was compelled to form his lines for immediate battle. Intelligence came from the commander of the boat-guard that they had captured two British soldiers, who informed them that the whole garrison at Fort Erie was approaching, and that the advance guard was not five minutes distant. This intelligence was correct. Darkness covered every thing, and Boerstler resorted to stratagem when he heard the tramp of the approaching foe. He gave commanding orders in a loud voice, addressing his subordinates as field officers. The British were deceived. They believed the Americans to be in much greater force than they really were. A collision immediately ensued in the gloom. Boerstler ordered the discharge of a single volley, and then a bayonet charge. The enemy broke and fled in confusion, and Boerstler crossed the river without annoyance.³

¹ A *caisson* is an ammunition chest or wagon in which powder and bomb-shells are carried.

² See page 386.

³ Colonel Winder's manuscript report to General Smyth, December 7, 1812. Winder had attempted to re-enforce the troops on the Canada shore, but failed. On the return of Angus and his party, he was ordered to cross the river with two hundred and fifty men. Within twenty minutes after the order was given, he and his troops were battling with the current and the floating ice. Winder's boat was the first and only one that touched the Canada shore, the current having carried the others below. The enemy, with strong force and a piece of artillery, disputed his landing. Resistance would be vain, and Winder ordered a retreat, after losing six men killed and twenty-two wounded. On his return he formed his regiment at once, to join in the embarkation at dawn.

In the report above cited Colonel Winder paid the following compliment to Captain Totten, of the Engineers, who,

It was sunrise when the troops began to embark, and so tardy were the movements that it was late in the afternoon when all were ready. General Smyth did not make his appearance during the day,¹ and all the movements were under the direction of his subordinates. A number of boats had been left to strand upon the shore, and became filled with water, snow, and ice; and as hour after hour passed by, dreariness and disappointment weighed heavily upon the spirits of the shivering troops. Meanwhile the enemy had collected in force on the opposite shore, and were watching every movement. At length, when all seemed ready, and impatience had yielded to hope, an order came from the commanding general "to disembark *and dine!*"² The wearied and worried troops were deeply exasperated by this order, and nothing but the most positive assurances that the undertaking would be immediately resumed kept them from open mutiny. The different regiments retired sullenly to their respective quarters, and General Porter, with his dispirited New York Volunteers, marched in disgust to Buffalo.

^a November 28,
1812. Smyth now called a council of officers.^a They could not agree. The best of them urged the necessity and expediency of crossing in force at once, before the enemy could make formidable preparations for their reception. The general decided otherwise, and doubt and despondency brooded over the camp that night. The ensuing Sabbath dawn brought no relief. Preparations for another embarkation were indeed in progress, while the enemy, too, was busy in opposing labor. It was evident to every spectator of judgment that the invasion must be attempted at another point of the river, when, toward evening, to the astonishment of all, the general issued an order, perfectly characteristic of the man, for the troops to be ready at the navy yard, at eight o'clock the next morning,^b for embarkation.

^b November 30. "The general will be on board," he pompously proclaimed. "Neither rain, snow, or frost will prevent the embarkation," he said. "The cavalry will scour the fields from Black Rock to the bridge, and suffer no idle spectators. While embarking, the music will play martial airs. *Yankee Doodle* will be the signal to get under way. . . . The landing will be effected in despite of cannon. The whole army has seen that cannon is to be little dreaded. . . . Hearts of War! to-morrow will be memorable in the annals of the United States."³

"To-morrow" came, but not the promised achievement. All the officers disapproved of the time and manner of the proposed embarkation, and expressed their opinions freely. At General Porter's quarters a change was agreed upon. Porter proposed deferring the embarkation until Tuesday morning, the 1st of December, an hour or two before daylight, and to make the landing-place a little below the upper end of Grand Island. Winder suggested the propriety of making a descent directly upon Chippewa, "the key of the country." This Smyth consented to attempt, intending, as he said, if successful, to march down through Queenston, and lay siege to Fort George.⁴ Orders were accordingly given for a general rendezvous at the navy yard at three o'clock on Tuesday morning, and that the troops should be collected in the woods near by on Monday, where they should build fires and await the signal for gathering on the shore of the river. The hour arrived, but when day dawned only fifteen hundred were embarked. Tannehill's Pennsylvania Brigade were not present. Before their arrival rumors had reached the camp that they, too, like Van Rensselaer's militia at Lewiston, had raised a constitutional question about being led out of their state. Yet their scruples seem to have been overcome at this time, and they would

at the time of his death in 1804, was Chief Engineer of the Army of the United States: "It is with great pleasure I acknowledge the intelligence and skill which Captain Totton, of the Engineers, has yielded to the works which are rising. To him shall we be indebted for what I believe will be a respectable state of preparation in a short time."

¹ Thomson's *Historical Sketches, etc.*, page 85.

² General Smyth's dispatch to General Dearborn, December 4, 1812.

³ Autograph order, Winder Papers, dated "Head-quarters, Camp near Buffalo, Nov. 29, 1812."

⁴ Smyth's dispatch to General Dearborn, December 4, 1812.

Smyth's Council of Officers. The Invasion of Canada abandoned. Disappointment and Indignation of the Troops.

have invaded Canada cheerfully under other auspices. But distrust of their leader, created by the events of the last forty-eight hours, had demoralized nearly the whole army. They had made so much noise in the embarkation that the startled enemy had sounded his alarm bugle and discharged signal-guns from Fort Erie to Chippewa. Tannehill's Pennsylvanians had not appeared, and many other troops lingered upon the shore, loth to embark. In this dilemma Smyth hastily called a council of the regular officers, utterly excluding those of the volunteers from the conference, and the first intimation of the result of that council was an order from the commanding general, sent to General Porter, who was in a boat with the pilot, a fourth of a mile from shore, in the van of the impatient flotilla, directing the whole army to debark and repair to their quarters.¹ This was accompanied by a declaration that the invasion of Canada was abandoned at present, pleading, in bar of just censure, that his orders from his superiors were not to attempt it with less than three thousand men.² The regulars were ordered into winter quarters, and the volunteers were dismissed to their homes.

This order for debarkation, and the fact that just previously a British major, bearing a flag of truce, had crossed the river and held an interview with General Smyth, caused the most intense indignation, and the most fearful suspicions of his loyalty³ in the army, especially among the volunteers, whose officers he had insulted by neglect. The troops, without order or restraint, discharged their muskets in all directions, and a scene of insubordination and utter confusion followed. At least a thousand of the volunteers had come from their homes in response to his invitation, and the promise that they should certainly be led into Canada by a victor. They had imposed implicit confidence in his ability and the sincerity of his great words, and in proportion to their faith and zeal were now their disappointment and resentment. Unwilling to have their errand to the frontier fruitless of all but disgrace, the volunteers earnestly requested permission to be led into Canada under General Porter, promising the commanding general the speedy capture of Fort Erie if he would furnish them with four pieces of artillery. But Smyth evaded their request, and the volunteers were sent home uttering imprecations against a man whom they considered a mere blusterer without courage, and a conceited deceiver without honor. They felt themselves betrayed, and the inhabitants in the vicinity sympathized with them. Their indignation was greatly increased by ill-timed and ungenerous charges made by Smyth, in his report to General Dearborn, against General Porter, in whom the volunteers had the greatest confidence.⁴ His person was for some time in danger. He was compelled to double the guards around his tent, and to move it from place to place to avoid continual insults.⁵ He was several times fired at when he ventured out of his marquee. Porter openly attributed the abandonment of the invasion of Canada to the cowardice of Smyth. A bitter quarrel ensued, and soon resulted in a challenge by the general-in-chief for his second in command to test the courage of both by a duel.⁶ In direct violation of the Articles of War, these superior officers of

¹ Autograph statement of Colonel Winder.

² General Smyth's report to General Dearborn, December 4, 1812.

³ It is proper to say, in justice to General Smyth, that there were no just grounds because of that event for any suspicions of his loyalty. Colonel Winder had been to the British camp with a flag two days before, to make some arrangement about an exchange of prisoners, and this visit of the British major was doubtless in response.

⁴ General Porter was a partner in business with Mr. Barton, the army contractor for the Niagara frontier, and General Smyth alluded to him in his report as "the contractor's agent." He charged him with "exciting some clamor" against the measures of General Smyth, and said, "He finds the contract a losing one at this time, and would wish to see the army in Canada, that he might not be bound to supply it."

⁵ His friend Colonel Parker, a Virginian, in an autograph letter before me, written to Colonel Winder on the second of December, said: "Major Campbell will inform you of the insult offered to the general last evening, and of the interruption to our repose last night. God grant us a speedy relief from such neighbors!"—*Winder Papers*.

⁶ There appears to have been much quarrelling among the officers on that frontier during the autumn of 1812. Only three months before, Porter and Colonel Solomon Van Rensselaer had such a bitter dispute that it resulted in a challenge from Porter, but they never reached the dueling-ground on Grand Island. General Stephen Van Rensselaer watched them closely after he heard of the challenge, and was prepared to arrest them both when they should attempt to go to the island.—Statement of Solomon Van Rensselaer, among the Van Rensselaer papers.

A harmless Duel between Porter and Smyth. A solemn Farce. Smyth disbanded. His Petition to Congress.

the *Army of the Centre*, with friends, and seconds,¹ and surgeons,² put off in boats from the shore near Black Rock, in the presence of their troops, at two o'clock in the afternoon of the 12th of December, to meet each other in mortal combat on Grand Island.³ They exchanged shots at twelve paces' distance. Nobody was hurt. An expected tragedy proved to be a solemn comedy. The affair took the usual ridiculous course. The seconds reconciled the belligerents. General Porter acknowledged his conviction that General Smyth was "a man of courage," and General Smyth was convinced that General Porter was "above suspicion as a gentleman and an officer."⁴

Thus ended the melodrama of Smyth's invasion of Canada. The whole affair was disgraceful and humiliating. "What wretched work Smyth and Porter have made of it," wrote General Wadsworth to General Van Rensselaer from his home at Genesee, at the close of the year. "I wish those who are disposed to find so much fault could know the state of the militia since the day you gave up the command. It has been 'confusion worse confounded.'"⁵ The day that saw Smyth's failure was indeed "memorable in the annals of the United States," as well as in his own private history. Confidence in his military ability was destroyed, and three months afterward he was "disbanded," as the *Army Register* says; in other words, he was deposed without a trial, and excluded from the army.⁶ Yet he had many warm friends who clung to him in his misfortunes, for he possessed many excellent social qualities. He was a faithful representative of the constituency of a district of Virginia in the national Congress from 1817 to 1825, and again from 1827 until his death, in April, 1830.

¹ Lieutenant Colonel Winder was Smyth's second, and Lieutenant Angus was Porter's.

² The surgeon on that occasion was Dr. Roberts, and the assistant surgeon was Dr. Parsons, afterward surgeon of Perry's flag-ship *Lacross*, in the battle on Lake Erie, and now (1867) a resident of Providence, Rhode Island.

³ This is a large island, containing 20,000 acres, dividing the Niagara River into two channels. (See map on page 382.) On this island the late Mordecai Manasseh Noah proposed to found a city of refuge for his co-religionists, the Jews, and memorialized the Legislature of the State of New York on the subject in 1820. The project failed because the chief rabbi in Europe disapproved of it. Noah erected a commemorative monument there, but it and his scheme have passed away.

⁴ In a letter of Lieutenant Angus to Colonel Winder the next day, he said: "A meeting took place between General Smyth and General Porter yesterday afternoon on Grand Island, in pursuance of previous arrangements. They met at Dayton's tavern, and crossed the river with their friends and surgeons. Both gentlemen behaved with the utmost coolness and unconcern. A shot was exchanged in an intrepid and firm a manner as possible by each gentleman, but without effect. . . . The hand of reconciliation was then offered and received."—Autograph letter, *Winder Papers*. Another account says that the party returned to Dayton's, where they supped and spent a convivial evening together.

⁵ Autograph letter to General Van Rensselaer, December 30, 1812.

⁶ General Smyth petitioned the House of Representatives to reinstate him in the army. That body referred the petition to the Secretary of War—the general's executioner! Of course, its prayer was not answered. In that petition he asked for the privilege of "dying for his country." This phrase was a subject for much ridicule. At a public celebration of Washington's birthday in 1814 at Georgetown, in the District of Columbia, the following sentiment was offered at the table during the presentation of toasts: "General Smyth's petition to Congress to 'die for his country.' May it be ordered that the prayer of said petition be granted."

A wag wrote on a panel of one of the doors of the Hall of Representatives—

"All hail, great chief! who quailed before
A *Bishop* on Niagara's shore;
But looks on *Death* with dauntless eye,
And begs for leave to bleed and die.
Oh my!



CHAPTER XXI.

"By the trident of Neptune," brave Hull cried, "let's steer;
It points out the track of the bullying *Guerriere*;
Should we meet her, brave boys, "Seamen's rights!" be our cry:
We fight to defend them, to live free or die.
The famed *Constitution* through the billows now flew,
While the spray to the tars was refreshing as dew,
To quicken the sense of the insult they felt,
In the boast of the *Guerriere's* not being the *Belt*."
SONG, "CONSTITUTION AND GUERRIERE."

"Ye brave Sons of Freedom, whose bosoms beat high
For your country with patriot pride and emotion,
Attend while I sing of a wonderful *Wasp*,
And the *Frolic* she gallantly took on the ocean."
OLD SONG.



In preceding chapters we have considered the prominent events of the war on land, and perceive in the record very little whereof Americans should boast as military achievements. The war had been commenced without adequate preparations, and had been carried on by inexperienced and incompetent men in the Council and in the Field. Brilliant theories had been promulgated and splendid expectations had been indulged, while Philosophy and Experience spoke monitorily, but in vain. The visions of the theorists proved to be "dissolving views"—unsubstantial and deceptive—when tested by the standard of practical results. At the close of the campaign in 1812, the *Army of the Northwest*, first under Hull and then under Harrison, was occupying a defensive position among the snows of the wilderness on the banks of the Maumee; the *Army of the Centre*, first under Van Rensselaer and then under Smyth, had experienced a series of misfortunes and disappointments on the Niagara frontier, and was also resting on the defensive; while the *Army of the North*, under Bloomfield, whose head-quarters were at Plattsburg, had made less efforts to accomplish great things, and had less to regret and more to boast of than the others. Yet it, too, was standing on the defensive when the snows of December fell.

Different was the aspect of affairs on the water. The hitherto neglected navy had been aggressive and generally successful. We have already observed the operations of one branch of it, with feeble means, in the narrow waters of Lake Ontario, under Chauncey;¹ let us now take a view of its exploits on the broad ocean, where Thomson had declared in song,

"Britannia rules the waves."

The naval superiority of England was every where acknowledged; and the idea of the omnipotence of her power on the sea was so universal in the American mind, that serious expectations of success in a contest with her on that theatre were regarded as absurd. The American newspapers—then, as now, the chief vehicles of popular information—had always been filled with praises of England's naval puissance and examples of her prowess; while the British newspapers, reflecting the mind of the ruling classes of that empire, were filled with boastings of England's power, abuse of all other people, and supercilious sneers at the navies of every other nation on the

¹ See page 371.

Number and Character of the American War Marine. Distribution and Condition. American Merchantmen saved.

face of the earth. That of the United States, her rapidly growing rival in national greatness and ever the object of her keenest jealousy, was made the special target for the indecorous jeers of her public writers and speakers. The *Constitution*, one of the finest vessels in the navy of the United States, and which was among the first to humble the arrogance of British cruisers, was spoken of as "a bundle of pine boards, sailing under a bit of striped bunting;" and it was asserted that "a few broadsides from England's wooden walls would drive the paltry striped bunting from the ocean."¹ It was with erroneous opinions like these that the commander of the *Alert* - August 13, 1812, attacked the *Essex*,² and, as we shall observe presently, was undeceived by a conclusive argument. Yet, in spite of conscious inferiority of strength in men and metal, the distrust of the nation, and the defiant contempt of the foe, the little navy of the United States went boldly out upon the ocean to dispute with England's cruisers the supremacy of the sea.²

When war was declared, the public vessels of the United States, exclusive of one hundred and seventy gun-boats, numbered only *twenty*, with an aggregate armament of little more than five hundred guns. These were scattered. Four of them had wintered at Newport, Rhode Island; four others in Hampton Roads, Virginia; two were away on foreign service; two were at Charleston, South Carolina; two were at New Orleans; one was on Lake Ontario; and five were laid up "in ordinary."³ In view of this evident inefficiency of the American navy to protect its commerce, there was much alarm among the few merchants whose ships had gone abroad before the laying of the embargo, which saved many hundreds of detained vessels from exposure to capture or destruction, and thus furnished materials for the privateers that soon swarmed upon the ocean. These merchants sent a swift-sailing pilot-boat to the coasts of Northern Europe with the news of the declaration of war, and with directions for the American commercial marine in the harbors of Russia, Sweden, Denmark, and Prussia, to remain there until the war should cease. By this timely movement a greater part of the American shipping in those ports was saved from the perils of British privateering. A sketch of that important branch of the American naval service during the war will be presented in a group in another part of this work. It is

¹ This was alluded to in the following stanzas of a song of the time:

"Too long our tars have borne in peace
With British domineering;
But now they've sworn the trade should cease—
For vengeance they are steering.
First gallant Hull, he was the lad
Who sailed a tyrant-hunting,
And swaggering Dacres soon was glad
To strike to 'striped bunting.'"

² "While, therefore," says an English writer, "a feeling toward Americans bordering on contempt had unhappily possessed the mind of the British naval officer, rendering him more than usually careless and opinionative, the American naval officer, having been taught to regard his new foe with a feeling of dread, sailed forth to meet him with the whole of his energies aroused."—*Naval Occurrences of the Late War, etc.*, by William James.

³ The following is a list of those vessels, their rated and actual armament, the names of the commanders of those afloat, and the designation of those in "ordinary," or laid up for repairs or other purposes:

Name.	Rated.	Mount- ing.	Employed.	Name.	Rated.	Mount- ing.	Employed.
Constitution	44	58	Capt. Hull.	John Adams	26		Capt. Ludlow.
United States	44	58	Capt. Decatur.	Wasp	16	18	Capt. Jones.
President	44	58	Com. Rodgers.	Hornet	16	18	Capt. Lawrence.
Chesapeake	86	44	Ordinary.	Siren	16		Lieut. Carroll.
New York	86	44	Ordinary.	Argus	16		Crane.
Constellation	36	44	Ordinary.	Onesida	16		Woolsey.
Congress	36	44	Capt. Smith.	Vixen	12		Gadsden.
Boston	32		Ordinary.	Neutlus	12		Stclair.
Essex	32		Capt. Porter.	Enterprise	12		Blakely.
Adams	32		Ordinary.	Viper	12		Bainbridge.

There were four bomb-vessels in ordinary, named respectively *Vengeance*, *Spyfire*, *Aetna*, and *Vesuvius*. The gun-boats were all numbered, from "1" to "170," and during the War of 1812 were distributed as follows:

In New York, 54; New Orleans, 26; Norfolk, 14; Charleston, S. C., 2; Wilmington, N. C., 2; St. Mary's, 11; Washington, 10; Portland, 8; Boston, 2; Connecticut and Rhode Island, 4; Philadelphia, 20; Baltimore, 10. Of these only sixty-two were in commission. Eighty-six were in ordinary, and some were undergoing repairs. There had been an increase of five to the number, and some slight changes of position, when the war broke out.

Commodore Rodgers's Squadron. Cruise of the *President*. First Shot on the Water. Chase of the *Belvidera*.

proposed now to consider the events of the regular service only, excepting where necessity may compel an incidental allusion to the other.

At the time of the declaration of war, Commodore Rodgers, with his flag-ship *President*, 44; *Essex*, 32, Captain Porter; and *Hornet*, 18, Captain Lawrence, was in the port of New York. The *Essex* was overhauling her rigging; the others might be ready for service at an hour's notice. On the 21st of June Rodgers received the news of the declaration of war, and with it orders for sailing immediately. He had dropped down the bay that morning with the *President* and *Hornet*, and toward noon had been joined by a small squadron under Commodore Decatur, whose broad pennon floated from the *United States*, 44. Her companions were the *Congress*, 38, Captain Smith, and *Argus*, 16, Lieutenant Commandant St. Clair.

Rodgers had received information that a large fleet of Jamaica-men had sailed for England under a strong convoy, and he believed that they must then be sweeping along the American coast in the current of the Gulf Stream. When his sailing orders arrived he resolved to make a dash at that convoy, and within an hour after receiving his dispatch from the Navy Department he had weighed anchor. With the united squadron he passed Sandy Hook that afternoon. In the evening he spoke an American merchantman that had seen the Jamaica fleet, and had been boarded by the British frigate *Belvidera*, 36. Rodgers crowded sail and commenced pursuit. Thirty-six hours elapsed, and the enemy were yet invisible; but an English war-vessel was espied on the northeastern horizon, and a general chase of the whole squadron commenced in that direction. The wind was fresh, and the enemy was standing before it.¹ The fleet *President* outstripped her companions, and rapidly gained on the fugitive. At four o'clock she was within gun-shot of the enemy, off Nantucket Shoals, when the wind fell, and the heavier *President*—heavier, because she had just left port—began to fall behind.

To cripple the stranger was now Rodgers's only hope of success. With his own hand he pointed and discharged one of his fore-castle chase-guns, *the first hostile shot of the war fired afloat*.² It went crashing through the stern-frame of the stranger and into the gun-room with destructive effect, driving her people from the after part of the vessel. This was immediately followed by a shot from the first division below, directed by Lieutenant Gamble, which struck and damaged one of the stranger's stern-chasers. Rodgers fired again, and was followed immediately by Gamble, whose gun bursted, and killed and wounded sixteen men. It blew up the fore-castle of the *President*, and threw Rodgers several feet into the air. In his descent one of his legs was broken. This accident caused a pause in the firing, when a shot from a stern-chaser of the stranger came plunging along the *President's* deck, killing a midshipman and one or two men.

It was now twilight, and the British ship having her spars and rigging imperiled by the *President's* fire, that vessel having yawed³ for the purpose, began to lighten by cutting away her anchors, staving and throwing overboard her boats, and starting two tons of water. She gained headway; and, as a last resort, the *President* fired three broadsides, but with little effect. Unwilling to lighten his own ship, as it would impair his ability for a cruise, Rodgers ordered the pursuit to be abandoned at midnight.⁴ The British vessel, it was afterward ascertained, was the
* June 23,
1812.
frigate *Belvidera*, 36, Captain Richard Byron, that had boarded the American merchantman just mentioned. Her commander displayed great skill in saving his vessel. She sailed for Halifax for repairs,⁴ and gave the first information there

¹ The commander of the English vessel had not heard of the declaration of war, and when he saw the squadron he stood toward it. But when he saw them suddenly take in their studding-sails and haul up in chase of him, frequently wetting the sails to profit by the lightness of the wind, he suspected hostility.

² The first on land was in the amphibious fight at Sackett's Harbor a month later. See page 368.

³ To yaw is to steer wild, or out of the line of the ship's course.

⁴ The *Belvidera* was badly injured in her hull, spars, and rigging. The *President* received a number of shots in her sails and rigging, but was not materially injured.

of the actual existence of war, so positively communicated to her by the *President*. In this action the American frigate had twenty-two men killed and wounded, sixteen of whom were injured by the Captain Byron was wounded in the thigh by the latter.¹

R Byron

bursting of the gun. The *Belvidera* lost seven killed and wounded by shot, and several others by splinters.

Rodgers now continued the chase after the Jamaica-men. Cocomnut shells, orange skins, and other evidences of his being in their track, were seen upon the water off the Banks of Newfoundland on the first of July. On the ninth the commander of an English letter-of-marque captured by the *Hornet* reported that he had seen the fleet on the previous evening, when he counted eighty-five sail, convoyed by a two-deck ship, a frigate, a sloop-of-war, and a brig. This intelligence stimulated Rodgers to greater exertions, and he continued the chase, ineffectually on account of fogs, until the 13th, when he was within a day's sail of the chops of the Irish Channel. Then he relinquished pursuit, sailed southwardly, and passed within thirty miles of the Rock of Lisbon, in sight of Madeira, the Western Islands, and the Grand Banks of Newfoundland, without falling in with a single vessel of war, and entered Boston Harbor after a cruise of seventy days. He had captured seven English merchantmen, recaptured an American vessel from a British cruiser, and brought in about one hundred and twenty prisoners. Many of the seamen of the squadron were sick of the scurvy, and several had died.

The news carried into Halifax by the *Belvidera* created a profound sensation there. The commandant of that naval station, Rear Admiral Sawyer, took measures immediately to collect a squadron for the purpose of cruising in search of Rodgers's ships or any other American vessels. Within a week, the *African*, 64, Captain Bustard; the *Shannon*, 38, Captain Broke; the *Guerriere*, 38, Captain Dacres; the *Belvidera*, 36, Captain Byron; and the *Aeolus*, 32, Captain Lord James Townsend, were united in one squadron, under the command of Captain Broke, the senior officer, who made the *Shannon* his flag-ship. This force appeared off New York early in July, and made several captures, among them the United States brig *Nautilus*, 14, of Tripolitan fame,² Lieutenant Commandant Crane. She had arrived at New York just after Rodgers



THE CONSTITUTION IN 1860.

left, and went out immediately for the purpose of cruising in the track of the English West Indians. On the very next day she fell in with the British squadron, and, after a short and vigorous chase, was compelled to strike her colors to the *Shannon*, and surrender one hundred and six men. The *Nautilus* was the first vessel of war taken on either side in that contest. A prize crew was placed in her, and she was made one of Broke's squadron.³ She was afterward fitted with sixteen 24-pound carronades, and commissioned as a cruiser.

The *Constitution*, 44,⁴ Captain Isaac

¹ Rodgers's journal and British account of the engagement, in Niles's Weekly Register, III., 96; American account in the *Boston Centinel*, by an officer of the squadron; Cooper's *Naval History*, II., 150. ² See page 130.

³ In naval nomenclature, a number of vessels under one commander, less than ten, are called a *squadron*; more than ten, a *fleet*.

⁴ The *Constitution* was built at Hart's ship-yard, in Boston, where Constitution Wharf now is, at a cost of \$202,718. She was made very strong. Her frame was of live-oak, and her planks were bent on without steam, as it was thought that process softened and weakened the wood. She was launched on the 21st of October, 1797 (see page 100), in the presence of a great gathering of people. She did not start upon a cruise until the following season, when she was commanded by Captain James Nicholson, who died in New York on Sunday, the 2d of September, 1804, in the sixty-ninth

Cruise of the *Constitution*.

She meets a British Squadron.

An exciting Chase begun.

Hull, returned from foreign service at about the time of the declaration of war, and went into Chesapeake Bay, where she shipped a new crew, and on the 12th of July sailed from Annapolis on a cruise to the northward.¹ She was out of sight of land on the 17th, sailing under easy canvas with a light breeze, when, at one o'clock in the afternoon, she descried four vessels northward, heading westward. At four o'clock she discovered a fifth sail in a similar direction, which had the appearance of a vessel of war. By this time the other four were so near that they were distinguished as three ships and a brig. They were in sight all the afternoon, evidently watching the *Constitution*. At half past six a breeze sprang up from the southward, which brought the latter to the windward of the last discovered vessel. She was a British frigate. Hull determined to bear down upon and speak to her; and, to be ready for any emergency, he beat to quarters, and prepared his ship for action. The wind was very light, and the two frigates slowly approached each other during the evening. At ten o'clock the *Constitution* shortened sail and displayed a private signal. The lights were kept aloft for an hour without receiving an answer. At a quarter past eleven they were lowered, and the *Constitution* made sail again under a light breeze that prevailed all night. Just before dawn the stranger tacked, wore entirely round, threw up a rocket, and fired two signal-guns.

In the gray of early morning three other vessels were discovered on the starboard quarter of the *Constitution*, and three more astern, and at five o'clock a fourth was seen in the latter direction. The American cruiser had fallen in with Broke's squadron, and the vessel with which she had been manœuvring all night was the *Guerriere*, 38, Captain Dacres. The squadron was just out of gun-shot distance from the *Constitution*, and the latter found herself in the perilous position of having two frigates on her lee quarter, and a ship of the line, two frigates, a brig, and a schooner astern. The brig was the captured *Nautilus*.

Now commenced one of the most remarkable naval retreats and pursuits ever recorded. The *Constitution* was not powerful enough to fight the overwhelming force closing around her, and Hull perceived that her safety depended upon celerity in flight. There was almost a dead calm. Her sails flapped lazily, and she floated almost independently of the helm on the slowly undulating bosom of the sea. In this

year of his age. She was so staunch a ship that the name of *Ironsides* was given her. She always was favored with excellent commanders and performed gallant service. Some years ago the Navy Department concluded to break her up and sell her timbers, as she was thought to be a decided "invalid." The order had gone forth, when the execution of it was arrested by the voice of public opinion, called forth by the magic wand of a poet—the pen of Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, who wrote and published the following stirring protest against making merchandise of her:

"Ay, tear her tattered ensign down!
Long has it waved on high,
And many an eye has danced to see
That banner in the sky.
Beneath it rung the battle-shout,
And burst the cannon's roar;
The meteor of the ocean air
Shall sweep the clouds no more.
Her deck, once red with heroes' blood—
Where knelt the vanquished foe,
When winds were humming o'er the flood,
And waves were white below—

No more shall feel the victor's tread,
Or know the conquered knee;
The harpies of the shore shall pluck
The eagle of the sea!
O! better that her shattered hulk
Should sink beneath the wave;
Her thunders shook the mighty deep,
And there should be her grave.
Nail to the mast her holy flag,
Set every threadbare sail,
And give her to the God of Storms,
The lightning and the gale!"

"*Old Ironsides*" was saved, repaired, and converted into a school-ship. Such is her vocation now [1867]. She was lying at Annapolis in that capacity when the Great Rebellion broke out in 1861. Our little sketch exhibits her under full sail, as she appeared there in the autumn of 1860. When the Naval Academy was temporarily removed from Annapolis to Newport, Rhode Island, on account of the Rebellion, the *Constitution* took her place at the latter station. Her latest commander in the war of 1812-15, Rear Admiral Charles Stewart, yet [1867] survives, at the age of ninety-one years. He is sometimes called *Old Ironsides*. His achievements in the *Constitution* will be noticed hereafter.

¹ The following is a list of the officers of the *Constitution* at that time: *Captain*, Isaac Hull; *Lieutenants*, Charles Morris, Alexander S. Wadsworth, Beekman V. Hoffman, George C. Read, John T. Shubrick, Charles W. Morgan; *Sailing-master*, John C. Alwyn; *Lieutenants of Marines*, William S. Bush, John Contee; *Surgeon*, Amos E. Evans; *Surgeon's Mates*, John D. Armstrong, Donaldson Yeates; *Purser*, Thomas J. Chew; *Midshipmen*, Henry Gilliam, Thomas Beatty, William D. Salter, Lewis Germain, William L. Gordon, Ambrose L. Field, Frederick Barry, Joseph Cross, Alexander Belcher, William Taylor, Alexander Eskridge, James W. Delancy, James Greenleaf, Allen Griffin, John Taylor; *Boat-swain*, Peter Adams; *Gunner*, Robert Anderson.

listlessness there was danger. Down went her boats with long lines attached, and the sweeps were bent in towing her with the energy of men struggling for life and liberty. Up from her gun-deck was brought a long eighteen-pounder, and placed on her spar-deck as a stern-chaser, while another, of the same weight of metal and for a similar purpose, was pointed off the fore-castle. Out of the cabin windows, when saws and axes had made them broad enough, two twenty-four pounders were run, and all the light cannon that would draw was set. She was just beginning to get under headway, with a gentle northwest wind blowing, when exertion was stimulated by the booming of the bow-guns of the *Shannon*. For ten minutes she sent forth her shot, but without effect, for she was yet beyond range. Again the breeze died away. Soundings showed twenty fathoms of water. A kedge¹ might be used. All spare rope was spliced and attached to one which was carried out half a mile ahead and cast into the deep. Quickly and strongly the crew "clapped on and walked away with the ship, overrunning and tripping the kedge as she came up with the end of the line."² This was frequently repeated, and the frigate moved off in a manner most mysterious to her pursuers. At length they discovered the secret and adopted the method, when the *Constitution*, having a little breeze, fired a shot at the *Shannon*, the nearest ship astern. At nine o'clock that vessel, employing a large number of men in boats and with a kedge, was gaining rapidly on the flying frigate. A conflict, unequal and terrible, seemed impending and inevitable, yet on board the *Constitution* the best spirit prevailed. Nearer and nearer drew the *Shannon*, and almost as closely the *Guerriere* was now pursuing on the larboard quarter of the imperiled vessel. All hope was fading, when a light breeze from the south struck the *Constitution* and brought her to windward. With such consummate skill did Captain Hull take advantage of the wind and bear gallantly away, that the admiration of the enemy was excited in the highest degree. As she came by the wind she brought the *Guerriere* nearly on her lee beam, when that vessel opened a fire from a broadside. The shot fell short, the blessed breeze that had come like a Providence at the critical moment died away, and the boats were again got out to tow by both parties. So anxious was Broke to get the *Shannon* near enough for action, that nearly all the boats of the squadron were employed for the purpose,³ while the men of the *Constitution* made up in spirit what they lacked in numbers. Thus the race continued hour after hour all that day and night, the pursuers and the pursued sometimes towing, sometimes kedging.

The dawn of the second day of the chase was glorious. The sun rose with unusual splendor. Not a cloud was seen in the firmament. The sea was smooth, and a gentle wind was abroad, sufficient to make the murmur of ripples under the bow of the vessels fall pleasantly on the ear. All of the ships were on the same tack, and three of the English frigates were within long gun-shot of the *Constitution* on her lee quarter. The five frigates were clouded with canvas from their truck to their decks. Eleven sail were in sight. The scene was a most beautiful and exciting one. No guns were fired, for the distance between the belligerents widened. Either better sailing qualities or superior seamanship gave advantage to the *Constitution*. With that pleasant breeze she gained on her antagonists, and at four o'clock in the afternoon she was four miles ahead of the *Belvidera*, the nearest English ship. At seven heavy clouds began to brood over the sea, with indications of a squall. The *Constitution* prepared for it. It burst with fury—wind, lightning, and rain—but left that

¹ Kedge, or kedger, is a small anchor with an iron stock, used for keeping a vessel steady or warping it along.

² Cooper, ii., 156.

³ Coggeshall, in his *History of the American Privateers and Letters of Marque*, relates (page 12) that his friend, Captain Brown, who was a prisoner on board the *Shannon*, was amused to hear Captain Broke and his officers converse about the "Yankee frigate." At one period of the chase they were so confident of capturing her that a prize-crew were already appointed to conduct her in triumph to Halifax. To all their questions about her, as she was seen speeding before them, Captain Brown had but one answer, namely, "Gentlemen, you will never take that frigate."

End of the Chase after the *Constitution*.

The *Essex* starts on a Cruise.

She captures the *Alert*.

good frigate unharmed. The pursuers and the pursued lost sight of each other for a while in the murky vapor. In less than an hour the squall had passed to leeward, and the *Constitution*, sheeted home, her main and top-gallant sails set, was flying away from the enemy at the rate of eleven knots. At twilight the pursuers were in sight, and at near midnight they fired two guns. Away went the *Constitution* before the wind, and at six in the morning the topsails of the British vessel were seen from the American, beginning to dip below the horizon. At a quarter past eight the Englishman relinquished the pursuit, and hauled off to the northward; and a few days afterward the British fleet separated for the purpose of cruising in different directions. Thus ended a chase of sixty-four hours, chiefly off the New England coast, remarkable alike for its length, closeness, and activity. It was a theme for much newspaper comment, and a poet of the day, singing of the exploits of the *Constitution*, referred to this as follows :

" 'Neath Hull's command, with a tough band,
And naught beside to back her,
Upon a day, as log-books say,
A fleet bore down to thwack her.
A fleet, you know, is odds, or so,
Against a single ship, sirs ;
So 'cross the tide her legs she tried,
And gave the rogues the slip, sirs."

A few days after Rodgers left New York, Captain Porter sailed from that harbor in the *Essex*, 32, from the mast-head of which fluttered a flag bearing conspicuously the words, "FREE TRADE AND SAILORS' RIGHTS." He captured several English merchant vessels soon after leaving Sandy Hook, making trophy bonfires of most of them on the ocean, and their crews his prisoners. After cruising southward for some weeks in disguise, capturing a prize now and then, he turned northward again, and met with increased success. One night, by the dim light of a mist-veiled moon, he chased a fleet of English transports bearing a thousand soldiers toward Halifax or the St. Lawrence, convoyed by the frigate *Mercury*, 36, and a bomb vessel. They were sailing wide, and he captured one of the transports, with one hundred and fifty men, before dawn, without attracting the attention of the rest of the fleet, for no guns were fired.

A few days after this,^a while sailing in the disguise of a merchantman, her gun-deck ports in, top-gallant masts housed, and sails trimmed in a slovenly manner, the *Essex* fell in with a sail to windward. The stranger came bearing down gallantly, when the *Essex* showed an American ensign, and kept away under short sail, as if trying to avoid a contest. This emboldened the English vessel. She followed the *Essex* for some time, and finally running down on her weather quarter, set her national colors, and, with three cheers from her people, opened fire. She was soon undeceived, and her temerity was severely punished. The ports of the *Essex* were knocked out in an instant, and the fire of the enemy was responded to with terrible effect. The assailant was so damaged and disconcerted that the conflict was made short. It was a complete surprise. A panic seized her people, and, in spite of the efforts of her officers, they fled below for safety.¹ Scarcely eight minutes had elapsed from the firing of the first gun, when the stranger, which proved to be the British ship *Alert*, Captain T. L. P. Laugharne, mounting twenty 18-pound carronades and six smaller guns, struck her colors and was reported to be in a sinking condition. When Lieutenant Finch, of the *Essex*, went on board to receive her flag, he found seven feet water in the hold. She was a stanch vessel, and had been built for the coal trade. She was purchased for the British navy in 1804, and the complement of her crew was one hundred and thirty men and boys. She was every way inferior to the *Essex*, whose armament was forty 32-pound carronades and six long twelves, and her complement of men was three hundred and twenty-five. The capture of the *Alert* possesses no special historical interest excepting from the fact that

¹ It is said that some of them, after their exchange, were executed for deserting their guns.

^a August 13, 1812.

A Cartel-ship sent into Newfoundland.

The *Essex* chases British Vessels.

she was the first British national vessel captured in the war. The *Alert* had three men wounded, while the *Essex* sustained no injury whatever.

The *Essex* was now crowded with prisoners, and Porter became conscious of the fact that they had entered into a plot to rise and take the vessel from him. The leaks of the *Alert* being stopped, and all things put in fair seaworthy condition, Porter made an arrangement with Captain Laugharne¹ to convert her into a cartel ship. When this was accomplished, the prisoners were placed on board of her, and she was sent into St. John's, Newfoundland. On her return to the United States she was fitted up for the government service.

The *Essex* continued her cruise to the southward, and on the thirtieth of August, just at twilight, fell in with a British frigate in latitude 36° N. and longitude 62° W.² Porter prepared for action, and the two vessels stood for each other. Night fell, and Porter, anxious for combat, ran up a light. It was answered at the distance of about four miles. The *Essex* sought the stranger in that direction, but in vain, and when the day dawned she had disappeared. Five days afterward Porter fell in with "two ships of war to the southward and a brig to the northward—the brig in chase of an American merchant ship."³ The *Essex* pursued, when the brig attempted to pass and join the other two vessels. The *Essex* headed her, turned her course northward, and continued the chase until abreast the merchantman, when, the wind being light, the brig escaped by the use of her sweeps.

When the *Essex* showed her colors to the merchantman, the two British vessels at the southward discovered them, fired signal-guns, and gave chase. At four o'clock in the afternoon they were in the wake of the *Essex* and rapidly gaining upon her, when Porter hoisted the American colors, and fired a gun to the windward, expecting to escape by some manœuvre in the approaching darkness. At sunset the larger of the two vessels was within five miles, and rapidly shortening the distance between her and the *Essex*. Porter determined to heave about after dark, and, if he could not pass his pursuer, give her a broadside and lay her or board. The crew were in fine spirits, and when this movement was proposed to them they gave three hearty cheers. Preparations for action were immediately made. The *Essex* hove round and bore away to the southwest, but the night being dark and squally, Porter saw no more of the enemy. Supposing himself cut off from New York and Boston by a British squadron, he made for the Delaware.⁴

Soon after Captain Porter reached the Delaware a circumstance occurred which created quite a sensation in the public mind for a few days. A week after the declaration of war a writer in a New York paper charged Captain Porter with cruelly treating an English seaman on board of the *Essex* who refused to fight against his countrymen, pleading, among other reasons, that if caught he would be hung as a deserter from the British navy. This story reached Sir James Lucas Yeo, commander of the frigate *Southampton*, then on the West India station. By a prisoner in his hands, who was sent home on parole, he forwarded a message to Porter which ap-

¹ Thomas Lamb Polden Laugharne entered the British navy in 1798, at the age of twelve years. He was a most faithful and active officer, and advanced steadily to the post of commander, which he attained in 1811. He was appointed to the command of the sloop *Alert* in February, 1812. His last appointment afloat was to the *Achates*, 18, in which he cruised in the Channel until November, 1815. In 1828 he became inspecting commander in the coast-guard, was advanced to post-captain, when he retired from the service on half-pay. He is yet [1867] living.

² The reader who may consult a modern map while studying this account should remember that at that time the longitude was calculated from the meridian of Greenwich, in England. In modern American maps it is calculated from Washington City, the national capital.

³ Manuscript letter of Captain Porter to the Secretary of the Navy, dated "At sea, September 5, 1812."

⁴ Porter's manuscript letter, September 5, 1812. That letter is before me. It contains a rough sketch of the nautical movement just described. "Considering this escape a very extraordinary one," he wrote, "I have the honor to inclose you a sketch of the position of the ships at three different periods, by which you will perceive at once the plan of effecting it." According to a letter from an officer of the *Shannon*, that frigate was the larger of the two vessels that chased the *Essex* on that occasion, and the other vessel, instead of being a "ship of war," as Porter supposed, was the *Planter*, a recaptured West Indianman. In the light of this fact we perceive that Porter's escape was not very "extraordinary." The American merchantman mentioned in the text was the *Minerva*, from Cadiz. She was burnt by the English on the morning succeeding the chase.

Yeo's Challenge and Porter's Acceptance.

The Motto of the *Essex*.

The *Constitution* starts on another Cruise.

The Spex may be known by a flag bearing the Motto. FREE TRADE & SAILORS RIGHTS. and when that is struck to the Southampton, Capt^d P will deserve the treatment promised ~~to~~ Sir James.

peared in the following language on the 18th of September, 1812, in the *Democratic Press*, printed in Philadelphia: "A passenger of the brig *Lyon*, from Havana to New York, captured by the frigate *Southampton*, Sir James Yeo commander, is requested by Sir James Yeo to present his compliments to Captain Porter, commander of the American frigate *Essex*—would be glad to have a tête-à-tête any where between the Capes of Delaware and the Havana, where he would have the pleasure to break his own sword over his damned head, and put him down forward in irons."

To this indecorous challenge Captain Porter replied as follows on the same day: "Captain Porter, of the United States frigate *Essex*, presents his compliments to Sir James Yeo, commanding H. B. M.'s frigate *Southampton*, and accepts with pleasure his polite invitation. If agreeable to Sir James, Captain Porter would prefer meeting near the Delaware, where Captain P. pledges his honor to Sir James that no other American vessel shall interrupt their tête-à-tête. The *Essex* may be known by a flag bearing the motto FREE TRADE AND SAILORS' RIGHTS, and when that is struck to the *Southampton* Captain P. will deserve the treatment promised by Sir James.¹ Here the matter ended. The coveted tête-à-tête never occurred.

The *Constitution* did not long continue idle after her escape from Broke's squadron. She remained a short time in Boston to recuperate, and on the 2d of August sailed eastward in hope of falling in with some one of the English vessels of war supposed to be hovering along the coast from Nantucket to Halifax. Hull,² her commander, was specially anxious

¹ The original of Porter's acceptance is in the possession of Doctor Leonard D. Koecker, of Philadelphia, who kindly allowed me to make from it the fac-simile of the paragraph given in the text.

² Isaac Hull was born at Derby, Connecticut, in 1775. He first entered the merchant service, and in 1798 became a fourth lieutenant in the infant navy of the United States, under Commodore Nicholson. In 1800 he was promoted to first lieutenant under Commodore Talbot. In 1804 he commanded the brig *Argus*, and distinguished himself at the storming of Tripoli and the reduction of Derne. He was made captain in 1806, and was in command of the *Constitution* when the war broke out. Of his achievements in her the text furnishes a detailed account. Commodore Hull served in the American navy, afloat and ashore, with the rank of captain, thirty-seven years. He commanded in the Mediterranean and Pacific, and had charge of the navy yards at Boston and Washington. He was a member of the Naval Board for Philadelphia on the 9th of February, 1843. His remains rest in Laurel Hill Cemetery, and over them is a beautiful altar-tomb of Italian marble, made by John Struthers and Sons. It is a copy of the tomb of Scipio Barbato at Rome, chastely ornamented, and surmounted by an American eagle in

several years. Commodore Hull died at his residence in Philadelphia on the 9th of February, 1843. His remains rest in Laurel Hill Cemetery, and over them is a beautiful altar-tomb of Italian marble, made by John Struthers and Sons. It is a copy of the tomb of Scipio Barbato at Rome, chastely ornamented, and surmounted by an American eagle in



Isaac Hull

to fall in with that famous frigate before whom he had been compelled to fly when she was part of a squadron, and of whom it had been said,

"Long the tyrant of our coast
Reigned the famous *Guerriere*;
Our little navy she defied,
Public ship and privateer:
On her sails, in letters red,
To our captains were displayed
Words of warning, words of dread:
'All who meet me have a care!
I am England's *Guerriere*.'"¹

The commander of the *Guerriere* had boastfully enjoined the Americans to remember that she was not the *Little Belt*,² and this offensive form of menace increased Hull's desire to meet her and measure strength with her.

The *Constitution* ran not far from the shore down to the Bay of Fundy without meeting a single armed vessel. She then bore away southward off Cape Sable, and eastward to the region of Halifax, but with a like result. Hull now determined to cruise eastward of Nova Scotia

to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, with the hope of interrupting vessels making their way to Halifax or Quebec. In this new field he made some winnings, but the promise of much harvest was too small to detain him. He turned his prow southward, and on the nineteenth, at two o'clock in the afternoon, in latitude 41° 40', and longitude 55° 48',³ his heart was gladdened by the discovery of a sail from his must-head, too remote, however, for her character to be determined.

The *Constitution* immediately gave chase to the stranger, and at half past three o'clock it was discovered that she was a frigate, and doubtless an enemy. Hull let his ship run free until within a league of the stranger to leeward, when he began to shorten sail and deliberately prepare for action. The stranger at once showed signs of willingness for a fight. Hull cleared his ship, beat to quarters, hoisted the American colors, and bore down gallantly on the enemy, with the intention of bringing her into close combat immediately.

full relief, in the attitude of defending the national flag, on which it stands. There is a cannon-ball under the flag, on which rests one of the eagle's talons. Upon the south side of the tomb is the name of ISAAC HULL. On the north side is the following inscription, written by his friend Horace Binney, Esq.: "FEBRUARY 18., MDCCLXIII. In affectionate devotion to the private virtues of ISAAC HULL, his widow has erected this monument." The above likeness of Hull is from an engraving by Edwin, from a painting by Stewart.

¹ A feminine warrior—an Amazon. The *Guerriere* was originally a French ship, and was captured on the 19th of July, 1806, by the British ship *Blanche*, Captain Lavin. She was built at L'Orient upon a sudden emergency, and her timbers, not having been well seasoned, were in a somewhat decaying state at this time, it is said.

² See page 184.

³ See note 2, page 440.



HULL'S MONUMENT.

The *Guerriere* fires on the *Constitution*.

Hull's Coolness.

Terrible Response of the *Constitution*.

" 'Clear ship for action!' sounds the boatswain's call;
'Clear ship for action!' his three mimics bawl.
Swift round the decks see war's dread weapons hurled,
And floating ruins strew the watery world.
'All hands to quarters!' fore and aft resounds,
Thrills from the fife, and from the drum-head bounds;
From crowded hatchways scores on scores arise,
Spring up the shrouds, and vault into the skies.
Firm at his quarters each bold gunner stands,
The death-fraught lightning flashing from his hands."

Comprehending Hull's movement, the Englishman hoisted three national ensigns,¹ fired a broadside of grape-shot, filled away, and gave another broadside on the other tack, but without effect. The missiles all fell short. The stranger continued to manœuvre for about three quarters of an hour, endeavoring to get in a position to rake and prevent being raked, when, disappointed, she bore up and ran under topsails and jib, with the wind on the quarter. The *Constitution*, following closely, yawed occasionally to rake and avoid being raked, and firing only a few guns as they bore, as she did not wish to engage in a serious conflict until they were close to each other.

It was now about six in the evening. These indications on the part of the enemy to engage in a fair yard-arm and yard-arm fight caused the *Constitution* to press all sail to get alongside of the foe. At a little after six the bows of the American began to double the quarter of the Englishman. Hull had been walking the quarter-deck, keenly watching every movement. He was quite fat, and wore very tight breeches. As the shot of the *Guerriere* began to tell upon the *Constitution*, the gallant Lieutenant Morris, Hull's second in command, came to the captain and asked permission to open fire. "Not yet," quietly responded Hull. Nearer and nearer the vessels drew toward each other, and the request was repeated. "Not yet," said Hull again, very quietly. When the *Constitution* reached the point we have just mentioned, Hull, filled with sudden and intense excitement, bent himself twice to the deck, and then shouted, "Now, boys, pour it into them!" The command was instantly obeyed. The *Constitution* opened her forward guns, which were double shotted with round and grape, with terrible effect. When the smoke that followed the result of that order cleared away, it was discovered that the commander, in his energetic movements, had split his tight breeches from waistband to knee, but he did not stop to change them during the action.²

The concussion of Hull's broadside was tremendous. It cast those in the cockpit of the enemy from one side of the room to the other, and, before they could adjust themselves, the blood came streaming from above, and numbers, dreadfully mutilated, were handed down to the surgeons. The enemy at the same time was pouring heavy metal into the *Constitution*. They were only half pistol-shot from each other, and the destruction was terrible. Within fifteen minutes after the contest commenced the stranger's mizzen-mast was shot away, her main yard was in slings, and her hull, spars, sails, and rigging were torn in pieces. The English vessel brought up in the wind as her mizzen-mast gave way, when the *Constitution* passed slowly ahead, poured in a tremendous fire as her guns bore, luffed short round the bows of her antagonist to prevent being raked, and fell foul of her foe, her bowsprit running into the larboard quarter of the stranger. In this situation the cabin of the *Constitution* was set on fire by the explosion of the forward guns of her enemy, but the flames were soon extinguished.

Both parties now attempted to board. The roar of great guns was terrible, and

¹ This is alluded to in an old song called "Halifax Station," written and very extensively sung soon after the event commemorated occurred:

"Then up to each mast-head he straight sent a flag,
Which shows on the ocean a proud British brag;
But Hull, being pleasant, he sent up but one,
And told every seaman to stand true to his gun."

² Statement of Lieutenant B. V. Hoffman.

Attempts at Boarding.

The *Guerriere* suddenly made a Wreck.

Daeres surrenders to Hull.

the fierce volleys of musketry on both sides, together with the heavy sea that was running, made that movement impossible. The English piped all hands from below, and mounted them on the forward deck for the purpose; and Lieutenant Morris, Alwyn, the master, and Lieutenant Bush, of the Marines, sprang upon the taffrail of the *Constitution* to lead their men to the same work. Morris was severely but not fatally shot through the body; Alwyn was wounded in the shoulder; and a bullet through his brain brought Bush dead to the deck. Just then the sails of the *Constitution* were filled, and as she shot ahead and clear of her antagonist, whose fore-mast had been severely wounded, that spar fell, carrying with it the main-mast, and leaving the hapless vessel a shivering, shorn, and helpless wreck, rolling like a log in the trough of the sea, entirely at the mercy of the billows.

"Quick as lightning, and fatal as its dreaded power,
Destruction and death on the *Guerriere* did shower,
While the groans of the dying were heard on the blast.
The word was, 'Take aim, boys, away with the mast!'
The genius of Britain will long rue the day.
The *Guerriere*'s a wreck in the trough of the sea;
Her laurels are withered, her boasting is done;
Submissive, to leeward she fires her last gun."—OLD SONG.

The *Constitution* hauled off a short distance, secured her own masts, rove new rigging, and at sunset wore round and took a favorable position for raking the wreck.



JAMES RICHARD DAERES.

A jack that had been kept flying on the stump of the enemy's mizzen-mast was now lowered, and the late Commodore George C. Read, then a third lieutenant, was sent on board of the prize. She was found to be the *Guerriere*, 38, Captain James Richards Daeres, one of the vessels which had so lately been engaged in the memorable chase of her present conqueror, and which Hull was anxious to meet. The lieutenant asked for the commander of the prize, when Captain Daeres appeared. "Commodore Hull's compliments," said Read, "and wishes to know if you have struck your flag?" Captain Daeres, looking up and down, coolly and dryly remarked, "Well, I don't know; our mizzen-mast is gone, our main-mast is gone, and, upon the whole, you may say we *have* struck our flag." Read then said,

"Commodore Hull's compliments, and wishes to know whether you need the assistance of a surgeon or surgeon's mate?" Daeres replied, "Well, I should suppose you had on board your own ship business enough for all your medical officers." Read replied, "Oh no; we have only seven wounded, and they were dressed half an hour ago.")

¹ Statement of Captain William B. Orne, in the *New York Evening Post*. He commanded the American brig *Beech*, and when returning from Naples in the summer of 1812, she was captured by the *Guerriere*. Captain Orne was a prisoner on board of her at the time of the action, and was treated by Captain Daeres with the greatest courtesy. When that commander's interview with Read was concluded, he turned to Orne and said, "How have our situations been changed! You are now free, and I am a prisoner."

James Richard Daeres was a son of Vice Admiral J. R. Daeres, who was in command of the British schooner *Carlton*, on Lake Champlain, in the fight with Arnold's flotilla in 1776. Young Daeres entered the royal navy in 1786, on board the *Neptun*, 64, commanded by his father. His first service was against the French, in which he exhibited excellent qualities. He was promoted to the command of the sloop *Elk* in 1808, and the next year was transferred to the *Jacchant*, 24. He was appointed to the command of the *Guerriere* in March, 1811. She then carried 48 guns, and was called "a worn-out frigate." See O'Byrne's *Naval Biography*. He was wounded in the action with the *Constitution*. He was unanimously acquitted by the court-martial at Halifax that tried him for surrendering his ship. He commanded the

The *Constitution* kept near her prize all night. At two in the morning a strange sail was seen closing upon them, when she cleared for action, but an hour later the intruder stood off and disappeared. At dawn the officer in charge of the *Guerriere* hailed to say that she had four feet water in her hold and was in danger of sinking. Hull immediately sent all his boats to bring off the prisoners and their effects.¹ That duty was accomplished by noon, and at three o'clock the prize crew was recalled. The *Guerriere* was too much damaged to be saved; so she was set on fire, and fifteen minutes afterward she blew up, scattering widely upon the subsiding billows all that was left of the boastful cruiser that was "not the *Little Belt*."²

"Isaac did so maul and rake her,
That the decks of Captain Dacre
Were in such a woful pickle
As if Death, with scythe and sickle,
With his sling or with his shaft,
Had cut his harvest fore and aft.
Thus, in thirty minutes, ended
Mischiefs that could not be mended;
Masts, and yards, and ship descended
All to David Jones's locker—
Such a ship, in such a pucker!"—OLD SONG.

The *Constitution* arrived at Boston on the 30th of August, and on that day Captain Hull wrote his official dispatch to the Secretary of War, dated "U. S. frigate *Constitution*, off Boston Light." He was the first to announce to his countrymen the intelligence of his own victory. That intelligence was received with the most lively demonstrations of joy in every part of the republic, and dispelled for a moment the gloom occasioned by the recent disasters at Detroit in the surrender of General Hull. When the *Constitution* appeared in Boston Harbor, she was surrounded by a flotilla of gayly-decorated small boats, and the hundreds of people who filled them made the air tremble with their loud huzzas. At the wharf where he landed he was received with a national salute by an artillery company, which was returned by the *Constitution*. An immense assemblage of citizens were there to greet him and escort him to quarters prepared for him in the city, and the whole town was filled with tumultuous joy. The streets through which the triumphal procession passed were decorated with flags and banners. From almost every window ladies waved their white handkerchiefs, and from the crowded side-pavements shout after shout of the citizens greeted the hero. Men of all ranks hastened to pay homage to the conqueror. A splendid public entertainment was given him and his officers by the inhabitants of Boston, and almost six hundred citizens, of both political parties, sat down to the banquet in token of their appreciation of the gallant commander's

Tiber from 1814 to 1818. He continued in service afloat. In 1838 he attained flag rank, answering to our commodore, and in 1845 was appointed commander-in-chief at the Cape of Good Hope, his flag-ship being the *President*, 60. Vice Admiral Dacres died in England, at an advanced age, on the 4th of December, 1853. The preceding likeness of Captain Dacres (Vice Admiral of the Red) is from a print published in London in October, 1881.

¹ "I feel it my duty to state that the conduct of Captain Hull and his officers to our men has been that of a brave enemy, the greatest care being taken to prevent our men losing the smallest trifle, and the greatest attention being paid to the wounded."—Captain Dacres's Report to Vice Admiral Sawyer, September 7, 1812.

² Three days before the action between the *Constitution* and *Guerriere*, the *John Adams*, Captain Fash, from Liverpool, was spoken by the English frigate. Upon Fash's register, which he deposited at the New York Custom-house, the following lines were found written:

"Captain Dacres, commander of his Britannic majesty's frigate *Guerriere*, of 44 guns, presents his compliments to Commodore Rodgers, of the United States frigate *President*, and will be very happy to meet him, or any other American frigate of equal force to the *President*, off Sandy Hook, for the purpose of having a few minutes' *tête-à-tête*."

To this fact a poet of the day, an American gentleman then living at St. Bartholomew's, thus alluded:

"This Briton oft had made his boast
He'd with his crew, a chosen host,
Pour fell destruction round our coast,
And work a revolution;
Urged by his pride, a challenge sent
Bold Rodgers, in the *President*,
Wishing to meet
Him *tête-à-tête*,
Or one his equal from our fleet—
Such was the *Constitution*."

Tributes of Honor by Citizens and Public Bodies.

Congress presents Hull with a Gold Medal.

services.¹ The citizens of New York raised money for the purchase of swords to be presented to Captain Hull and his officers; and the Corporation offered the gallant victor the freedom of the city in a gold box,² with an appropriate inscription.² Hull was also requested by the same Corporation to sit for his portrait, to be hung in the picture-gallery of the City Hall.³ In Philadelphia the citizens, at a general meeting, resolved to present to Captain Hull "a piece of plate of the most elegant workmanship, with appropriate emblems, devices, and inscriptions," and that "a like piece of plate be presented to Lieutenant Morris, in the name of the citizens of Philadelphia." They also resolved to present tokens of their gratitude to the other officers of the *Constitution*. The Congress of the United States, by resolution, voted a gold medal to Captain Hull,⁴ and fifty thousand dollars to be dis-



¹ A stirring ode was sung at the table. It was written for the occasion by the late L. M. Sargent, Esq., then an eminent and highly esteemed citizen of Boston. The victory of Hull, so complete, and obtained over a foe so nearly equal in strength, gave promise of future successes on the ocean, and inspired the most doubting heart with hope. This hope was expressed in the following closing stanza of Mr. Sargent's ode:

"Hence be our floating bulwarks
Those oaks our mountains yield;
'Tis mighty Heaven's plain decree—
Then take the watery field!
To ocean's farthest barriers, then,
Your whitening sails shall pour;
Safe they'll ride o'er the tide
While Columbia's thunders roar;
While her cannon's fire is flashing fast,
And her Yankee thunders roar."

² This is a merely complimentary act, by which a person, for gallant or useful services, is honored with the nominal right to all the privileges and immunities of a citizen by the government of a city. When Andrew Hamilton, of Philadelphia, nobly defended the liberty of the press, and procured the acquittal of John Peter Zenger, a New York printer, who was accused of libel by the governor in 1733, the Corporation of New York presented that able lawyer the freedom of the city in a gold box for his noble advocacy of popular rights. When Washington Irving returned to New York, after twenty years' absence in Europe, the freedom of the city was given to him as a compliment for his distinction as an American author when successful ones were rare.

The ceremony of presentation to Captain Hull took place in the Common Council Chamber of the City Hall. A committee, consisting of Aldermen Fish and Mesler, and General Morton, introduced Hull to the Common Council, when De Witt Clinton, the mayor, arose and addressed him. He then presented him with the diploma, elegantly executed in vellum,⁴ and a richly-embossed gold box, with a representation of the battle between the *Constitution* and *Guerriere* painted in enamel. Hull responded in a few low and modest words, after which the mayor administered to him the freedom's oath.

³ In that gallery hang the portraits of the successive governors of the State of New York. On that account it is known as the Governors' Room.

⁴ On one side of this medal, represented of the exact size of the original in the above engraving, is seen the likeness of Captain Hull in profile, with the legend ISACUS HULL PERITUS AETE SUPERAT JUL. MDCCCXL. ANG. CERTAMINE FORTE. This legend (and date) seems to refer to the skill of Hull in escaping from the British fleet the previous month, for it asserts that his stratagem overmatched the experienced English. On the reverse of the medal is seen a naval engagement, in which the *Guerriere* is represented as receiving the deadly shots that cut away her mizen-mast. The legend is HONOR. MEMENTO VICTORIA, and the exergue INTER CONST. NAV. AMER. ET GUER. NAV. ANGL.—the abbreviation of words indicating action "between the American ship *Constitution* and the English ship *Guerriere*."

⁵ The form of words in which this instrument is expressed will be found in another part of this work, where an account is given of a similar honor conferred on General Jacob Brown.

Effect of the Victory on the British.

Estimates of its Importance.

Remarks of the London *Times*.

tributed as prize-money among the officers and crew of the victor, whose example was "highly honorable to the American character and instructive to our rising navy."¹

It is difficult to comprehend at this time the feeling which this victory of the Americans created on both sides of the Atlantic. The British, as we have observed, looked with contempt upon the American navy, while the Americans looked upon that of England with dread. The naval flag of England had seldom been lowered to an enemy during the lapse of a century, and the people had come to believe her "wooden walls" to be impregnable. Dacres himself, though less a boaster than most of his countrymen in command, had similar faith. He believed that an easy victory awaited him whenever he should be so fortunate as to meet *any* American vessel in conflict; and he constantly expressed a desire to show how quickly he would make the "striped bunting" trail in his presence. Very great, then, was the disappointment of the commander of the *Guerriere*, the service, and the British people, when Hull's victory was accomplished. The Americans, on the other hand, as we have observed, had little confidence in the power of their navy, and at that time they were cast down by the heavy blow to their hopes in the misfortunes of the Army of the Northwest at Detroit. This victory, therefore, so unexpected and so complete, was like the sudden bursting forth of the morning sun, without preceding twilight, after a night of tempest, and the joy of the whole people was unbounded. It was natural for them to indulge in many extravagances, yet these were only the mere demonstrative evidences of a new-born faith that had taken hold of the American mind. This victory was, therefore, of immense importance, inasmuch as it gave the Americans confidence, and dispelled the idea of the absolute omnipotence of the British navy. Its momentous bearing upon the future of the war was at once perceived by statesmen and publicists on both sides, and zealous discussions at once arose concerning the relative strength, and force, and armament of the two vessels, and the comparative merits of the two commanders as exhibited in their conduct before and during the action.

There was a tendency on the part of the Americans to overestimate the importance of the victory and the powers of their seamen, and there was an equal tendency of the organs of British opinion to underestimate it, and to detract from the merits of the conqueror by disparaging the strength and condition of the *Guerriere*. The very writers who had spoken of the *Constitution* as "a bundle of pine-boards" now called her one of the stanchest vessels afloat; and the *Guerriere*, which they had praised as a frigate worthy of the exhibition of British valor when she was captured from the French, and able to drive "the insolent striped bunting from the seas," was now spoken of as "an old worn-out frigate," with damaged masts, a reduced complement, and "in absolute need of thorough refit," for which "she was then on her way to Halifax." Yet the London *Times*, then, as now, the leading journal in England, and then, as now, the bitter enemy of the United States, and implacable foe of every supposed rival or competitor of England, was compelled, in deep mortification, to view the affair as a severe blow struck at Britain's boasted supremacy of the seas. "We have been accused of sentiments unworthy of Englishmen," it said, "because we described what we saw and felt on the occasion of the capture of the *Guerriere*. We witnessed the gloom which that event cast over high and honorable minds; we participated in the vexation and regret; and it is the first time we have ever heard that *the striking of the English flag on the high seas to any thing like an equal force* should be regarded by Englishmen with complacency and satisfaction. . . . It is not merely that an English frigate has been taken, after, what we are free to confess, may be called a brave resistance, but that it has been taken by a *new enemy*, an enemy unaccustomed to such triumphs, and likely to be rendered insolent and confident by them. He must

¹ Resolutions of the House of Representatives, November 5, 1812.

be a weak politician who does not see how important the first triumph is in giving a tone and character to the war. *Never before in the history of the world did an English frigate strike to an American*; and though we can not say that Captain Dacres, under all circumstances, is punishable for this act, yet we do say that there are commanders in the English navy who would a thousand times rather have gone down with their colors flying than have set their brother-officers so fatal an example." William James, one of the most bitterly partisan and unscrupulous historians of the war, was constrained to say, "There is no question that our vanity received a wound in the loss of the *Guerriere*. But, poignant as were the national feelings, reflecting men hailed the 19th of August, 1812, as the commencement of an era of renovation to the navy of England."¹

The advantage in the action, in guns, men, and staunchness, was undoubtedly on the side of the *Constitution*, yet not so much as to make the contest really an unequal one. The vessels rated respectively 44 and 38, while the *Constitution* actually carried in the action 56, and the *Guerriere* 49. The latter was pierced for 54 and carried 50 when she was captured from the French.² Her gun-deck metal was lighter than that of the *Constitution*, but the rest of her armament was the same. Notwithstanding this disparity, the weight of the respective broadsides, according to the most authentic account, could not have varied very materially.³ The crew of the *Constitution* greatly outnumbered that of the *Guerriere*, being 468 against 253. That of the latter had a great advantage in experience and discipline; for they had been long in naval service, while the crew of the *Constitution* was newly shipped for this cruise, and mostly from the merchant service.

According to the official report of Captain Hull, the action lasted thirty minutes, while Dacres said its duration was two hours and twelve minutes. This discrepancy may be reconciled by the consideration that the British commander probably counted from the time when the *Guerriere* fired her first gun, which the *Constitution* did not respond to, and the American commander computed from the moment when he poured in his first broadside. The *Guerriere* was made a wreck—the *Constitution* was severely wounded in spars and rigging. The American loss was seven killed and seven wounded. The British loss was fifteen killed, forty-four wounded, and twenty-four (including two officers) missing. Dacres was severely wounded in the back.

At that time there were more captains in the navy than vessels for them to command; and Captain Hull, with noble generosity and rare contentment with the laurels already won, gave up the command of his frigate for the sole purpose of giving others a chance to distinguish themselves. Captain Bainbridge, one of the oldest officers in the service, and then in command of the *Constellation*, 38, which was fitting out for sea at Washington, was appointed Hull's successor. He was made a flag officer, and the *Essex*, 32, and *Hornet*, 28, was placed under his command. He hoisted his broad pennant on board the *Constitution*, and sailed from Boston on a cruise on the 15th of September. Captain Charles Stewart was assigned to the command of the *Constellation*; and not long afterward, Lieutenant Morris, Hull's second in command, who was severely wounded when gallantly attempting to lead a boarding-party to the decks of the *Guerriere*, was promoted to captain. Of Bainbridge's cruise I shall write presently. Let us now consider a most gallant exploit of the *Wasp*, an inferior member of the United States Navy.

The sloop-of-war *Wasp*, 18, was considered one of the finest and fastest sailers of her class. She was built immediately after the close of the war with Tripoli, and was thor-

¹ *Naval Occurrences*, page 116.

² Captain Lavie's Letter to Lord Keith, July 26, 1806. "*Le Guerriere*," he said, "is of the largest class of frigates, mounting fifty guns, with a complement of 817 men."

³ By actual weighing of the balls of both ships by an officer of the *Constitution*, it was found that the American 24's were only three pounds heavier than the English 18's on that occasion, and that there was nearly the same difference in favor of the latter's 32's.—Cooper's *Naval History*, etc., ii., 178, Note *.

Cruise of the *Wasp*.

She encounters a Gale.

Chases a Vessel.

Captain Jones.



Jac Jones

oroughly manned and equipped. She mounted sixteen 32-pound carronades and two long 12's, and also carried, usually, two small brass cannon in her tops. Her officers were always proud of her, as an admirable specimen of their country's naval architecture. At the kindling of the war she was on the European coast, the only government vessel, excepting the *Constitution*, then abroad; and at the time of the declaration of hostilities by the American Congress, she was on her way home as bearer of dispatches from the diplomatic representatives of the United States in Europe. Her commander was Captain Jacob Jones, a brave officer, in whose veins ran much pure, indomitable Welsh blood.¹

On the thirteenth of October, 1812, the *Wasp* left the Delaware on a cruise, with a full complement of men, about one hundred and thirty-five in number. She ran off south-easterly to clear the coast and strike the tracks of vessels that might be steering north

for the West Indies, and on the sixteenth encountered a heavy gale, which carried away her jib-boom, and with it two of her crew. The storm abated on the following day;² and toward midnight, when in latitude thirty-seven north, and longitude sixty-five west, his watch discovered several sail, two of them appearing to be large vessels. Ignorant of the true character of the strangers, Captain Jones thought it prudent to keep at a respectful distance until the morning light should give him better information. All night the *Wasp* kept a course parallel with that of the stranger vessels. At dawn she gave chase, and it was soon discovered that the strangers were a fleet of armed merchant vessels under the protection of the British sloop-of-war *Frolic*, mounting sixteen thirty-two-pound carronades, two long six-pounders, and two twelve-pound carronades on her fore-castle. She was manned with a crew of one hundred and eight persons, under Captain Thomas Whinyates,³ who had been her commander for more than five years. She was con-

¹ October 18, 1812.

¹ Jacob Jones was born in the year 1770, near the village of Smyrna, Kent County, Delaware. His father was a farmer, and the maiden name of his mother was likewise Jones. He received a good academic education, and at the age of eighteen years commenced the study of medicine and surgery. He began the practice of his profession at Dover, in his native state, but did not pursue it long. He found the field well occupied, and, being active and ambitious, resolved to abandon his profession for one more lucrative. He received the appointment of clerk of the Supreme Court for Kent County. Of this business he became wearied, and entered the service of his country as a midshipman in the year 1799. He made his first cruise under Commodore Barry, and was on board the frigate *United States* when she bore Ellsworth and Davis to France as envoys extraordinary of the United States to the government of that country. He was promoted to Lieutenant in February, 1801. When the war with Tripoli broke out he sailed in the *Philadelphia* under Bainbridge, and after the disaster that befell that vessel he was twenty months a captive among the semi-barbarians of Northern Africa. He was commissioned master commandant in April, 1810, and was appointed to the command of the brig *Argus*, which was stationed for the protection of our commerce on our southern maritime frontier. In 1811 he was transferred to the command of the *Wasp*, and in the spring of 1812 was dispatched with communications from the United States government to its ambassadors in France and England. While on that duty war between the United States and Great Britain was declared by the former. Soon after his return, he went on the cruise which resulted in his capture of the *Frolic*, and the recapture of his own and the prize vessel by a British frigate. In March, 1813, he was promoted to captain, and ever afterward bore the title of Commodore. After the peace he was employed alternately at home and abroad; and, finally, in his declining years, he retired to his farm in his native state, where he enjoyed a serene old age. He died at Philadelphia in July, 1850, at the age of eighty years. The likeness is copied from an engraving by Edwin, from a portrait painted by the late Rembrandt Peale.

² Thomas Whinyates entered the British navy in 1798, and obtained his first commission in September, 1799. He was promoted to the rank of commander in May, 1806, and, after having commanded the bomb *Zebra* almost two years, he was promoted to the command of the *Frolic* in

Thos Whinyates

Flight between the *Wasp* and the *Frolic*.

The *Frolic* boarded.

Terrible Scenes on her Deck.

voying six merchantmen from Honduras. Four of these vessels were large, and mounted from sixteen to eighteen guns each.¹

It was Sunday morning. The sky was cloudless, the atmosphere balmy, and a stiff and increasing breeze from the northwest was giving white crests to the billows.

Jones soon perceived that the hostile sloop was disposed to fight, and was taking position so as to allow the merchantmen to escape by flight during the engagement. The top-gallant yards of the *Wasp* were immediately sent down, her top-sails were close-reefed, and she was otherwise brought under short fighting canvas. The *Frolic* also carried very little sail, and in this condition they commenced a severe engagement at half past ten o'clock in the morning. The *Wasp* ranged close up on the starboard side of the *Frolic*, after receiving a broadside from her at the distance of fifty or sixty yards, and then instantly delivered her own broadside, when the fire of the Englishman became so accelerated that the *Frolic* appeared to fire three guns to the *Wasp's* two. The breeze had increased, and the sea was rolling heavily.

Within five minutes after the action commenced the main-top-mast of the *Wasp* was shot away. It fell, with the main-top-sail yard, and lodged across the larboard and fore and fore-top-sail braces, rendering the head yards unmanageable during the remainder of the action. In the course of three minutes more her gaff and main-top-gallant-mast was shot away, and fell heavily to the deck; and at the end of twenty minutes from the opening of the engagement, every brace and most of the rigging was disabled. She was in a forlorn condition indeed, and had few promises of victory.

But, while the *Wasp* was receiving these serious damages in her rigging and tops, the *Frolic* was more seriously injured in her hull. The latter generally fired when on the crest of the wave, while the former fired from the trough of the sea, and sent her missiles through the hull of her antagonist with destructive force. The two vessels gradually approached each other until the bends of the *Wasp* rubbed against the *Frolic's* bows; and, in loading for the last broadside, the rammers of the *Wasp's* gunners were shoved against the sides of the *Frolic*.² Finally, the combatants ran foul of each other, the bowsprit of the *Frolic* passing in over the quarter-deck of the *Wasp*, and forcing her bows up into the wind. This enabled the latter to throw in a close raking broadside that produced dreadful havoc.

The crew of the *Wasp* was now in a state of the highest excitement, and could no longer be restrained. With wild shouts they leaped into the tangled rigging before Captain Jones could throw in another broadside, as he intended before boarding his enemy, and made their way to the decks of the *Frolic*, with Lieutenants Biddle and Rodgers, who, with Lieutenants Booth, Claxton,³ and Rapp, had exhibited the most undaunted courage throughout the action.⁴ But there was no one to oppose them. The last broadside had carried death and dismay into the *Frolic*, and almost cleared her decks of active men. The wounded, dying, and dead were strewn in every di-

March, 1867. He was commissioned a post-captain in August, 1813, and in 1846 was placed on the list of retired rear admirals.

¹ The *Frolic* had left the Bay of Honduras with about fourteen sail under convoy. When off Havana her commander first heard of the declaration of war. The British vessels experienced the same gale which the *Frolic* encountered, and they were separated. The *Frolic* sustained quite serious damage, having had her main yard broken in two places, and her main-top-mast badly sprung, besides other injuries. In this condition she entered upon the engagement. During the engagement the merchant vessels with the *Frolic* escaped. See James's *Naval Occurrences*.

² Captain Jones's Report to the Secretary of the Navy, November 24, 1812.

³ "Lieutenant Claxton," says Captain Jones, in his report to the Secretary of the Navy, "who was confined by sickness, left his bed a little previous to the engagement, and, though too indisposed to be at his division, remained upon deck, and showed, by his composed manner of noticing its incidents, that we had lost by his illness the services of a brave officer."

⁴ John (or, as he was familiarly called, Jack) Lang, a seaman of the *Wasp*, who had once been impressed into the British service, and was hot with the fire of retaliation, jumped on a gun with his cutlass, and was springing on board the *Frolic*, when Captain Jones, wishing to give the enemy another broadside, called him down. But his impetuosity overcame his sense of obedience, and in a moment he leaped upon the bowsprit of the *Frolic*. The crew were all alive with excitement. Seeing this, Lieutenant Biddle mounted the hammock-cloth to board. The crew caught the signal, and followed with the greatest enthusiasm. Lang was from New Brunswick, New Jersey.

Surrender of the *Frolic*.

Both Vessels captured by the *Poictiers*.

Captain Jones applauded.

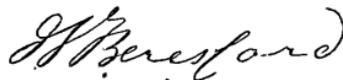
rection. Several surviving officers were standing aft, the most of them bleeding, and not a common seaman or marine was at his station, except an old tar at the wheel, who had kept his post throughout the terrible encounter. All who were able had rushed below to escape the raking fire of the *Wasp*.

The English officers cast down their swords in submission, and Lieutenant Biddle, who led the boarding-party, springing into the main rigging, struck the colors of the *Frolic* with his own hand, not one of the enemy being able to do so. The prize passed into the possession of the conquerors after a contest of three quarters of an hour, when every one of her officers were wounded, and a greater part of her men were either killed or severely injured. Not twenty persons on board of her remained unhurt.¹ Her aggregate loss in killed and wounded was estimated at ninety men. The *Wasp* had only five killed and five wounded.

The *Frolic* was so injured that when the two vessels separated both her masts fell, and with tattered sails and broken rigging covered the dead on her decks. She had been hulled at almost every discharge from the *Wasp*, and was virtually a wreck before her colors were struck.

The heat of the battle was scarcely over when Captain Jones prepared to continue his cruise in his victorious little vessel. He had placed Lieutenant Biddle in command of the shattered *Frolic*, with orders to take her into Charleston, or some other Southern port, and was about to part company with his prize, when a strange vessel was seen bearing down upon them. Neither the *Wasp* nor her prize was in a condition to resist or flee. The rigging of the latter was so cut, and her top-sails so nearly in ribbons, that it would have been folly to attempt either.

The strange sail drew near, and heaving a shot over the *Frolic*, and ranging up near the *Wasp*, convinced them both that the most prudent course would be to submit at once. Within two hours after the gallant Jones had gained his victory he was compelled to surrender his own noble vessel and her prize. The captor was the British ship-of-war *Poictiers*, of seventy-four guns, commanded by Captain John Poo Beresford.² She proceeded to Bermuda with her prizes, where the American prisoners were exchanged, and departed for home. From New York Captain Jones sent his account of the occurrences to the Secretary of the Navy—a report that was received with the greatest satisfaction.³



The victory of the *Wasp* over the *Frolic*—the result of the first combat between the vessels of the two nations of a force nearly equal—occasioned much exultation in the United States. The press teemed with laudations of Captain Jones and his gallant companions, and a stirring song commemorative of the event was soon upon the lips of singers at public gatherings, in bar-rooms, workshops, and even by ragged urchins in the streets. The name of the author, if ever known, has been long forgotten, but the following lines are remembered by many a gray-haired survivor of the War:

"The foe bravely fought, but his arms were all broken,
And he fled from his death-wound aghast and affrighted;
But the *Wasp* darted forward her death-doing sting,
And full on his bosom, like lightning, alighted.
She pierced through his entrails, she maddened his brain,
And he writhed and he groan'd as if torn with the colic;
And long shall John Bull rue the terrible day
He met the American *Wasp* on a *Frolic*."

¹ Captain Whinyates's dispatch to Admiral Sir J. Borlase Warren, from the ship *Poictiers*, October 23, 1812. The loss of the *Frolic* must have been about one hundred.

² Report of Captain Jones to the Secretary of the Navy, November 24, 1812; Whinyates's dispatch to Admiral Warren, October 23, 1812.

³ According to general usage, a court of inquiry was held on the conduct of Captain Jones in giving up the *Wasp* and her prize. The opinion of the court was, "That the conduct of the officers and crew of the *Wasp* was eminently distinguished for firmness and gallantry in making every preparation and exertion of which their situation would admit."

Caricature of "A Wasp on a Frolic."

Honors to Captain Jones.

A Medal presented to him by Congress.



A WASP ON A FROLIC.

Charles, the Philadelphia caricaturist, materialized the idea, and sent forth a colored picture, called A WASP ON A FROLIC, OR A STING FOR JOHN BULL, that sold by hundreds during the excitement in the public mind.¹

Captain Jones was every where received with demonstrations of gratitude and admiration on his return to the United States. In the cities through which he had occasion to pass, brilliant entertainments were given in his honor. The Legislature of Delaware, his native state, appointed a committee to wait on him with their thanks, and to express "the pride and pleasure" they felt in recognizing him as a native of their state, and at the same time voted him thanks, an elegant sword, and a piece of silver plate with appropriate engravings. The Common Council of New York, on motion of Alderman Lawrence, voted him a sword, and also the

"freedom of the city." The Congress of the United States, on motion of James A. Bayard, of Delaware, appropriated twenty-five thousand dollars as a compensation to Captain Jones and his companions for their loss of prize-money occasioned by the recapture of the *Frolic*. They also ordered a gold medal to be presented to the cap-



GOLD MEDAL AWARDED BY CONGRESS TO CAPTAIN JONES.

tain, and a silver one to each of his officers. The captain also received a more substantial token of his country's approbation by being promoted by Congress to the command of the frigate *Macedonian*, which had lately been captured from the British and taken into the service.²

¹ Under the picture were the following lines:

"A Wasp took a Frolic, and met Johnny Bull,
Who always fights best when his belly is full.
The Wasp thought him hungry by his mouth open wide,
So, his belly to fill, put a sting in his side."

² The following are the names of the officers of the *Wasp* at the time of the action: Jacob Jones, *Commander*; George W. Rodgers, James Biddle, Benjamin Booth, Alexander Claxton, and Henry B. Rapp, *Lieutenants*; William Kulght, *Sailing-master*; Thomas Harris, *Surgeon*; George S. Wiae, *Purser*; John McCloud, *Boatswain*; George Jackson, *Gunner*; George Van Cleave, A. S. Ten Eyck, Richard Brashear, John Holcomb, William J. M'Cluney, C. J. Baker, and Charles Gaunt, *Midskipmen*; Walter W. New, *Surgeon's Mate*.

The engraving is a representation of the medal, full size. On one side is a bust of Captain Jones. Legend—JANUARIUS JONES VIRIUS IN ARDUA VENIIT. On the reverse are seen two ships closely engaged, the bowsprit of the *Wasp* between

Lieutenant Biddle honored and rewarded.

Lieutenant Biddle shared in the honors. The Legislature of Pennsylvania voted him thanks and a sword, and a number of leading men in Philadelphia presented him with a silver urn, bearing an appropriate inscription, and a representation of the action between the *Wasp* and the *Frolic*.¹ He was shortly afterward promoted to the



THE BIDDLE URN.

rank of master commandant, and received command of the *Hornet* sloop-of-war. Poetry wreathed coronals for the brows of all the braves of that fight, and in the *Portfolio* for January, 1813, a rather doleful poem appeared in commemoration of the gallantry of Biddle, of which the following is a specimen:

"Nor shall thy merits, Biddle, pass untold,
When covered with the cannon's flaming breath,
Onward he pressed, unconquerably bold;
He feared dishonor, but he spurned at death."

the masts of the *Frolic*. Men on the bow of the *Wasp* in the act of boarding the *Frolic*. The main-top-mast of the *Wasp* shot away. Legend—VICTORIAM HOSTI MAJORI CELEBRISSE BAVIT. EXERGUE—INTER WASP. NAV. AMERI. ET FROLIC NAV. ANG. DIE XVIII OCT. MDCCCXII.

¹ This urn and the silver medal presented to Lieutenant Biddle for his share in the capture of the *Frolic* are in possession of Lieutenant James S. Biddle, of Philadelphia. Also the gold medal afterward presented to the hero in acknowledgment of his services in capturing the *Penguin*. The following is the inscription on the urn:

"To Lieutenant James Biddle, United States Navy, from the early friends and companions of his youth, who, while their country rewards his public services, present this testimonial of their esteem for his private worth. Philadelphia, 1813."



CHAPTER XXII.

"The chiefs who our freedom sustained on the land,
Fame's far-spreading voice has eternized in story;
By the roar of our cannon now called to the strand,
She beholds on the ocean their rivals in glory.
Her sons there she owns,
And her clarion's bold tones
Tell of Hull and Decatur, of Bainbridge and Jones;
For the tars of Columbia are lords of the wave,
And have sworn that old Ocean's their throne or their grave."



THE victory won by the *Wasp* was followed, precisely a week later,^a by another more important. Commodore Rodgers sailed in the *President* from Boston on a second ^{October 25,} 1812. cruise, after refitting, accompanied by the *United States*, 44, Captain Decatur, and *Argus*, 16, Lieutenant Commanding Sinclair, leaving the *Hornet* in port. The *President* parted company with her companions on the 12th of October, and on the 17th fell in with and captured the British packet *Swallow*. The *United States* and *Argus*, meanwhile, had also parted company with each other, and the former had sailed to the southward and eastward, hoping

to intercept British West Indiamen. Decatur was soon gratified by better fortune in the estimation of a soldier. At dawn on Sunday morning, the 25th,^b

^a October. when in latitude 29° and west longitude 29° 30', not far from the island of Madeira, the watch at the main-top discovered a sail to windward. There was a stiff breeze and a heavy sea on at the time. It was soon discovered that the stranger was an English ship-of-war, under a heavy press of sail. Decatur resolved to overtake and engage her, and for that purpose he spread all his canvas. The *United States* was a good sailer, and she rapidly reduced the distance between herself and the fugitive she was pursuing. The enthusiasm of her officers and men was unbounded; and as the gallant ship drew nearer and nearer to the enemy, shouts went up from the decks of the *United States* loud enough to be heard by the British before the American vessel was near enough to bring her guns to bear.

At about nine in the morning Decatur had so nearly overtaken his prospective antagonist that he opened a broadside upon her. The balls fell short. The *United States* was soon much nearer, when she opened another broadside with effect. This was responded to in kind. Both vessels were now on the same tack, and continued the action with a heavy and steady cannonade with the long guns of both, the distance between them being so great that carronades and muskets were of no avail for some time. Almost every shot of the *United States* fell fearfully on the enemy, who finally perceived that safety from utter destruction might only be found in closer quarters. When the contest had lasted about half an hour, the stranger, with mutilated spars and riddled sails, bore up gallantly for close action. The *United States* readily accepted the challenge, and very soon afterward her shot, sent by the direction of splendid gunnery, cut the enemy's mizzen-mast so that it fell overboard. Not long afterward the main yard of the foe was seen hanging in two pieces, her main and fore top-masts were gone, her fore-mast was tottering, no colors were seen floating over her deck, and her main-mast and bowsprit were severely wounded, while the *United States* remained almost unhurt. The stranger's fire had become feeble,

Capture of the *Macedonian*.

Incidents of the Battle.

Comparison of the *United States* and *Macedonian*.

and Decatur filled his mizzen-top-sail, gathered fresh way, tacked, and came up under the lee of the English ship, to the utter discomfiture of her commander, who, when he saw the American frigate bear away, supposed she was severely injured and about to flee from him. With that impression her crew gave three cheers;¹ but when the *United States* tacked and brought up in a position for more effectual action than before, the British commander, perceiving farther resistance to be vain, struck her colors and surrendered. As the *United States* crossed the stem of the vanquished vessel, Decatur hailed and demanded her name. "His majesty's frigate *Macedonian*, 38, Captain John S. Carden," was the response. An officer was immediately sent on board. She had suffered terribly in every part during a combat of almost two hours. She had received no less than one hundred round shot in her hull alone, many of them between wind and water. She had nothing standing but her fore and main masts and fore yard. All her boats were rendered useless except one. Of her officers and crew, three hundred in number, thirty-six were killed and sixty-eight were wounded.² The loss of the *United States* was only five killed and six wounded.³ The *Macedonian* was a very fine vessel of her class, only two years old, and, though rated at 36, she carried forty-nine guns—eighteen on her gun-deck and thirty-two pound carronades above. The *United States* mounted thirty long 24's on her main deck, and twenty-two 42-pound carronades and two long 24's on her quarter-deck and fore-castle. She

¹ The cannonade by the *United States* was so incessant that her side toward the enemy seemed to be in a blaze. Carden supposed she was on fire, and this belief caused the exultation on his ship. A contemporary rhymér wrote as follows:

"For Carden thought he had us tight,
Just so did Dacres too, sirs,
But brave Decatur put him right
With Yankee doodle doo, sirs.
They thought they saw our ship in flame,
Which made them all huzza, sirs,
But when the second broadside came,
It made them hold their jaws, sirs."

See an allusion to this battle in Note 1, page 140, quoted from Cobbett's *Register*.

² Captain Carden thus stated his casualties: "Killed: 1 master's mate, the school-master, 23 petty officers and seamen, 2 boys, 1 sergeant, and 7 privates of marines—total, 36. Wounded dangerously: 7 petty officers and seamen. Severely: 1 lieutenant, 1 midshipman, 18 petty officers and seamen, 4 boys, and 5 private marines—total, dangerously and severely, 36. Wounded slightly: 1 lieutenant, 1 master's mate, 26 petty officers and seamen, and 4 private marines—total, 32. According to the muster-roll found on board of the *Macedonian*, she had seven impressed American seamen among her crew, two of whom were killed in the action. Another had been drowned at sea, while compelled to assist in boarding an American vessel. Their names were Christopher Dodge, Peter Johnson, John Alexander, C. Dolphin, Mayer Cook, William Thompson, John Wallis, and John Card. During the whole war, American seamen, similarly situated, were compelled to fight against their countrymen. When the fact became known that there were impressed Americans on the *Macedonian*, the exasperation of the people against Great Britain, because of her nefarious practice, was intensified.

³ Killed: Boatswain's mate, 1 seaman, and 3 marines. Wounded: 1 lieutenant, 4 seamen, and 1 marine. The lieutenant (John M. Fnunk) and one seaman (John Archibald) died of their wounds.

The following is a list of the officers of the *United States*: Commander, Stephen Decatur. Lieutenants, William H. Allen, John Gallagher, John M. Funk, George C. Read, Walter Wooster, John B. Nicholson. Sailing-master, John D. Sloat. Surgeon, Samuel R. Trevitt. Surgeon's Mate, Samuel Vernon. Purser, John B. Timberlake. Midshipmen, John Stansbury, Joseph Cassin, Philip Voorhees, John P. Zantzinger, Richard Delphy, Dugan Taylor, Richard S. Heath, Edward F. Howell, Archibald Hamilton, John M'Can, H. Z. W. Harrington, William Jameson, Lewis Hinckman, Benjamin S. Williams. Gunner, Thomas Barry. Lieutenants of Marines, William Anderson, James L. Edwards.

There was a boy only twelve years of age on board the *United States*, the son of a brave seaman, whose death had left the lad's mother in poverty. When the crew were clearing the ship for action, the boy stepped up to Decatur and said, "I wish my name may be put down on the roll, sir." "Why so, my lad?" asked the commander. "So that I may have a share of the prize-money," was the earnest reply. Pleased with the spirit of the boy, Decatur granted his request. The boy behaved gallantly throughout the contest. At the close of the action Decatur said to him, "Well, Bill, we have taken the ship, and your share of the prize-money may be about two hundred dollars; what will you do with it?" "I will send half to my mother, and the other half shall send me to school." The commander was so pleased with the right spirit of the boy that he took him under his protection, procured a midshipman's berth for him, and superintended his education.—Putnam's *Life of Decatur*, page 138.

* Congress decreed that in the distribution of prize-money arising from capture by national vessels, one half should go to the United States, and the other half, divided into twenty equal parts, should be distributed in the following manner: to captains, 3 parts; to the sea lieutenants and sailing-masters, 2 parts; to the marine officers, surgeons, pursers, boatswains, gunners, carpenters, master's mates, and chaplains, 2 parts; to midshipmen, surgeon's mates, captain's clerks, school-master, boatswain's mates, gunner's mates, carpenter's mates, steward, sail-makers, master at arms, armors, and coxswains, 3 parts; to gunner's yeomen, boatswain's yeomen, quarter-masters, quarter-gunners, coopers, sail-maker's mates, sergeants and corporals of marines, drummers and fifers, and extra petty officers, 3 parts; to seamen, ordinary seamen, marines, and boys, 7 parts.

Decatur's Courtesy.

His Arrival with his Prize.

The *Macedonian* at New York.

was manned with a crew of four hundred and seventy-eight. In men and metal the *United States* was heavier than the *Macedonian*, "but," says Cooper, "the disproportion between the force of the two vessels was much less than that between the execution."¹

Captain Carden fought his ship skillfully and bravely, and when he came on board the *United States*, and offered his sword to Captain Decatur, the latter generously remarked, "Sir, I can not receive the sword of a man who has so bravely defended his ship, but I will receive your hand." Suiting the action to the word, Decatur took the gallant Carden's hand, and led him to his cabin, where refreshments were set out and partaken of in a friendly spirit by the two commanders.²

When he took possession of his prize, Decatur found her not fatally injured, and he determined to abandon his cruise and take her into an American port. His own vessel was speedily repaired. The *Macedonian* was placed in the charge of Lieutenant Allen, who, with much ingenuity, so rigged her as to convert her into a barque, when captor and captive sailed for the United States. Decatur arrived off New London on the 4th of December,³ and at about the same time his prize entered Newport Harbor,

"Then quickly met our nation's eyes
The noblest sight in nature—
A first-rate frigate as a prize
Brought home by brave DECATUR."—OLD SONG.

Both vessels made their way through Long Island Sound, the East River, and Hell Gate, at the close of the month, and on the 1st of January, 1813, the *Macedonian* anchored in the harbor of New York, where she was greeted with great joy as a "New-year's gift." "A more acceptable compliment could not have been presented to a joyous people," said one of the newspapers. "She comes with the compliments of the season from Old Neptune," said another. "Janus, the peace-loving, smiled," said a third, more classical. The excitement of a feast had then scarcely died away,

¹ *Naval History of the United States*, ii., 179. See the official dispatches of Decatur and Carden; Clark's *Naval History*; Waldo's *Life of Stephen Decatur*; *The War*; Niles's *Register*; Memoir of Decatur, in the *Analectic Magazine*, i., 502.

² All of the private property of the officers and men of the *Macedonian* was given up to them. Among other things claimed and received by Captain Carden was a band of music and several casks of wine, the whole valued at eight hundred dollars. Of this generous conduct Captain Carden spoke in the highest terms. Hull's generosity to Captain Dacres, as we have seen, elicited the praise of that officer. The American newspapers called attention to the fact that the British commander of the *Poitiers*, when he captured the *Wasp* and her prize from Jones, would not permit officers or men to retain any thing except the clothes on their backs. See *The War*, i., 115.

Decatur and Carden had met before. It was in the harbor of Norfolk, just before the beginning of the war, that they were introduced to each other. Before they parted Carden said to Decatur, "We now meet as friends; God grant we may never meet as enemies; but we are subject to the orders of our governments, and must obey them." "I heartily reciprocate the sentiment," replied Decatur. "But what, sir," said Carden, "would be the consequence to yourself and the force you command if we should meet as enemies?" "Why, sir," responded Decatur, in the same playful spirit, "if we meet with forces that might be fairly called equal, the conflict would be severe, but the flag of my country on the ship I command shall never leave the staff on which it waves as long as there is a hull to support it." They parted, and their next meeting was on the deck of the *United States*, under the circumstances recorded in the text.

John Surman Carden was born on the 15th of August, 1771, at Templemore, Ireland. His father, Major Carden, of the British army, perished in the war of the American Revolution. This, his eldest son, entered the British navy as captain's servant in 1788 in the ship *Edgar*. In 1790 he became midshipman in the *Perseverance* frigate. He was made lieutenant in 1794. He received the cities of Worcester and Gloucester, and the borough of Tewksbury, honored him with their "freedom." He was made a rear admiral in 1840, and died at Bonnycastle, Antrim, Ireland, in May, 1858, at the age of eighty-seven years.



³ Decatur's official dispatch to the Secretary of the Navy was dated "At Sea, October 30, 1812. Lieutenant Hamilton, a son of the Secretary of the Navy, was sent with it to his father, at Washington, immediately after the arrival of the *United States* at New London. He bore the flag of the *Macedonian* to the seat of government, where he arrived on the evening of the 8th of December, at which time a ball was in progress which had been given in honor of the naval officers. The Secretary of the Navy (Paul Hamilton) and his wife and daughter were present. The first intimation of the arrival of their son and brother was his entrance into the hall of the brilliant assembly, bearing the trophy. Captains Hull and Stewart received it, and bore it to the accomplished wife of President Madison, who was present. The pleasure of the occasion was changed to patriotic joy, and at the supper one of the managers offered as a toast, "Commodore Decatur, and the officers and crew of the frigate *United States*."

Decatur's arrival at New London was hailed with joyful demonstrations. The city authorities presented him the public thanks, and a ball was given in his honor.

Celebration of Decatur's Victory.

Banquets in the City of New York.

Public Honors given to Decatur.

for only three days before^a a splendid banquet had been given, at Gib-^a December 29,
son's City Hotel, to Hull, Jones, and Decatur, by the Corporation and 1812.
citizens of New York,¹ and the newspapers of the land speedily became the vehicles
of the "effusions" of a score of poets, who caught inspiration from the shouts of tri-
umph that filled the air. Woodworth, the printer-poet, and author of *The Old Oaken*
Bucket, "threw together, on the spur of the moment," as he said, a dozen stirring
stanzas, of which the following is the first :

"The banner of Freedom high floated unfurl'd,
While the silver-tipp'd surges in low homage curl'd,
Flashing bright round the bow of Decatur's brave bark,
In contest an eagle—in chasing, a lark."

And J. R. Calvert wrote a banquet-song, which became immensely popular, of which
the following is the closing stanza :

"Now charge all your glasses with pure sparkling wine,
And toast our brave tars who so bravely defend us ;
While our naval commanders so nobly combine,
We defy all the illa haughty foes e'er can send us !
While our goblets do flow,
The praises we owe
To Valor and Skill we will gladly bestow.
And may grateful the sons of Columbia be
To DECATUR, whom Neptune crowns *Lord of the Sea!*"

Decatur's victory, following so closely upon others equally brilliant, produced the
most profound sensations in the United States and in England. In the former they
were impressions of encouragement and joy ; in the latter, of disappointment and
sorrow. The victor was highly applauded for his soldierly qualities and generosity
by each service ; and he was spoken of with the greatest enthusiasm by his country-
men. Public bodies, and the Legislatures of Massachusetts, New York, Maryland,
Pennsylvania, and Virginia gave him thanks, and to these each of the two latter ad-
ded a sword. The same kind of weapon was presented to him by the city of Phila-
delphia ; and the city of New York voted^a him the freedom of the city^a December 17.
in addition to the honor of a banquet jointly with Hull and Jones, and
requested his portrait for the picture gallery in the City Hall. The Corporation of
New York also gave the gallant crew of the *United States* a banquet at the City
Hotel.² The national Congress, by unanimous vote, thanked Decatur, and gave him

¹ This banquet was given on the day after the freedom of the city was presented to Captain Hull. He and Decatur were present, but Jones was absent. At five o'clock about five hundred gentlemen sat down at the tables. De Witt Clinton, the mayor, presided. The room "had the appearance of a marine palace," said an eye-witness. It was "colonnaded round with the masts of ships, entwined with laurels, and bearing the national flags of all the world. Every table had upon it a ship in miniature, with the American flag displayed. In front, where the President sat, with the officers of the navy and other guests, and which was raised about three feet, there appeared an area of about twenty feet by ten covered with green sward, and in the midst of it was a real lake of water, in which floated a miniature frigate. Back of all this hung a main-sail of a ship thirty-three by sixteen feet."—*The War*, I., 119. Decatur sat on the right of the President, and Hull on the left. When the third toast—"Our Navy"—was given with three cheers, the great main-sail was furled, and revealed an immense transparent painting, representing the three naval battles in which Hull, Jones, and Decatur were respectively engaged. Other surprises of a similar nature were vouchsafed to the guests, and the whole affair was one long to be remembered by the participants.

² This banquet was given on Thursday, the 7th of January, 1813, at two o'clock in the afternoon, under the direction of Aldermen Van Der Bilt, Buckmaster, and King. The room had the same decoration as at the time of the banquet given to Hull, Jones, and Decatur, a few days before. The sailors, numbering about four hundred, marched to the hotel in pairs, and were greeted by crowds of men and women in the streets, loud cheers from the multitude, and the waving of handkerchiefs from the windows. The band of the 11th Regiment, among whom was an old trumpeter who had served under Washington, received them with music at the door. At the table they were addressed by Alderman Van Der Bilt, who was responded to by the boatwain of the *United States*. In the evening they went to the theatre by invitation of the manager, which was communicated to them in person by Decatur. The whole pit was reserved for them. The orchestra opened with *Yankee Doodle*. The drop curtain, in the form of a transparency, had on it a representation of the fight between the *United States* and *Macedonian*. Children danced on the stage. They bore large letters of the alphabet in their hands, which, being joined in the course of the dance, produced in transparency the names of HULL, JONES, and DECATUR. Then Mr. M'Farland, as an Irish clown, came forward and sang a comic song of seven stanzas, written for this occasion, beginning,

"No more of your blathering nonsense
'Bout Nelsons of Old Johnny Bull :
I'll sing you a song, by my conscience,
'Bout JONES, and DECATUR, and HULL."

Gold Medal presented to Decatur by Congress. Bainbridge in Command of a Squadron. Biographical Sketch.

a splendid gold medal, with appropriate devices and inscriptions.¹ From that time until now that commander's name is the synonym of honor and gallantry in the es-



GOLD MEDAL AWARDED TO DECATUR.

timation of his countrymen. His subsequent career added lustre to his renown as the conqueror of the *Macedonian*.

We have already observed that Hull generously retired from the command of the *Constitution* for the purpose of giving some brother-officer an opportunity for gallant achievements in her, and that Captain Bainbridge was his appointed successor. A small squadron, consisting of the *Constitution*, 44; *Essex*, 32; and *Hornet*, 18, were placed in his charge. When Bainbridge entered upon his duty in the new sphere of flag-officer, the *Constitution* and *Hornet* were lying in Boston Harbor, and the *Essex*, Captain Porter, was in the Delaware. Orders were sent to the latter to cruise in the track of the English West Indiamen, and at a specified time to rendezvous at certain ports, when, if he should not fall in with the flag-ship of the squadron, he would be at liberty to follow the dictates of his own judgment. Such contingency occurred, and the *Essex* sailed on a very long and most eventful cruise in the South Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. That cruise will form the subject of a portion of a future chapter.

Bainbridge² sailed from Boston with the *Constitution* and *Hornet* on the 26th of

Dad Neptune has long, with vexation,
Beheld with what insolent pride
The turbulent, billow-washed nation
Has aimed to control the salt tide,
Chorus—Sing lather away, Jontee! and aisy,
By my soul, at the game bob-or-nob,
In a very few minutes we'll please ye,
Because we take work by the job."

¹ On one side of the medal is a profile of Decatur's bust, with the legend STEPHANUS DECATURUS NAVARCHUS, P. M. ST. PAULI. On the reverse is a representation of a naval engagement, one of the vessels representing the *Macedonian* much injured in spars and rigging. Over them is the legend MORS MORS HOSTILE SIDERA. ACRUENT. EX-GRUO—INTER STA. UNI. NAV. AMERL. ET MAREM. NAV. ANG. DIE XXV OCTOBRIIS MDCCXCIII.

² William Bainbridge was born at Princeton, New Jersey, on the 7th of May, 1774, and at the age of fifteen years went to sea as a common sailor. He was promoted to mate in the course of three years, and became a captain at the age of nineteen. When war with the French became probable, he entered the navy with the commission of a lieutenant but the position of a commander, his first cruise being in the *Retaliation*, which was captured. He was promoted to post-captain for good service in the year 1800, and took command of the frigate *Washington*. His career in the Mediterranean has been already mentioned in preceding chapters of this work. Between the war with Tripoli and that of 1812 Captain Bainbridge was employed alternately in the naval and merchant service. After the successful cruise of the *Constitution* in 1812, he took command of the navy yard at Charlestown, Massachusetts. After the war he went twice to the Mediterranean in command of squadrons to protect American commerce there. For three years he was president of the Board of Navy Commissioners, and he prepared the signals which were in use in our navy until lately. For several years Commodore Bainbridge suffered severely from bodily ill health, and finally died at his residence in Philadelphia, on the 27th of July, 1833, at the age of fifty-nine years. His funeral was celebrated on the 31st. The Cincinnati Society attended, with a large concourse of citizens, and his body was laid in the earth with military honors by the United States Marines and a fine brigade of infantry, under the command of the late Colonel J. G. Walmough. His remains rest

Bainbridge on the Coast of Brazil. The *Hornet* challenges a British Vessel. Cruise of the *Constitution* down the Coast.

October.* He touched at the appointed rendezvous,¹ and arrived off Bahia, or San Salvador, Brazil,² on the 13th of December. He immediately sent in Cap-
* 1812.

tain Lawrence, with the *Hornet*, to communicate with the American consul there, when that commander discovered in the port the English sloop-of-war *Bonne Citoyenne*, 18, Captain Greene, about to sail for England with a very large amount of specie. Lawrence invited Greene to go out upon the open sea with his vessel and fight, pledging himself that the *Constitution* should take no part in the combat, but the British commander prudently declined the invitation. The *Hornet* then took a position to blockade the English sloop, and the

Constitution departed^b for a
^a December 26.
cruise down the coast of Brazil, keeping the land aboard. Three days afterward, at about nine o'clock in the morning, when in latitude 13° 6' south and longitude 38° west, or about thirty miles from shore, southeasterly of San Salvador, Bainbridge discovered two vessels in shore and to the windward. The larger one was seen to alter her course, with an evident desire for a meeting with the *Constitution*. The latter was willing to gratify her, and for that purpose tacked and stood toward the stranger. At meridian they both showed their colors and displayed signals, but



Wm Bainbridge



BAINBRIDGE'S MONUMENT.

beneath a plain white marble obelisk in Christ Churchyard in Philadelphia, and near it is a modest monument to mark the resting-place of his wife, Susan Heyleger. The following is the inscription on Bainbridge's monument: "WILLIAM BAINBRIDGE, United States Navy. Born in Princeton, New Jersey, 7th of May, 1774. Died in Philadelphia 28th of July, 1833. PATRIA VIOTISQUE LAUDATUS." See the Medal, page 463.

Bainbridge was about six feet in height, and well built. His complexion was fair, his eyes black and very expressive, and his hair and whiskers very dark. He was considered a model as an officer and a man in the navy.

¹ The places specified were Port Prays, in the island of St. Jago, and Fernando de Noronha, an island in the Atlantic 126 miles from the extreme eastern cape of Brazil. It is now used as a place of banishment by the Brazilian government. The *Constitution* and *Hornet* appeared in the character of British vessels, and at both places letters were left, directed to Sir James L. Yeo, of the *Southampton*. They contained commonplace remarks, and also orders, in sympathetic ink, for Captain Porter, should they fall into his hands, he having been informed that letters at those places for him would be directed to Yeo. The stratagem succeeded. The whole transaction was in accordance with the privileges of war, and yet a writer in the *London Quarterly Review* charged Porter with being guilty of an improper act in opening a letter directed to another person!

² This is one of the most important places in South America, and until 1763 was the seat of the viceroyalty of Brazil, when it was transferred to Rio de Janeiro. It contains a population of 100,000, of whom one third are white, one third mulattoes, and the remainder negroes.

the latter were mutually unintelligible. The stranger was seen to be an English frigate. Bainbridge at once prepared for action, when the Englishman hauled down his colors, but left a jack flying. Both ships ran upon the same tack, about a mile apart, when, at almost two o'clock, the British frigate bore down upon the *Constitution* with the intention of raking her. The latter wore and avoided the calamity, and at two o'clock, both ships being on the same tack, the *Constitution* fired a single gun across the enemy's bow to draw out her ensign again. A general cannonade from both vessels immediately ensued, and a furious battle was commenced. When it had raged half an hour the wheel of the *Constitution* was shot away, and her antagonist, being the better sailer, had a great advantage for a time. But Bainbridge managed his crippled ship with such skill that she was the first in coming to the wind on the other tack, and speedily obtained a position for giving her opponent a terrible raking fire. The combatants now ran free with the wind on their quarter, the stranger being to the windward of the *Constitution*. At about three o'clock the stranger attempted to close by running down on the *Constitution's* quarter. Her jib-boom penetrated the latter's mizzen rigging, but suffered most severely without receiving the least advantage. She lost her jib-boom and the head of her bowsprit by shots from the *Constitution*, and in a few minutes the latter poured a heavy raking broadside into the stern of her antagonist. This was followed by another, when the fore-mast of the English frigate went by the board, crashing through the fore-castle and main deck in its passage. At that moment the *Constitution* shot ahead, keeping away to avoid being raked, and finally, after manœuvring for the greater part of an hour, she forereached her antagonist, wore, passed her, and luffed up under her quarter. Then the two vessels lay broadside to broadside, engaged in deadly conflict, yard-arm to yard-arm. Very soon the enemy's mizzen-mast was shot away, leaving nothing standing but the main-mast, whose yard had been carried away near the slings. The stranger's fire now ceased, and the *Constitution* passed out of the combat of almost two hours' duration at a few minutes past four o'clock, with the impression on the mind of her commander that the colors of the English frigate had been struck. Being in a favorable weatherly position, Bainbridge occupied an hour in repairing damages and securing his masts, when he observed an ensign still fluttering on board of his antagonist. He immediately ordered the *Constitution* to wear round and renew the conflict. Perceiving this movement, the Englishman hauled down his colors, and at six o'clock in the evening First Lieutenant George Parker¹ was sent on board to inquire her name and to take possession of her as a prize.² She proved to be the *Java*, 38, Captain Henry Lambert, and "one of the finest frigates in the British navy. She was bearing, as passenger to the East Indies, Lieutenant General Hyslop (just appointed governor general of Bombay), and his staff, Captain Marshall and Lieutenant Saunders, of the Royal Navy, and more than one hundred other officers and men destined for service in the East Indies.

The *Java* was a wreck. Her main-mast had gone overboard during the hour that Bainbridge was repairing. Her mizzen-mast was shot out of the ship close by the deck, and the fore-mast was carried away about twenty-five feet above it. The bowsprit was cut off near the cap, and she was found to be leaking badly on account of wounds in her hull by round shot. The *Constitution* was very much cut in her sails

¹ The officers of the *Constitution* in this action were—Captain, William Bainbridge. Lieutenants, George Parker, Beekman T. Hoffman, John T. Shubrick, Charles W. Morgan. Sailing-masters, John C. Alwin, John Nichols. Chaplain, John Carleton. Lieutenants of Marines, William H. Freeman, John Contee. Surgeon, Amos A. Evans. Surgeon's Mate, John D. Armstrong, Donaldson Yeates. Purser, Robert C. Ludlow. Midshipmen, Thomas Beatty, Lewis Germain, William L. Gordon, Ambrose L. Fields, Frederick Barry, Joseph Cross, Alexander Belcher, William Taylor, Alexander Eskridge, James W. Delancy, James Greenleaf, William D. McCarty, Z. W. Nixon, John A. Wish, Dulaney Forest, George Leverett, Henry Ward, John C. Long, John Packett, Richard Winter. Boatswain, Peter Adams. Gunner, Ezekiel Darling. Acting Midshipman, John C. Cumings.

² On this very day, and at that very hour, Hull and Decatur were at the public banquet given them in the city of New York. See page 457.

The Losses of the *Java*.

Comparison of the two Vessels.

Arrival of the *Constitution* at Boston.

and rigging. Many of her spars were injured, but not one was lost. She went into the action with her royal yards across, and came out of it with all three of them in their proper places. There are conflicting accounts concerning the loss of the *Java* in men. Her commander, Captain Lambert, was mortally wounded, and her other officers were cautious about the number of her men and her casualties. According to a muster-roll found on board of her, made out five days after she sailed, her officers and crew numbered four hundred and forty-six. These were exclusive of the more than one hundred passengers, many of whom assisted in the engagement, and of whom thirteen were killed. The British published account states the loss of men on the *Java* to have been twenty-two killed, and one hundred and one wounded, while Bainbridge reported her loss, as nearly as he could ascertain from the British officers at the time, at sixty killed, and one hundred and one wounded. This was, doubtless, below the real number. Indeed, Bainbridge inclosed to the Secretary of the Navy evidences of a much larger loss in wounded. It was a letter, written by one of the officers of the *Java* to a friend, and accidentally dropped on the deck of the *Constitution*, where it was found and handed to Bainbridge. The writer, who had no motive of public policy for concealing any thing from his friend, stated the loss to be sixty-five killed, and one hundred and seventy wounded.¹ The *Constitution* lost only nine killed and twenty-five wounded. Bainbridge was slightly hurt in the hip by a musket-ball; and the shot that carried away the wheel of the *Constitution* drove a small copper bolt into his thigh, which inflicted a dangerous wound, but did not cause him to leave the deck before midnight.

The *Java*, as has been observed, was a superior frigate of her class. She was rated at thirty-eight, but carried forty-nine. The *Constitution* carried at that time forty-five guns, and had one man less at each than the *Java*. On the whole, the preponderance of strength was with the latter. Bainbridge might have saved the hull of his prize by taking it into San Salvador, but, having proof that the Brazilian government was favorable to that of Great Britain, he would not trust the captured frigate there. He was too far from home to think of conducting her to an American port; so, after lying by the *Java* for two days, until the wounded and prisoners, with their baggage, could all be transferred to the *Constitution*, he ordered the battered frigate to be fired. She blew up on the 31st, when Bainbridge proceeded to San Salvador with his prisoners, and found the *Bonne Citoyenne* about to attempt passing the *Hornet* and putting to sea. His arrival frustrated the plan. Having landed and paroled his prisoners,² Bainbridge sailed for the United States on the 6th of January, * January 3,
1813.

The *Constitution* arrived at Boston on Monday, the 15th of February, and Bainbridge immediately dispatched Lieutenant Ludlow with a letter to the Secretary of the Navy. When Bainbridge landed he was greeted with the roar of artillery and the acclamations of thousands of citizens. A procession was formed, and he was escorted to the Exchange Coffee-house, the bands playing Yankee Doodle, and the throngs in

¹ Letter from H. D. Corneck to Lieutenant Peter V. Wood, in the Isle of France, dated on board the *Constitution*, January 1, 1813. After speaking of the death of a friend in the battle, he said, "Four other of his messmates shared the same fate, together with sixty men killed, and one hundred and seventy wounded."

² The following is a list of the British military and naval officers paroled: *Military*, one Lieutenant general, one major, one captain. *Naval*, one post captain, one master and commander, five lieutenants, three lieutenants of marine, one surgeon, two assistant surgeons, one purser, fifteen midshipmen, one gunner, one boatswain, one ship carpenter, two captain's clerks—total, thirty-eight. Captain Lambert died on the day after the landing (January 4). Bainbridge treated all of his prisoners with the greatest tenderness and consideration. Silver plate to a large amount, presented to General Hyslop by the colony of Demarara, and which would have been lawful prize, was returned to that gentleman, who thanked Bainbridge for his kind courtesy, and presented him his sword (which Bainbridge would not receive when it was offered in token of surrender) in farther testimony of his gratitude. And yet, in the face of all this, James, the earliest, as he was the most mendacious of the British historians of the war, and one most quoted by British writers now, says (*Naval Occurrences, etc.*, page 188), "The manner in which the *Java's* men were treated by the American officers reflects upon the latter the highest disgrace." In a letter to a friend, written when homeward bound, Bainbridge exhibited his goodness of heart in thus speaking of the death of his antagonist: "Poor Lambert, whose death I sincerely regret, was a distinguished, gallant, and worthy man. He has left a widow and two helpless children! But his country makes provision for such sad events."

Honors given to Bainbridge.

Public Banquet in Boston.

Gifts of the Cities of New York and Albany.

the streets, balconies, and windows cheering loudly, the ladies waving their handkerchiefs. The streets were strung with banners and streamers, and Commodores Rodgers and Hull, who walked with Bainbridge in the procession, received a share of the popular honors. The victory was announced at the theatre that night, and produced the wildest enthusiasm. The Legislature of Massachusetts being in session, they passed a resolution of thanks to Bainbridge and his officers and crew,¹ and on the 2d of March a splendid banquet was given at the Exchange Coffee-house to Bainbridge and the officers of the *Constitution*.²

The capture of the *Java*, the fourth brilliant naval victory in a brief space of time, caused great exultation throughout the United States, and the *Constitution* was popularly called from that time *Old Ironsides*. Orators and rhymers, the pulpit and the press, made the gallant exploits of Bainbridge the theme of many words in verse and prose.³ The Common Council of New York presented to him the freedom of the city in a gold box,⁴ and ordered his portrait painted for the picture-gallery in the City Hall.⁵ The city of Albany did the same;⁶ and the citizens of Philadelphia pre-



NEW YORK GOLD BOX.



ALBANY GOLD BOX.

sented him with an elegant service of silver plate, the most costly piece of which was a massive urn, elegantly wrought.⁷ The Congress of the United States voted their

¹ By the Senate on the 19th of February, and by the House of Representatives on the 20th.

² The procession was formed in Faneuil Hall by Major Tilden, and was escorted by the *Boston Light Infantry* and the *Winslow Blues*, under Colonel Sargent. The Honorable Christopher Gore presided at the table, assisted by Harrison Grey Otis, Israel Thorndike, Arnold Willis, Thomas L. Winthrop, Peter C. Brooks, and William Sullivan as vice-presidents. Intelligence had just come that the British Orders in Council had been repealed, and that peace might be soon expected. Elated by this news, the Honorable Timothy Dexter offered the following toast: "The British Orders in Council revoked, and our national honor gallantly retrieved. Now let us shut the temple of Janus till his double face goes out of fashion." An ode was sung at the banquet, written, on request of the committee of arrangements, by the late L. M. Sargent, Esq.

³ One of the most popular songs of the day was composed in honor of the capture of the *Java*, and called "Bainbridge's Tid re I," in which, after every verse, the singer gives a sentence in prose, winding up with the chorus "Tid re I, Tid re I, Tid re I, Tid re I do." The following is a specimen of that kind of song, once so popular:

"Come, lads, draw near, and you shall hear,
In truth as chaste as Dian, O!
How Bainbridge true, and his bold crew,
Again have tamed the lion, O!
'Twas off Brazil he got the pill
Which made him cry *procurat*, O
But hours two, the *Java* new,
Maintained the battle bravely, O!

"But our gallant tars, as soon as they were piped to quarters, gave three cheers, and boldly swore, by the blood of the heroes of Tripoli, that, sooner than strike, they'd go the bottom staving

Tid re I, Tid re I, Tid re I, Tid re I do."

⁴ This box is three inches in diameter and one inch in depth. On the inside of the lid is the following inscription: "The Corporation of the City of New York to Commodore William Bainbridge, of the United States frigate *Constitution*, in testimony of the high sense they entertain of his gallantry and skill in the capture of his Britannic Majesty's ship *Java* on the 29th of December, 1812."

⁵ The portrait was painted by John Wesley Jarvis. The engraving on page 459 is from a copy of that picture.

⁶ The box presented by the city of Albany is of oblong form, and is faithfully delineated in the engraving. It is three inches and a half long and three fourths of an inch deep. On the inside of the lid is the following inscription: "A tribute of respect by the Common Council of the City of Albany to Commodore William Bainbridge for his gallant naval services in the late war with Great Britain." This box is in the possession of the gallant commander's daughter, Mrs. (Mary Bainbridge) Charles Joudon, of Philadelphia.

⁷ This urn is eighteen inches in height. The lid is surmounted by an eagle about to soar. Below each massive base

Medal presented to Bainbridge by Congress.

Effect of the naval Battles in America and Great Britain.

thanks to Bainbridge and his companions in arms, and also fifty thousand dollars in money, because of the necessary destruction of their prize. They also ordered a gold medal to be struck in honor of the commander,¹ and silver ones for each of his officers, in token of the national approbation of their conduct.



BAINBRIDGE MEDAL.

The conflict between the *Constitution* and *Java* was the closing naval engagement of the year, and, with the previous victories won by the Americans, made the deepest impressions upon the public mind in both hemispheres. The United States cruisers, public and private, had captured about three hundred prizes from the British during that first six months of war. The American war-party—indeed, the whole American people, excepting a few Submissionists, were made exultant by these events, and the gloom caused by the failure of the land forces was dispelled. The views of the Federalists, who had always favored a navy, were justified, and the opposition to it, on the part of the Democrats, ceased. The British people were astounded by these heavy and ominous blows dealt at their supremacy of the seas, and some of the leading newspapers scattered curses broadcast. One of them, a leading London paper, with that vulgarity which too often disgraced journalism on both sides of the Atlantic at that time, petulantly expressed its apprehensions that England might be stripped of her maritime superiority "by a piece of striped bunting flying at the mast-head of a few fir-built frigates, manned by a handful of bastards and outlaws!"

But this impotent rage soon subsided, and British writers and speakers, compelled to acknowledge the equality of the American people in all that constitutes the true

die is a head of Neptune. On one side of the urn is the representation of the wrecked *Java* and the triumphant *Constitution*, and on the other the following inscription: "Presented by the citizens of Philadelphia to Commodore William Bainbridge, of the U. S. frigate *Constitution*, as a testimonial of the high sense they entertain of his skill and gallantry in the capture of the British frigate *Java*, of 40 guns and 500 men, and of their admiration of his generous and magnanimous conduct toward the vanquished foe. Lost in the action of 29th December, 1812—C., 9 killed, 25 wounded; J., 60 killed, 101 wounded."

After the death of Bainbridge's widow, his plate was distributed among his surviving children. The urn and other silver pieces, and the New York gold box, belong to Mrs. Susan (Bain-



BAINBRIDGE URN.

bridge) Hayes, widow of Captain Thomas Hayes, of the United States Navy, a resident of Philadelphia. To her kind courtesy I am indebted for the privilege of making sketches of the urn and boxes. She also has in her possession the sword presented to Bainbridge by Hyslop (see Note 2, page 461). It is a straight dress sword, in a black leather scabbard. Also another sword, with basket guard and elegant gilt mountings. Also a Turkish cimeter.

¹ On one side of the medal is a bust of Bainbridge, and the legend "GULIELMUS BAINBRIDGE PATRIA VICTORISQUE LACIATYUS." Reverse, a ship, the stumps of her three masts standing, and her conqueror with only a few shot-holes in her sails. Legend—"PUGNANDO." Exergue—"INTER CONST. NAV. AMER. ET JAV. NAV. ANGL. DIE XXIX. DECEM. MDCCCXII."

greatness of a nation, labored hard to show that in all cases the American vessels, in force of men and metal, were greatly superior to those of the British encountered. They even went so far as to assert that the American frigates were all "seventy-fours in disguise!" These assertions were iterated and reiterated long after the war had ceased, to the amusement of thoughtful men, who clearly perceived the truth when the smoke had cleared away. The most notable exhibition of this folly is seen in three volumes, one on the naval and two on the military occurrences of that war, written by William James. These, as we have observed, were among the earliest of the elaborate writings concerning that war, and have, ever since their appearance, been the most frequently quoted by those British and British-American writers and speakers who delight in abusing the government and people of the United States. The spirit manifested on every page bears evidence of the poverty of the author in all that constitutes a candid and veracious historian.¹

Having now considered in groups the military and naval events of the war during the first year of the contest, excepting those in the extreme southern boundaries of the Republic, which will be noticed hereafter, let us glance at the civil affairs of the United States, having relation to the subject in question, before entering upon a description of the stirring campaign of 1813.

The second session of the Twelfth Congress commenced on the 2d day of November.² It was the eve of the popular election of Presidential electors.

^a 1812. President Madison had been nominated for the office for a second term by a Congressional caucus, as we have already observed,² as the Democratic candidate; and the Legislature of New York had nominated De Witt Clinton, a nephew of the late Vice-president, and of the same political faith, for the same office. The Federalists, conscious of their inability to elect a candidate of their own, coalesced with the Clintonian Democrats. This course was decided upon in a Convention of Federalist leaders from all the states north of the Potomac, held in secret session, in the city of

^b 1812. New York, in September.³ If the war must go on, they regarded Clinton as the possessor of greater executive ability than Madison, and better able to conduct it vigorously; but their chief desire and hope was to bring about an early peace by the defeat of Madison, the repeal of the British Orders in Council³ having opened a door for that consummation so devoutly wished for. Jared Ingersoll, of Pennsylvania, a moderate Federalist, was nominated by the Convention for Vice-president. George Clinton having died, Elbridge Gerry, as we have seen,⁴ was nominated for Vice-president by the Madisonians.

When the elections occurred, nearly all the Federalists and a fraction of the Democratic party voted for the Clintonian electors. All of the New England States, excepting Vermont, chose such electors.⁵ New York did the same, in consequence of the adroit management of Martin Van Buren, a politician thirty years of age, who then appeared prominently for the first time.⁶ There was a similar result in New Jersey,

¹ William James was an English emigrant to the United States early in the present century. He was a veterinary surgeon (or "horse doctor," as they are called in this country) in Philadelphia, but was unsuccessful in his profession. He left that city for his native country, thoroughly disgusted with every thing American, because the people had not appreciated his talents. His chief employment after his return seems to have been abuse of the Americans, their public men, their government, and their writers. He wrote angry reviews of some American books on the naval and military history of the War of 1812, and these were published, in 1817 and 1818, in three volumes. The first was entitled "A Full and Correct Account of the NAVAL OCCURRENCES of the Late War, etc.," and the other two, "A Full and Correct Account of the MILITARY OCCURRENCES of the Late War, etc." They are not histories, but violent tirades, and manifest, as the *Edinburg Review* remarked, "bitter and persevering antipathy" to the Americans. "Almost every original remark made by the author upon them," said the *Review*, "bears traces of the unworthy feeling we have just mentioned." In considering his performance in the light of two generations of thought and investigation, the truth of the motto on the title-page of his volume on the *Naval Occurrences*, quoted from Murphy's *Tactics*, is very manifest. "Truth is always brought to light by time and reflection, while the lie of the day lives by bustle, noise, and precipitation." James died in 1827.

² See page 225.

³ See page 245.

⁴ See page 226.

⁵ In Massachusetts, so strongly Democratic, only a few months before, the "peace electors," as the Clintonians were called, obtained a majority of 24,000.

⁶ Owing to the dissonance in the Democratic party in New York, caused by the dissensions between the Madisonians and Clintonians, the Federalists chose nineteen out of the twenty-three members of Congress. Those of New Hamp-

The Administration sustained.

Madison re-elected.

Threats of Josiah Quincy in Congress.

and for a time the re-election of Madison appeared doubtful. But before Congress had been in session six weeks it was definitely ascertained, from the official canvass, that Madison had one hundred and twenty-eight out of the two hundred and eighteen electors chosen, and that a large majority of the Congressmen elect were friends of the administration. This result was regarded, under the circumstances, as a very strong expression of the public in favor of the war; and the war-party in and out of Congress were greatly strengthened. They were also encouraged by the aspect of affairs abroad. Intelligence of apparent disasters to the English in Spain, the triumph of Bonaparte in the terrible battle of Borodino, and his victorious march upon Moscow, filled them with the hope that England, struggling with all Europe against her, must speedily be compelled to withdraw her soldiers and seamen from America, and give up the contest here, or else fall a prey to the conquering Corsican. But they were doomed to an early disappointment of their hopes by disasters that fell thick and fast upon the French army, exposed to Russian snows and Russian cohorts. It was evident, too, from the returns of the late elections, that the Opposition were growing stronger every day.

Among the earliest national measures proposed in Congress was a plan for increasing the army twenty thousand men, making the whole establishment fifty-six thousand. The President, in his fourth annual message,^a after giving a general statement of the position of affairs in relation to the war, called the attention of the national Legislature to the necessity of measures for the vigorous prosecution of it. A bill was introduced into the House of Representatives to raise the pay of private soldiers from six to eight dollars a month, to guarantee recruits against arrest for debt, and to give them their option to enlist for five years or for the war. In the same bill was a clause allowing the enlistment of minors without the consent of their parents or masters. This elicited a very spirited debate, in which Josiah Quincy engaged with his usual vigor. He declared it to be an interference with the rights of parents and masters, and warned the House that if the bill passed with that "atrocious principle" contained in it, it would be met in New England by the state laws against kidnapping and man-stealing. He opposed it as bearing particularly hard upon the North, where the laborers are the yeomanry and the minors, while at the South the laborers were slaves, and exempted by law from military duty. The planter of the South, he said, can look around upon his fifty, his hundred, and his thousand human beings, and say, "These are my *property*"—property tilling the land, and enriching the owner in war as well as in peace; while the farmer of the North has "only one or two *ewe lambs*—his children, of which he can say, and say with pride, like the Roman matron, 'These are my ornaments.'" These, by the proposed law, might be taken from him, and his land must remain untilled.¹

Williams, of South Carolina, the chairman of the Military Committee, retorted fiercely. In reply to Quincy's assertion that the bill contained an "atrocious principle," he charged the great Federal leader with uttering an "atrocious falsehood." His language was so offensively supercilious that it drew admonitions even from John Randolph. He argued well in favor of an increase of the army. "The British regular force in the Canadas," he said, "could not be estimated less than twelve thousand men. In addition to these were the Canadian militia, amounting to several thousands, and three thousand regulars at Halifax. To drive this force from the field, the St. Lawrence must be crossed with a well-appointed army of twenty thousand men, supported by an army of reserve of ten thousand. Peace is not to be expected

shire were all Federalists, and that party carried the Legislature of New Jersey and more than half of its Congressional delegation.

¹ A question upon similar premises arose in the Convention of 1787, when it was proposed to make three out of every five slaves count as persons in determining the representation of the states in Congress. It was observed that while the slaves were called *persons* for a political purpose, they were only *chattels* at other times, and could not be called into the military service of the country. This was a grievous wrong toward the non-slaveholding states.

but at the expense of a vigorous and successful war. Administrations have in vain sued for it, even at the expense of the sarcastic sneers of the British minister. The campaign of 1813 must open in a style and vigor calculated to inspire confidence in ourselves and awe in the enemy. Nothing must be left to chance; our movements must every where be in concert. At the same moment we move on Canada, a corps of ten thousand men must threaten Halifax from the province of Maine. The honor and character of the nation require that the British power on our borders should be annihilated the next campaign. Her American provinces once wrested from her, every attempt to recover them will be chimerical, except by negotiation. The road to peace thus lies through Canada." The bill passed the House of Representatives, but the objectionable clause received only four votes in the Senate.

The expensive volunteer system was taken up in Congress, and the law authorizing the employment of that species of soldiers was repealed. Another was substituted, which authorized the enlistment of twenty regiments of regulars to serve twelve months, to whom a bounty of sixteen dollars should be given. It also provided for the appointment of six major generals and six brigadier generals, and a corresponding increase of subordinate officers. Party spirit was aroused in the debate that ensued, and the discussion took a range so wide as to include the whole policy and

January 5, 1813. conduct of the war. Mr. Quincy led off^a with great bitterness and the keenest sarcasm. "He denounced the invasion of Canada," says Hildreth,¹

"as a cruel, wanton, senseless, and wicked attack, in which neither plunder nor glory was to be gained, upon an offending people, bound to us by ties of blood and good neighborhood; undertaken for the punishment, over their shoulders, of another people three thousand miles off, by young politicians fluttering and cackling on the floor of that house, half hatched, the shell still on their heads, and their pin-feathers not yet shed—politicians to whom reason, justice, pity, were nothing, revenge every thing; bad policy, too, since the display of such a grasping spirit only tended to alienate from us that large minority of the British people anxious to compel their ministers to respect our maritime rights. So thought the people of New England, and hence the difficulty of getting recruits. The toad-eaters of the palace—party men in pursuit of commissions, fat contracts, judgeships, and offices for themselves, their fathers, sons, brothers, uncles, and cousins—might assert otherwise, but the people had spoken in the late elections. There were in New England multitudes of judicious, patriotic, honest, sober men, who, if their judgments and their consciences went with the war, would rush to the standard of their country at the winding of a horn, but to whom the present call sounded rather as a jewsharp or a banjo. . . . If the government would confine itself to a war of defense, it should have his support; but for a war of conquest and annexation, whether in East Florida² or Canada, he would not contribute a single dollar. Nor was he to be frightened from this ground by the old state cry of British connection, raised anew by a pack of mangy, mongrel blood-hounds, for the most part of very recent importation, their necks still marked with the collar, and their backs sore with the stripes of European castigation, kept in pay by the administration to hunt down all who opposed the court."

This contemptuous speech drew a most vigorous reply from Mr. Clay, the Speaker of the House, who felt himself specially aimed at by the expression "unfledged politicians." He charged the Federalists, says Hildreth, "with always, throughout the whole controversy with Great Britain, thwarting the plans of their own government; clamoring alike against the embargo, against the non-intercourse, against the non-importation; when the government were at peace, crying out for war; and, now the government were at war, crying out for peace; falsely charging the President with

¹ *History of the United States*, second series, iii., 381.

² The revolutionary and military operations in that quarter will be noticed hereafter.

Clay's Speech in Opposition to Quincy. Measures for strengthening the Army and Navy. Government Expenses.

being under French influence;¹ heaping all kinds of abuse on Bonaparte; assailing Jefferson with impotent rage; spiring up chimeras of Southern influence and Virginia dictation, as if the people did not choose their own presidents; going even so far as to plot the dissolution of the Union." Mr. Clay then presented a most pathetic picture of the wrongs inflicted upon, and miseries endured by, American seamen under the operations of the impressment system, to which Great Britain clung tenaciously. "As to the gentleman's sentimental protest against the invasion of Canada," he said in substance, "was Canada so innocent, after all? Was it not in Canada that the Indian tomahawks were whetted? Was it not from Malden and other Canadian magazines that the supplies had issued which had enabled the savage bands to butcher the garrison of Chicago? Was it not by a joint attack of Canadians and Indians that Michillimackinac had been reduced? What does a state of war present? The combined energies of one people arrayed against the combined energies of another, each aiming to inflict all the injury it can, whether by sea or land, upon the territories, property, and persons of the other, subject only to those mitigated usages practiced among civilized nations. The gentleman would not touch the British Continental possessions, nor, for the same reason, it was supposed, her West India islands. By the same rule, her innocent soldiers and sailors ought to be protected; and as, according to a well-known maxim, the king could do no wrong, there would seem to be nobody left whom, on the gentleman's principles, we could attack, unless it were Mr. Stephen,² the reputed author of the Orders in Council, or the Board of Admiralty, under whose authority our seamen were impressed." . . . Mr. Clay's "plan was," he said, "to call out the ample resources of the country to the fullest extent, to strike wherever the enemy could be reached, by sea or land, and to negotiate a peace at Quebec or Halifax."

Measures were adopted for strengthening both the army and navy, and the more perfect organization of each. The President was authorized to cause the construction of four ships of seventy-four guns each, and six frigates and six sloops-of-war;³ to issue treasury notes to the amount of five millions of dollars, and to create a new stock for a loan of sixteen millions of dollars.⁴ A bill was also passed, chiefly through the untiring efforts of Langdon Cheves and John C. Calhoun, representatives from South Carolina, by which the bonds of merchants given for goods imported from Great Britain and Ireland after the declaration of war, and seized under the provisions of the Non-importation Act, were canceled. For six weeks after the news of war reached England exportations had been allowed to go on;⁵ and the goods to which the law in question would apply were valued, at invoice prices, at more than

¹ Quincy had said, in the speech just quoted from, that the "administration, under French influence and dictation, had for twelve years ruled the country with authority little short of despotic;" and then referred to the continuous rule of "a narrow Virginia clique, to the exclusion from office and influence of all men of talents, even of their own party, not connected with that clique."

² Author of *War in Disguise*. See page 140.

³ According to a careful estimate made by the Secretary of the Navy, the force of three frigates would not be more than equal to one 74-gun ship. The expense of building and equipping a frigate of 44 guns, estimated from the actual cost of the *President*, was \$220,910; the cost of a 74, \$333,000. The annual expense of keeping a frigate of that size in service was estimated at \$110,000, and that of a 74 at \$210,110. The result from these calculations was, that while the expenses of a 74 were something less than those of two frigates of 44 guns each, her value in service was equal to three frigates.—See Perkins's *History of the Political and Military Events of the Late War*, page 150. This estimate determined Congress to build 74's.

⁴ The following were the Treasury estimates of expenditures for the year 1813:

For the civil list, and interest and reimbursement of a part of the principal of the public debt. . . .	\$8,500,000
For the army, not including the new levies.	17,000,000
For the navy, not including the proposed increase.	4,925,000
Total.	\$30,425,000

The total appropriations made for the service of the year amounted to \$39,975,000. Such was the amount necessary to meet the entire expenses of the government of the United States fifty years ago, when it was waging a war with Great Britain. The expenditures of the government for a year (1863) during the late civil war was \$565,234,000.

⁵ This was under a false impression made by Mr. Russell, the American *Charge d'Affaires*, that in consequence of the repeal of the Orders in Council the Non-intercourse Act would be suspended. Immediately after the repeal (June 23d, 1812), all the American ships then in British ports commenced loading with British goods.

eighteen millions of dollars, and were worth double that amount in the American market. This act conciliated the mercantile interest.

Cheves, who was chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, endeavored to procure a partial repeal of the Non-importation Act, but failed. The restrictive system was regarded with great favor as a powerful weapon in the hands of the Americans, and its friends adhered to it with the greatest tenacity, believing it to be a policy potent in hastening the ruin of England. The Federalists failed to support the measure because the repeal was not complete, and on account of the provision in it for the more strict enforcement of what was left.

We have already observed that a retaliatory law, first suggested by Colonel Scott on account of some prisoners taken at Queenston, and who had been sent to England as deserters because they were Irishmen, was passed.¹ It was so framed as not only to meet the special case of those persons, but such Indian outrages under British sanction as had been committed at the River Raisin.² Happily, there was no occasion for enforcing the law.

On the 13th of January, Mr. Calhoun, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, made an able report. It had been looked for with great interest. In that report the subject of *impressment* held a conspicuous place. The President, as we have observed, only a week after the declaration of war,³ proposed an immediate armistice, on conditions at once just and honorable to both nations. It was rejected by the British in terms of peculiar reproach and insult. At about the same time the British Orders in Council were repealed conditionally, but the practice of impressment was defended as just and expedient, and would not be allowed to become a subject for negotiation by the British authorities. Thus matters stood when the Report on Foreign Relations was presented. After alluding to the above facts, the committee proceeded to say that "the impressment of our seamen, being deservedly considered a principal cause of the war, the war ought to be prosecuted until that cause be removed. To appeal to arms in defense of a right, and to lay them down without securing it, or a satisfactory evidence of a good disposition in the opposite party to secure it, would be considered in no other light than a relinquishment of it. . . . The manner in which the friendly advances and liberal propositions of the Executive have been received by the British government has, in a great measure, extinguished the hope of amicable accommodations. . . . War having been declared, and the case of impressment being necessarily included as one of the most important causes, it is evident it must be provided for in the pacification. The omission of it in a treaty of peace would not leave it on its former ground; it would, in effect, be an absolute relinquishment, an idea at which the feelings of every American must revolt. The seamen of the United States have a claim on their country for protection, and they must be protected. If a single ship is taken at sea, and the property of an American citizen wrested from him unjustly, it rouses the indignation of the country. . . . How much more deeply, then, ought we to be excited when we behold so many of this gallant and highly meritorious class of our fellow-citizens snatched from their families and country, and carried into a cruel and afflicting bondage? It is an evil which ought not, which can not be longer tolerated. Without dwelling on the sufferings of the victims, or on that wide scene of distress which it spreads among their relatives through the country, the practice is, in itself, in the highest degree degrading to the United States as a nation. It is incompatible with their sovereignty; it is subversive of the main pillars of their independence. The forbearance of the United States under it has been mistaken for pusillanimity."

To effect a change in the British policy respecting impressments, the committee

¹ See page 408.

² The British authorities excused themselves on the plea that they could not restrain the Indians. This was no justification. The root of the iniquity was in the employment of the savages as allies.

Manifesto of the Prince Regent.

Charges against the Government of the United States.

recommended the passage of an act, which was appended to their report, similar to one proposed by Mr. Russell to Lord Castlereagh several months before, prohibiting, after the close of the present war, the employment, in public or private vessels, of any persons except American citizens, this prohibition to extend only to the subjects or citizens of such states as should make reciprocal regulations. An act to that effect, which passed the House on the 12th of February, was adopted by the Senate on the last day of the session,^a against very warm opposition of some of the war-party, who considered it as a humiliating concession.

^a March 3, 1813.

Only four days before the presentation of their report^b by the Committee on Foreign Relations, the Prince Regent, acting sovereign of Great Britain, issued a manifesto^c concerning the causes of the war, and the subjects of blockade and impressment. He declared that the war was not the consequence of any fault of Great Britain, but that it had been brought on by the partial conduct of the American government in overlooking the aggressions of the French, and in their negotiations with them. He alleged that a quarrel with Great Britain had been sought because she had adopted measures solely as retaliative as toward France; and that, as those measures had been abandoned by a repeal of the Orders in Council, the war was now continued on the question of impressment and search. On this point the Prince Regent took such a decisive position, that the door for negotiation which the recommendation of the Committee on Foreign Affairs proposed to open seemed irrevocably shut. "His royal highness," said the manifesto from his palace at Westminster, "can never admit that in the exercise of the undoubted and hitherto undisputed¹ right of searching neutral merchant vessels in time of war, and the impressment of British seamen when found therein, can be deemed any violation of a neutral flag, neither can he admit the taking of such seamen from on board such vessels can be considered by any neutral state as a hostile measure or a justifiable cause of war." After reaffirming the old English doctrine of the impossibility of self-expatriation of a British subject, the manifesto continued: "But if, to the practice of the United States to harbor British seamen, be added their assumed right to transfer the allegiance of British subjects, and thus to cancel the jurisdiction of their legitimate sovereign by acts of naturalization and certificates of citizenship, which they pretend to be as valid out of their own territory as within it,² it is obvious that to abandon this ancient right of Great Britain, and to admit these naval pretensions of the United States, would be to expose the very foundations of our maritime strength."

^b January 13.

^c January 9.

The manifesto charged the United States government with systematic efforts to inflame their people against Great Britain, of ungenerous conduct toward Spain, Great Britain's ally, and of deserting the cause of neutrality. "This disposition of the government of the United States—this complete subserviency to the ruler of France—this hostile temper toward Great Britain," said the prince, "are evident in almost every page of the official correspondence of the American with the French government. Against this course of conduct, the real cause of the present war, the Prince Regent solemnly protests. While contending against France in defense not only of the liberties of Great Britain, but of the world, his Royal Highness was entitled to look for a far different result. From their common origin—from their common interest—from their professed principles of freedom and independence, the United States was the last power in which Great Britain could have expected to find a willing instrument and abettor of French tyranny."³

¹ For a refutation of this erroneous assertion, see Chapter VII.

² This right of citizenship, acquired by naturalization and the transfer of allegiance, has long ago been tacitly acknowledged by the British authorities. Indeed, the claim set up by the Prince Regent was practically abandoned during the War of 1812, for, excepting in the case of the Irishmen made prisoners with Colonel Scott, the British never claimed British-born prisoners as subjects. See page 406.

³ In the manifesto the Prince Regent also solemnly declared that "the charge of exciting the Indians to offensive

This manifesto, adroitly framed for effect in the United States as well as at home, was approved by both houses of Parliament, and sustained in an address to the throne. It reached America at about the close of the twelfth Congress, and its avowals of the intended adherence of the British government to the practice of impressment stood before the people side by side with the declarations of the report of their Committee on Foreign Affairs, in which it was declared that it was against that practice the war was waging, and that it ought to be waged until the nefarious business was abandoned by the enemy.

While pondering these documents, the Americans were suddenly called by the march of events to contemplate other most important subjects in connection with the war. John Quincy Adams was then the American minister at the Russian court. His relations with the Emperor Alexander were intimate and cordial. When intelligence of the declaration of war reached St. Petersburg the Czar expressed his regret. On account of the French invasion of his territory he was on friendly terms with Great Britain, and his prime minister, Romanzoff, suggested to Mr. Adams^a the expediency of tendering the mediation of Russia for the purpose of effecting a reconciliation. Mr. Adams favored it, but for a while the victorious march of Bonaparte toward Moscow, the heart of the Russian empire, delayed the measure. The final defeat of the invader secured present tranquillity to the Czar, and he sent instructions to M. Daschkoff, his representative at Washington, to offer to the United States his friendly services in bringing about a peace. This was formally done on the 8th of March, 1813, only four days after President Madison, in his second inaugural address, had laudably endeavored to excite anew the enthusiasm of the people in the vigorous prosecution of the war.

At about this time official intelligence had been received by the government of the result of Napoleon's invasion of Russia. He had indeed reached Moscow after fearful sufferings and losses, but when he rode into that ancient capital of the Muscovites at the head of his staff, on the 15th of September, it was as silent as the Petrified City of the Eastern tale. The inhabitants had withdrawn, and the great Kremlin in which he slept that night was as cheerless as a magnificent mausoleum. His slumbers were soon disturbed. The Russians had not *all* left. For hours a hundred unlighted torches had been held by the hands of Russian incendiaries. When the great bell of the metropolitan cathedral tolled out the hour of midnight, these were kindled by flint and steel, and instantly a hundred fires glared fearfully from every direction upon the couch of the great Corsican. The city was every where in flames, and the wearied French army were compelled to seek shelter in the desolate country around the blackened ruins of that splendid town.

On that fearful night the star of Napoleon's destiny had reached its meridian. Ever afterward it was seen slowly descending, in waning splendor, the paths of the western sky. He perceived in the destruction of Moscow the fearful perils of his situation, and sought to avert them. He proposed terms of peaceful adjustment, but the emperor flung them back with scorn. Retreat or destruction was the alternative. He chose the former; and late in October, with one hundred and twenty thousand men, he turned his face toward France. For a few days the sky was clear and the atmosphere was genial. Then came biting frosts and blinding snow-storms, while clouds of fiery Cossacks smote his legions on flank and rear with deadly blows. Suf-

measures against the United States is equally void of foundation." This denial was iterated and reiterated by British statesmen and publicists, and has been ever since. It is very natural for a civilized and Christian people to repel the charge of complicity with savage pagans in the practices of merciless and barbarous warfare. It is commendable, and evinces a proper sense of the heinousness of the offense against civilization; but the official declarations of even a prince, were he many times more virtuous than that libertine regent of England, can not set aside the indelible records of history or the verdict of mankind. There are too many positive statements concerning such complicity to doubt it. In addition to those given in the preceding pages of this work, many more may be found in Niles's *Weekly Register*, ii. 342.

Napoleon's Disasters in Russia.

Rejoicings of the American Peace-party.

Commissioners to treat for Peace.

fering and death held high carnival among the fugitives. Bonaparte saw that all was lost, and he hastened to France, bearing almost the first intelligence of the terrible disaster. He lost during the campaign one hundred and twenty-five thousand slain in battle, one hundred and thirty-two thousand by fatigue, hunger, disease, and cold, and one hundred and ninety-three thousand made prisoners; in all, *four hundred and fifty thousand men!* Notwithstanding this fearful loss of life, he had scarcely reached Paris when he issued an order for a general conscription, in number sufficient to take the places of the dead. At the same time Russia, Sweden, Denmark, Prussia, and Spain coalesced for the purpose of striking the crippled conqueror a crushing blow, and early in 1813 they sent large armies toward the Elbe to oppose him. His conscripts were already in the field, and with three hundred and fifty thousand men he invaded Germany, fought and won the great battle of Lutzen,^a and, after ^{May 2,} other conflicts, seated himself in Dresden, agreeably to an armistice, and listened to offers of mediation on the part of Austria, with a view to closing the war. 1813.

The intelligence from Europe was disheartening to the war-party, for it was evident that the coalition of the great powers of Europe against the French would so relieve England that she might prosecute the war in America with great vigor. The President had been at all times anxious for peace on honorable terms. He perceived a chance for its accomplishment through Russian mediation, and he at once accepted the offer of M. Daschkoff. That acceptance was followed by the nomination of Albert Gallatin, the Secretary of the Treasury, and James A. Bayard, a representative of Delaware in the Senate of the United States, as commissioners or envoys extraordinary, to act jointly with Mr. Adams to negotiate a treaty of peace with Great Britain at St. Petersburg. At the same time, William H. Crawford, of Georgia, a Peace Democrat, was appointed to succeed the lately deceased Joel Barlow¹ as minister at the French court. Of the result of the efforts for peace through Russian mediation I shall hereafter write.

The reverses of Napoleon, as we have observed, discouraged the war-party, and gave corresponding joy to the Federalists, especially to the wing of that organization known as the Peace-party, whose head-quarters were at Boston. There they celebrated the Russian triumphs with public rejoicings.² In other places, too, these vic-

¹ Mr. Barlow, as we have seen, was an ardent Republican (see page 94). In October, 1812, the Duke de Bassano, at Napoleon's request, invited Barlow to meet the emperor at Wilna, in Poland, the nominal object of which was to complete a commercial treaty with the United States, for which the American minister had long importuned. It was believed by some that the real object was to make an arrangement by which French ships, manned by American sailors, might be brought into play against Great Britain. Whatever was the object remains a mystery. Barlow obeyed the royal summons immediately, and traveled day and night. The weather was very inclement. The country had been wasted by war, and he suffered many privations. In consequence of these and exposure to the weather, he was attacked with inflammation of the lungs, which caused his death in the cottage of a Jew at Zarnowice, near Cracow, on the 22d of December, 1812. Of course, the object of his mission was not accomplished. His last poem, dictated, it is said, from his death-bed, was a withering expression of resentment against Napoleon for the hopes which he had disappointed.

² Services were held in Kjug's Chapel, on the 26th of March, 1813, in commemoration of the victories of the Russians over Napoleon, who aimed, it was said, "at the empire of the world." One hundred and fifty amateurs and professional gentlemen assisted in the performance of sacred music. Among other pieces sung was the following recitative, composed for the occasion: "For the hosts of Gallia went in with their chariots and with their horsemen into the North, and the Lord chased them with fierce warriors, winter blasts, and famine; but the children of Slavonia, safe and unhurt, through all the danger passed." The closing prayer was made by the Reverend Mr. Chauncey.

The services in the church were held in the forenoon. In the afternoon many hundreds of the citizens of Boston and the neighboring country sat down to a public dinner. M. Eustaphie, the Russian consul for New England, was a guest. The room was appropriately decorated. Among the ornaments was a portrait of the Russian emperor, with the words, "*Alexander, the deliverer of Europe.*" Harrison Gray Otis made a speech on the occasion, in which he declared his conviction that the check given to Napoleon by Russia had rescued our country from its greatest danger—the influence of the French policy. Several songs were sung. One of them contained the following verse:

"Hail, Russia! may thy conq'ring bands
Sad Europe from her chains release;
Exalt the hopes of farthest lands,
And give us back an exiled PEACE!"

An ode was sung, to the air of "Ye Mariners of England," which concluded thus:

"Then fill to Alexander!
For him a garland twine,
While shaded by our oaks, we taste
The virtues of the vine."

ories were hailed with joy, and became the themes for song and oratory,¹ to the great disgust of the war-party and their newspaper organs, who censured the President for his haste in snatching at Russian mediation.

During the session of Congress which closed on the 3d of March, 1813, there had been some important changes in President Madison's Cabinet. Public clamor against him had caused Dr. Eustis to resign the War bureau, and the affairs of that department were conducted for several weeks by Mr. Monroe, the Secretary of State. John Armstrong, who had been appointed a brigadier general in the army of the United States, and succeeded General Bloomfield in command at New York, was appointed Secretary of War,^a and Paul Hamilton was dismissed from the Navy Department to make way for William Jones,^b who had been a ship-master in earlier life, was an active Philadelphia politician of the Democratic school, and at the time was Commissary of Purchases for the army. Madison's Cabinet, at the opening of the campaign of 1813, was composed as follows: James Monroe, Secretary of State; John Armstrong, Secretary of War; William Jones, Secretary of the Navy; Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury; and William Pinkney, Attorney General.

^a January 13, 1813.
^b January 12.

And when those oaks adorn our hills,
Or bear our thunders far,
Let each soul
Fill his bowl
To vict'ry and the Czar—
And give a long and loud huzza
To vict'ry and the Czar."

¹ On the 5th of June, 1813, the late G. W. P. Custis, the adopted son of Washington, addressed a large audience at Georgetown, in the District of Columbia, on the Russian victories. That address drew from the Russian minister at Washington a very complimentary letter, and a request for a copy to be transmitted to Russia. That letter, dated "June 21, 1813," was accompanied by a small medal containing a likeness of the Emperor Alexander. "Permit me to express to you my gratitude," said M. Daschkoff, "that of my family, and of all my countrymen who shall peruse your oration, for the zeal and interest you have displayed in our cause; and allow me to send you a small medal, with the likeness of Alexander the First, the only one which is now in my possession."—*MS. Letter.*



CHAPTER XXIII.

"Oh, lonely is our old green fort,
Where oft, in days of old,
Our gallant soldiers bravely fought
'Gainst savage albes bold;
But with the change of years have passed
That unrelenting foe,
Since we fought here with Harrison,
A long time ago." Sosa—Old Fort Mtns.



NOTHING of importance in military movements occurred during the dead of winter, in 1813, excepting the terrible affair at Frenchtown, on the River Raisin, already described,¹ and some hostile demonstrations on the St. Lawrence frontier at Elizabethtown and Ogdensburg by the opposing parties. The campaign of that year opened almost simultaneously on the shores of Lake Ontario, in the Valley of the Maumee, and on the coasts of Virginia.

Let us first consider the military events in the Northwest, where we left General Harrison, with a portion of his gallant little army, encamped amid the snows in the dark forests that skirted the Rapids of the Maumee.²

The position chosen by Harrison for a strong advanced post, which would give him facilities for keeping open a communication with Ohio and Kentucky, allow him to afford protection to the inhabitants on the borders of Lake Erie, and to operate against Detroit and Malden, was one of the most eligible in the Northwest, and its possession gave the British much uneasiness. Harrison's plan was to form simply a fortified camp, and to prosecute the winter campaign with vigor. For this purpose he endeavored to concentrate troops there, and prepared to push on to the vicinity of Brownstown, for the purpose of operating directly against Malden while the Detroit River was bridged with ice. Considering the destruction of the enemy's vessels, frozen up in the vicinity of Malden, of great importance, he sent a small force, under Captain Langham,³ to perform that service. On the 2d of March³ they set off in sleighs, with six days' provisions, and well equipped with combustibles. The party was one hundred and seventy strong. The particular incendiaries were under the immediate command of M. Madis, a Frenchman of European military experience, then conductor of artillery. They were instructed to leave the sleighs at Middle Bass Island, and, with their feet muffled in moccasins, proceed noiselessly, under cover of night, to the work of destruction. Harrison advanced with a supporting detachment, but on his arrival at Maumee Bay,^b not far below the present city of Toledo, he met Langham and his party returning. They had found the lake open, and of course the plan of the expedition was frustrated. The mildness of the winter had been remarkable; the roads were consequently almost impassable. There was no ice competent to bear troops and munitions of war.

Harrison now abandoned all hopes of moving forward until spring, and continued the work of fortifying his camp with great vigor, for the preservation of his stores,

¹ See Chapter XX.

² See page 364.

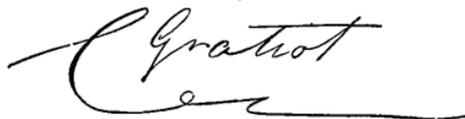
³ Augustus L. Langham, of Ohio, was an ensign in a rifle corps in 1808. He resigned in 1809, and in March, 1812, was commissioned a captain in the Nineteenth Regiment of Infantry. He distinguished himself at Fort Meigs. In August following he was promoted to major, was retained in 1815, and resigned in October, 1816.

Fortified Camp at the Maumee Rapids.

Remissness of the commanding Officer.

A weak Garrison.

collected there in great quantity. His troops were then about eighteen hundred in number, and were employed on the works under the skillful direction of that competent officer, Captain Wood, the chief engineer of Harrison's army, Captain Gratiot,¹ then lying prostrate with illness that long continued. "The camp,"



said Captain Wood, was about twenty-

five hundred yards in circumference, the whole of which, with the exception of several small intervals left for batteries and block-houses, was to be picketed with timber fifteen feet long, from ten to twelve inches in diameter, and set three feet in the ground. Such were the instructions of the engineer; and so soon as the lines of the camp were designated, large portions of the labor were assigned to each corps in the army, by which means a very laudable emulation was easily excited. To complete the picketing, to put up eight block-houses of double timbers, to elevate four large batteries, to build all the store-houses and magazines required to contain the supplies of the army, together with the ordinary fatigues of the camp, was an undertaking of no small magnitude. Besides, an immense deal of labor was likewise required in excavating ditches, making *abatis*, and clearing away the wood about the camp; and all this was to be done, too, at a time when the weather was inclement, and the ground so hard that it could scarcely be opened with the mattock and pickaxe. But in the use of the axe, mattock, and spade consisted the chief military knowledge of our army; and even that knowledge, however trifling it may be supposed by some, is of the utmost importance in many situations, and in ours was the salvation of the army. So we fell to work, heard nothing of the enemy, and endeavored to bury ourselves as soon as possible."²

But the work so vigorously commenced was abandoned soon afterward, when the general and the engineer left the camp—the former to visit his sick family at Cincinnati, and to urge forward troops and supplies for his army; the latter to superintend the erection of defensive works at Sandusky. The camp at the Rapids was left in charge of Colonel Leftwich, of the Virginia militia, who appears to have resolved to desert the post as soon as possible. Regardless of the danger to the stores, and comfort and safety of those he might leave behind, he not only allowed all work upon the fortifications to cease, but permitted the soldiers to burn the collected picketings for fuel, instead of getting it from the woods within pistol-shot of the camp. On his return from Sandusky on the 20th of February, Captain Wood, to his great mortification, perceived the utter neglect of Leftwich, and the destruction of the works on the lines commenced before he left. The consequence of this conduct of Leftwich, whom Wood called "an old phlegmatic Dutchman, who was not even fit for a pack-horse master, much less to be intrusted with such an important command," was great exposure of the garrison to the inclement weather, and the stores to imminent peril from the enemy. When, on the expiration of their term of enlistment, the Virginia troops under Leftwich, and others from Pennsylvania, left for home, only about five hundred men remained at the Rapids under Major Stoddard, with which to maintain possession of an unfinished line of circumvallation calculated to contain an army of two thousand men.

Harrison's greatest concern during the winter of 1813 was the possibility of not keeping soldiers enough in the field for the spring campaign, as the terms of the en-

¹ Charles Gratiot was a native of Missouri, and was appointed second lieutenant of Engineers in October, 1806, and captain in 1808. Harrison appointed him his chief engineer in 1812. He was promoted to major in 1815, lieutenant colonel in 1819, colonel and principal engineer in 1828, and on the same day (May 24) was breveted brigadier general. He left the service in December, 1838.

² The lines of the camp, inclosing about eight acres, were very irregular. They were upon a high bank, about one hundred feet above the river and three hundred yards from it. On the land side, commencing at the run, was a deep ravine that swept in a crescent form quite round to the rear.

A Call for Volunteers nobly answered. Armstrong's Interference with Harrison's Plans. Harrison's Protest.

listment of different corps would soon expire. To provide for such contingency, he called for volunteers from Kentucky and Ohio, and met with cordial responses.¹ He was preparing to collect about four thousand men at the Rapids for an early movement against Malden, when he received instructions from General Armstrong, the new Secretary of War, which deranged all his plans. By these he was directed to continue his demonstrations against Malden, but only as a diversion in favor of attempts to be made upon Canada farther down. He was enjoined not to make an actual attack upon the enemy until the consummation of measures for securing the command of Lake Erie, then just inaugurated, and to be completed at Presque Isle (now Erie, Pennsylvania) by the middle of the ensuing May. Much to his mortification and alarm, he was directed to dispense with militia as much as possible, and to fill up the 17th, 19th, and 24th Regiments of Regulars for service in the ensuing campaign. He was informed that two other regiments of regulars had been ordered to be raised, one in Kentucky and the other in Ohio. Should the old regiments not be filled in time, he was permitted to make up the deficiencies from the militia. With these he was to garrison the different posts, hold the position at the Rapids, and amuse the enemy by feints.

This interference with his plans annoyed Harrison exceedingly, and he ventured to remonstrate with the Secretary of War. He gave him his views^a very
* March 18,
1813.
 freely, and with them some valuable and much-needed information concerning the country to be defended and the Indian tribes in alliance with the British. He explained the causes of apprehended danger in attempting to carry out the new programme, and assured the Secretary of War that the regular force to be relied on could not be raised in time for needed service, and that, even if it should, it would be too small for the required duty—so evidently inadequate that enlistments would be discouraged.² Armstrong, who seldom bore opposition patiently, did not like to be remonstrated with, but he prudently forbore farther interference in the conduct of the campaign in the Northwest at that time.³

General Harrison was yet at Cincinnati late in March, actively engaged in endeavors to forward troops and supplies to the Rapids. Informed that the lake was almost free of ice, that the Virginia and most of the Pennsylvania troops would leave at the ex-

¹ Harrison requested that a corps of fifteen hundred men might be raised in Kentucky immediately, and marched to his head-quarters without delay. The Legislature of Kentucky was then in session, and Harrison's request was submitted to them in a confidential message by Governor Shelby. A law was immediately passed offering additional pay of seven dollars a month to any fifteen hundred Kentuckians who would remain in the service till a corps could be sent to relieve them. This offer was accompanied by an appeal to their patriotism from the Legislature, which reached them on the 8th of February. They had suffered much, and were very anxious to return home, so they would only promise to remain an indefinite time, but said that if the general was ready to lead them against the enemy they would follow him without additional pay. Similar appeal to the Ohio and Pennsylvania troops met with similar success, but the Virginians would not remain. Meanwhile the Legislature of Kentucky passed an act for detaching three thousand men from the militia, of which fifteen hundred were to march for Harrison's camp, and Governor Meigs ordered two regiments to be organized for the same service.

² In a letter to Governor Shelby, at about this time, Harrison said: "Last night's mail brought me a letter from the Secretary of War in which I am restricted to the employment of the regular troops raised in this state to re-enforce the post at the Rapids. There are scattered through this state about one hundred and forty recruits of the 19th Regiment, and with these I am to supply the place of the brigades from Pennsylvania and Virginia, whose time of service will now be daily expiring. By a letter from Governor Meigs I am informed that the Secretary of War disapproved the call for militia which I had made on this state and Kentucky, and was on the point of countermanding the orders. I will just mention one fact, which will show the consequences of such a countermand. There are upon the Au Glaise and St. Mary's Rivers eight forts, which contain within their walls property to the amount of half a million of dollars from actual cost, and worth now to the United States four times that sum. The whole force which would have had charge of all these forts and property would have amounted to less than twenty invalid soldiers."—Autograph Letter, March 21, 1813.

³ Armstrong attempted to arrange the military force of the country on the plan adopted by General Washington in the Revolution. On the 19th of March he promulgated a general order, dividing the whole United States into nine military districts, as follows: 1, Massachusetts, with Maine and New Hampshire; 2, Rhode Island and Connecticut; 3, New York below the Highlands and New Jersey; 4, Pennsylvania and Delaware; 5, Maryland and Virginia; 6, Georgia; 7, Louisiana. The rest of the States and Territories being divided between the 8th and 9th, the first embraced the seat of war at the west end of Lake Ontario, and the other the Niagara portion, Lake Ontario, and the St. Lawrence and Lake Champlain.

On the 12th of March commissions were issued for eight new brigadiers, namely, Cushing, Parker, Izard, and Pike, of the old army, and Winder, M'Arthur, Cass, Howard, and Swartwout. The latter succeeded Morgan Lewis as quarter-master with the rank of brigadier.



Green Clay

piration of their term on the 2d of April, and that the enemy were doubtless informed of the situation of affairs at the Rapids by a soldier who had been made a prisoner by them, he anticipated an early attack upon his camp there. It was, therefore, with the greatest anxiety that he awaited promised re-enforcements from Kentucky. The governor had ordered a draft of three thousand militia (fifteen hundred of them for Harrison's army) as early as the middle of February, to be organized into four regiments, under Colonels Boswell, Dudley, Cox, and Caldwell, forming a brigade to be commanded by Brigadier General Green Clay.¹ The regiments under the first two named officers rendezvoused at Newport, opposite to Cincinnati, at about the first of April. Those companies which had arrived there earlier had been sent forward to the Rapids on forced marches, by the way of Urbana and "Hull's Trace," and the commander-in-chief followed soon afterward, leaving the remainder of the Kentuckians designed for his command to be forwarded as quickly as possible.

He arrived at camp on the 12th of April, and was gratified by finding more than two



VIEW OF CINCINNATI FROM NEWPORT IN 1812.²

¹ In a letter dated at "Frankfort, March 5, 1813," Governor Shelby invited Mr. Clay to accept the command of the brigade as brigadier general. Clay accepted the office, and in a letter, dated on the 16th of the same month, the governor sent him his commission. In the first letter, now before me, the governor said that, had it been designed to cross into Canada at once, he should have taken command of the Kentucky troops in person.

² This view of Cincinnati in 1812 is from an old print. It then contained about two thousand inhabitants.

Fort Meigs and its Vicinity. Harrison assumes Responsibility. Proctor's Preparations to invade the Maumee Valley.

hundred patriotic Pennsylvanians remaining, who had been persuaded to do so by their chaplain, Dr. Hersey.¹

Under the direction of Captain Wood, the fortified camp, which had been named in honor of the governor of Ohio, had assumed many of the features of a regular fortification, and was dignified with the name of Fort Meigs. It was evident that its defense would be the chief event in the opening of the campaign. Harrison had been informed while on his way of the frequent appearance of Indian scouts in the neighborhood of the Rapids, and of little skirmishes with what he supposed to be the advance of a more powerful force. Alarmed by these demonstrations, he dispatched a messenger from Fort Amanda with a letter to Governor Shelby, urging him to send to the Maumee the whole of the three thousand militia drafted in Kentucky. This was in violation of his instructions from the War Department respecting the employment of militia, but the seeming peril demanding such violation, he did not hesitate for a moment. Expecting to find Fort Meigs invested by the British and Indians, he took with him from Fort Amanda all the troops that could be spared from the posts on the St. Mary and the Au Glaize, about three hundred in all, and descended by water from his point of departure with the intention of storming any British batteries which he might find employed against his camp. He was agreeably disappointed on his arrival by the discovery that the enemy was not near in great force. But that enemy, vigilant and determined, was preparing to strike at Fort Meigs a destructive blow.

When the ice began to move in the Detroit River and the lake, Proctor formed his plans for an early invasion of the Maumee Valley. Ever since his sanguinary operations at Frenchtown he had been using every art and appliance in his power to concentrate at Amherstburg a large Indian force for the purpose. He fired the zeal of Tecumtha and the Prophet by promises of future success in all their schemes for confederating the savage tribes, and by boasting of his ample power to place in the hands of his Indian allies Fort Meigs, its garrison, and immense stores. So stimulative were his promises that, at the beginning of April, Tecumtha was at Fort Malden with almost fifteen hundred Indians. Full six hundred of them were drawn from the country between



¹ These patriotic men informed the general that they were very anxious to go home to put in their spring seeds, but that they would never leave him until he thought that their services could be spared without danger to the cause. On the arrival of the three Kentucky companies he discharged the Pennsylvanians.

Lake Michigan and the Wabash, much to the satisfaction of Harrison when he discovered the fact, for it so relieved him of apprehensions of peril to his posts from that direction that he countermanded his requisition on Governor Shelby for *all* the drafted men from Kentucky.

Proctor was delighted with the response of the savages to his call, and visions of speedy victory, personal glory, and official promotion filled his mind. He became more boastful than ever, and more supercilious toward the Americans at Detroit.

^a 1813. He ordered the Canadian militia to assemble at Sandwich on the 7th of April,^a

when he assured them that the campaign would be short, decisive, successful, and profitable. On the 23^d his army and that of his savage allies, more than two thousand in number,¹ were in readiness at Amherstburg; and on that day they embarked on a brig and several smaller vessels, accompanied by two gunboats and some artillery. On the 26th they appeared at the mouth of the Maumee, about twelve miles below Fort Meigs; and on the 28th they landed on the left bank of the river, near old Fort Miami, and established their main camp there.² From that point Proctor and Tecumtha, who were well mounted, rode up the river to a point opposite Fort Meigs to reconnoitre. They were discovered at the fort, when a shot from one of the batteries sent them back in haste.³ Captain Dixon, of the Royal Engineers, was immediately sent up with a fatigue party to construct batteries upon a commanding elevation nearly opposite the fort, in front of the present Maumee City, but incessant rains, and the wretched condition of the roads, so retarded the progress of the work that they were not ready for operations until the first day of May.

The approach of the enemy in force had been discovered by Captain Hamilton, of the Ohio troops, on the 28th, while reconnoitring down the river with a small force. Peter Navarre, one of Harrison's most trustworthy scouts, yet (1867) living in Ohio, first saw them. Hamilton sent him in haste to Fort Meigs with the intelligence, when Harrison instantly dispatched him with three letters, one for Upper Sandusky, one for Lower Sandusky, and one for Governor Meigs, at Urbana.⁴ Although Fort Meigs was quite strong, several block-houses having been erected in connection with the lines of intrenchment and pickets, and a good supply of field-pieces had been mounted, Harrison was convinced, from the character and strength of the enemy, that his post was in imminent peril. He knew that General Green Clay was on his march with Kentuckians; and as soon as Navarre was furnished with his letters, he dispatched Captain William Oliver, the commissary to the fort, an intelligent, brave, and judicious officer (who had performed similar service for him), with an oral message to Clay, urging him to press forward by forced marches. Oliver bore to Clay the following simple note of introduction:⁵

"Head-quarters, Camp Meigs, 28th April, 1813.

"DEAR SIR,—I send Mr. Oliver to you, to give you an account of what is passing here. You may rely implicitly upon him. Yours,

"WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON."

Oliver was accompanied by a single white man and an Indian. He was escorted

¹ The combined force under Proctor consisted of 522 regulars, 461 militia, and about 1500 Indians; total, 2482. The Americans at Fort Meigs did not exceed 1100 effective men.

² See the map on the preceding page, which covers the entire historic ground at and around the Maumee Rapids from Roche de Bout—perpendicular rock—where the river has a considerable fall, and where Wayne was encamped in 1794 (see page 54), to Proctor's encampment near Fort Miami at the time we are considering. It shows the place of Hull's encampment in 1812 (see page 257), and Wayne's battle-ground in 1794 (see page 53), with the site of Fort Meigs, and of incidents connected with the siege about to be described in the text; also the present Maumee City on one side of the river, Perryville on the other, and the rail and wagon bridges across. Between Fort Meigs and Perryville is seen a stream. It courses through the ravine mentioned in Note 2, page 474.

³ Statement of Reverend A. M. Lorraine, in the *Ladies' Repository*, March, 1845.

⁴ Oral statement of Navarre to the author.

⁵ The original is before me, and a *fac-simile* of it appears on the opposite page. It is one of the papers of General Clay kindly placed in my hands by his son, General Cassius M. Clay, our late minister at the Russian Court. It is written on a half sheet of foolscap paper, and is thoroughly soiled by contact with mud and water.

General Harrison's Note to General Clay.

beyond the immediate danger that surrounded the camp by a company of dragoons under Captain Garrard. He found General Clay at Fort Winchester (Defiance) with twelve hundred Kentuckians, three companies of his command, as we have observed,¹ having been sent forward by Harrison at the close of March. Clay had left Cincin-

Dear Sir
I send Mr. Oliver to you to give
you an account of what is passing here
you may rely implicitly upon him
Yours
Wm Henry Harrison

FAC-SIMILE OF HARRISON'S LETTER.

¹ See page 476.

Combs commissioned a Captain of Spies. He goes on a perilous Expedition. Biographical Sketch of Combs.

April 7, 1813. nati early in April, after issuing a stirring address¹ to his troops^a in General Orders, and followed Winchester's route to the Maumee.² At Dayton he was overtaken by Leslie Combs, of Kentucky, a bold and ardent young man of nineteen years, whose services as scout and messenger in the late campaign, which ended so disastrously at the Raisin, were well known to General Clay. He at once commissioned Combs captain of a company of riflemen as spies or scouts, to be selected by him from Dudley's corps.

At St. Mary's block-house Clay divided his brigade. He sent Dudley to the Au Glaize, while he descended the St. Mary himself with Colonel Boswell's corps. Both divisions were to meet at Defiance. While on their way down the Au Glaize, intelligence reached Dudley of the perilous condition of Harrison at Fort Meigs. At a council of officers it was resolved to apprise the commander-in-chief of the near approach of succor. Who shall undertake the perilous mission? was the important question. It required some person acquainted with the country. Young Combs, eager for patriotic duty and distinction, volunteered to go. "When we reach Fort Defiance," he said, "if you will furnish me a good canoe, I will carry your dispatches to General Harrison, and return with his orders. I shall only require four or five volunteers from my own company, and one of my Indian guides to accompany me." A murmur of approbation ran through the company, and his offer was joyfully accepted by Dudley with words of compliment and gratitude.³ They reached Defiance the following morning. It was the first of May. As soon as a canoe could be procured Combs embarked on his perilous mission, accompanied by two brothers named Walker, and two others named respectively Paxton and John-



Leslie Combs
Q " —————

¹ "Kentuckians," he said, "stand high in the estimation of our common country. Our brothers in arms who have gone before us to the scene of action have acquired a fame which should never be forgotten by you—a fame worthy your emulation. . . . Should we encounter the enemy, remember the fate of your UNFORTUNATE BROTHERS at the River Raisin—that British treachery produced their slaughter!"

² As it may be interesting to the reader to know what constituted the private outfit of an officer of the army at that time for service in the field, I subjoin the following "list of articles for camp" prepared for General Clay:

³ Trunk, portmanteau and fixtures, flat-iron, coffee-mill, razor-strop, box, etc., inkstand and bundle of quills, ream of paper, three hatters, shoe-brushes, blacking, saddle and bridle, tortoise-shell comb and case, box of mercerial ointment, silver spoon, mattress and pillow, three blankets, three sheets, two towels, linen for a cot, two volumes M'Kenzie's Travels, two maps, spy-glass, gold watch, brace of silver-mounted pistols, umbrella, sword, two pairs of spurs—one of silver. **Colors:** Hat, one pair of shoes, one pair of boots, regimental coat, great-coat, bottle-green coat, scarlet waist-coat, blue cassimere and buff cassimere waistcoat, striped jean waistcoat, two pair cotton colored pantaloons, one pair bottle-green pantaloons, one pair queen-cord pantaloons, one pair buff short breeches, one pair red flannel drawers, one red flannel waistcoat, red flannel shirt, five white linen shirts, two check shirts, nine cravats, six chamois, two pair thread stockings, three pair of thread socks, hunting shirt, one pair of woolen gloves, one pair of leather gloves.

"A complete ration" at that time was estimated at fifteen cents, and was composed and charged as follows: meat five cents; flour, six cents; whisky, three cents; salt, soap, candles, and vinegar, one fourth of a cent each.

³ Captain Combs is yet (1867) living in his native state of Kentucky, vigorous in mind and body, and bearing the title of general by virtue of his commission as such in the militia of his state. He is descended, on his mother's side, from a Quaker family of Maryland. His father, a Virginian, was a "Revolutionary Officer and a Hunter of Kentucky." So says a simple inscription on his tomb-stone. Leslie was the youngest of twelve children. He joined the army in 1812, when just past eighteen years of age, and was at once distinguished for his energy and bravery. He was employed, as we have seen (page 356), on perilous duty, and never disappointed those who relied upon him. He was made a captain and wounded near Fort Meigs, and narrowly escaped death. He was paroled, and late in May, 1812, returned home. He commenced the study of law, and was not again in the field until 1836, when he raised a regiment for the southwestern frontier at the time of the revolution in Texas. He became very active in political life. His home was Lex-

Combs's Voyage down the Maumee River.

Greeting of the Flag at Fort Meigs.

Combs attacked by Indians.

son; also by young *Black Fish*, a Shawnoese warrior.¹ With the latter at the helm, the other four engaged with the rowing, and himself at the bow in charge of the rifles and ammunition of the party, Combs pushed off from Defiance, amid cheers and sad adieus (for few expected to see them again), determined to reach Fort Meigs before daylight the next morning. The voyage was full of danger. Rain was falling heavily, and the night was intensely black. They passed the Rapids in safety, but not until quite late in the morning, when heavy cannonading was heard in the direction of the fort. It was evident that the expected siege had commenced, and that the perils of the mission were increased manifold. For a moment Combs was perplexed. To return would be prudent, but would expose his courage to doubts; to remain until the next night, or proceed at once, seemed equally hazardous. A decision was soon made by the brave youth. "We must go on, boys," he said; "and if you expect the honor of taking coffee with General Harrison this morning, you must work hard for it." He went forward with many misgivings, for he knew the weakness of the garrison, and doubted its ability to hold out long. Great was his satisfaction, therefore, when, on sweeping around Turkey Point,² at the last bend in the river by which the fort was hidden from his view, he saw the stripes and stars waving over the beleaguered



BY THE MAUMEE VALLEY.

camp. Their joy was evinced by a suppressed shout. Suddenly a solitary Indian appeared in the edge of the woods, and a moment afterward a large body of them were observed in the gray shadows of the forest, running eagerly to a point below to cut off Combs and his party from the fort. The gallant captain attempted to dart by them on the swift current, when a volley of bullets from the savages severely wounded Johnson and Paxton—the former mortally. The fire was returned with effect, when the Shawnoese at the helm turned the prow toward the opposite shore.³ There the voyagers abandoned the canoe, and, with their faces toward Defiance, sought safety in flight. After vainly attempting to take Johnson and Paxton with them, Combs and *Black Fish* left them to become captives, and at the end of two days and two nights the captain reached Defiance, whereat General Clay had just arrived. The Walkers were also there, having fled more swiftly, because unencumbered. Combs and his dusky companion had suffered terribly.⁴ The former was unable to assume

ington, and he was a neighbor and warm personal friend of Henry Clay throughout the long public career of that great man. The friendship was mutual, and Clay always felt and acknowledged the power of General Combs. He was always a fluent, eloquent, and most effective speaker, and now, when he has passed the goal of "threescore and ten years," he never fails to charm any audience by his words of power, his apt illustrations, and genial humor.

¹ He was a grandson of *Black Fish*, a noted warrior who led the Indians in the attack on Boonsboro', in Kentucky, in 1773.

² In the above picture, a view of a portion of the Maumee Valley, as seen from the northwest angle of Fort Meigs, looking up the river, Turkey Point is seen near the centre, behind the head of Hollister's Island, that divides the river. A clump of trees, a little to the right of the three small trees in a row near the bank of the river, marks the place. The Maumee is seen flowing to the right, and to the left the plain, when I made the sketch in the autumn of 1860, was covered with Indian corn, some standing and some in the shocks. A canal for hydraulic purposes is seen in the foreground. It flows immediately below the ruins of Fort Meigs.

³ It was first thought that the Indians were friendly Shawnoese. So thought *Black Fish*; but when he discovered his mistake, he exclaimed, "Pottawatomi, God damn!"

⁴ Paxton was shot through the body, but recovered. During the political campaign of 1840, when General Harrison

the command of his company, but he went down the river with the re-enforcements, and took an active part in the conflict in the vicinity of Fort Meigs. There we shall meet him again presently.¹

The British had completed two batteries nearly opposite to Fort Meigs on the



SITE OF THE BRITISH BATTERIES FROM FORT MEIGS.²

morning of the 30th,³ and had mounted their ordnance. One of them bore two twenty-four-pounders, and the other three howitzers—one eight inches, and the other two five and a half inches calibre. In this labor they had lost some men by well-directed round shot from the fort, but neither these missiles nor the drenching rain drove them away. Harrison had not been idle in the mean time. His force was much inferior to that of the enemy in numbers, but was animated by the best spirit. On the morning after the British made their appearance near, he addressed his soldiers eloquently in a General Order;⁴ and when he discovered the foe busy in erecting batteries on the opposite shore that would command his works, he began the construction of a *traverse*, or wall of earth, on the most elevated ground through the middle of his camp, twelve feet in height, on a base of twenty feet, and three hundred yards in length. During its construction it was concealed by the tents. When these were suddenly removed to the rear of the traverse, the British engineer, to his great mortification, perceived that his labor had been almost in vain. Instead of an exposed camp, from which Proctor had boasted he would soon "smoke

was elected President of the United States, General Combs spoke to scores of vast assemblies in his favor. On one occasion he was in the neighborhood of Paxton's residence, who took a seat on the platform by the side of the speaker. Combs related the incident of the voyage down the Maumee and their joy at the sight of the old flag on that morning. "Here," said he, "is the man who was shot through the body. Stand up, Joe, and tell me how many bullets it would have taken to have killed you at that measure." "More than a peck!" exclaimed Paxton.

¹ I met General Combs at Sandusky City in the autumn of 1860, when he gave me an interesting account of his operations in the Maumee Valley at that time. Speaking of his return to Defiance, he said, "Black Fish made his way to his native village, while I pushed on toward Defiance. It rained incessantly. I was compelled to swim several swollen tributaries to the Maumee, and was dreadfully chafed by walking in wet clothes. My feet were lacerated by traveling in moccasins over burnt prairies, and my mouth and throat were excoriated by eating bitter hickory-buds, the only food that I tasted for forty-eight hours. For days afterward I could not eat any solid food. I was placed on a cot in a boat, and in that manner descended the river with my gallant Kentucky friends."

² The above little picture, sketched in the autumn of 1860 from the ruins of Croghan Battery (so named in honor of the gallant defender of Fort Stephenson), Fort Meigs, looking northwest, shows the scattered village of Maumee City in the distance, with the site of the British batteries in front of it. This is indicated in the picture by the distant bluff with two houses upon it, immediately beyond the two little figures at the end of the railway-bridge in the middle-ground. When I visited the spot in 1860, the ridge on which the cannon were planted, lower than the plain on which the village stands, was very prominent. Behind it was a deep hollow, in which the British artillerymen were securely posted. On the brow of the plain, just back of the British batteries, indicated by the second bluff with one house upon it, was afterward the place of encampment of Colonel Johnson. The railway-bridge, seen in the middle-ground of this picture, has a common passenger-bridge by the side of it. Between the extreme foreground and the railway embankment is the ravine mentioned in a description of Fort Meigs on page 414, and indicated in the map on page 468 by a stream of water.

³ "Can the citizens of a free country," he said, "who have taken arms to defend its rights, think of submitting to an army composed of mercenary soldiers, reluctant Canadians, goaded to the field by the bayonet, and of wretched, naked savages? Can the breast of an American soldier, when he casts his eyes to the opposite shore, the scene of his country's triumphs over the same foe, be influenced by any other feelings than the hope of glory? Is not this army composed of the same materials with that which fought and conquered under the immortal Wayne? Yes, fellow-soldiers, your general sees your countenances beam with the same fire that he witnessed on that glorious occasion; and, although it would be the height of presumption to compare himself with that hero, he boasts of being that hero's pupil." To your posts, then, fellow-citizens, and remember that the eyes of your country are upon you!"

⁴ Wayne's battle-ground in 1794, and the theatre of his victory, were in sight of the soldiers thus addressed. Harrison was Wayne's *sic-de-camp* on that occasion, and, as we have observed on page 53, was one of his most useful officers.

British and Indians cross the River.

A Gun-boat.

Fort Meigs attacked.

Colonel Christy.

out the Yankees"—in other words, speedily destroy it with shot and shell, he saw nothing but an immense shield of earth, behind which the Americans were invisible and thoroughly sheltered. Proctor accordingly modified his plans, and sent a considerable force of white men under Captain Muir, and Indians under Tecumtha, to the eastern side of the river, under cover of the gun-boats, with the evident intention of preparing for an attack on the fort in the rear. When night fell the British batteries were yet silent, and remained so; but a gun-boat, towed up the river near the fort under cover of the darkness, fired thirty shots without making any other impression than increasing the vigilance of the Americans, who reposed on their arms. Early in the morning the gun-boat went down the river barren of all honor.

Late in the morning on the 1st of May,³ notwithstanding heavy rain-clouds were driving down the Maumee Valley, and drenching every thing with fitful discharges, the British opened a severe cannonade and bombardment upon Fort Meigs, and continued the assault, with slight intermissions, for about five days,⁴ but without much injury to the fort and garrison. The fire was returned occasionally by eighteen-pounders. The supply of shot for these and the twelve-pounders was very small, there not being more than three hundred and sixty of each. They were used with judicious parsimony, for it was not known how long the siege might last. The British, on the contrary, appeared to have powder, balls, and shells in great abundance, and they poured a perfect storm of missiles—not less than five hundred—upon the

³ A survivor of the War of 1812, and one of the most active and remarkable men of the day when the late civil war

broke out, was Colonel William Christy. He was acting quarter-master at Fort Meigs, and had charge of all the stores and flags there at that time. He was only twenty-two years of age, yet he had, by his energy and patriotism, secured the love and confidence of General Harrison in a remarkable degree. When the first gun was fired upon Fort Meigs, Harrison called him to his side, and said, "Sir, go and nail a banner on every battery, where they shall wave so long as an enemy is in view." Christy obeyed, and there the flags remained during the entire siege.

Mr. Christy was born in Georgetown, Kentucky, on the 2d of December, 1791. At an early age he went with his father to reside near the Ohio, not far distant from Cincinnati. He was left an orphan at the age of fourteen years. He studied law, and entered upon the duties of that profession in 1811. When war was declared he joined the army under Harrison. That officer knew his father, and kindly gave the son of his old friend a place in his military family as aid-de-camp, and, as we have just observed, he was made acting quarter-master at Fort Meigs. He behaved gallantly there in the sortie in which Captain Silver was engaged, and in which his company suffered terribly. Christy was in subordinate command in that fight, and received the commendations of his general. He was promoted to lieutenant in the old First Regiment of United States Infantry. After the close of the Harrison campaign, which resulted in victory at the Thames, he was ordered to join his regiment, then at Sackett's Harbor. There General Brown appointed him adjutant, and he was in active service in Northern New York for some time. When the army was disbanded, Christy was retained, and was stationed for a while in New Orleans. He left the army in 1816, and commenced the career of a commission merchant in New Orleans. He married there, and soon amassed a fortune, which he lost, however, by the dishonesty of a partner. He resumed the practice of the law, and in 1826 published his "Digest of the Decisions of the Supreme Court of the State of Louisiana. Again he amassed a large fortune. He espoused the cause of Texas, and soon afterward lost his property, but gained the praise of being "the first filibuster in the United States."

His nature was impulsive, and during his residence of more than forty years in New Orleans he had several "affairs of honor," growing out of political quarrels chiefly. He was a ready and fluent speaker, and during the campaign when Harrison was candidate for the Presidency, Colonel Christy accompanied his chief in person throughout Ohio, and made more than one hundred speeches in his behalf. His kindness of heart and ungrudging hospitality ever gained him hosts of warm friends.



Wm Christy

fort all of the first day, and until eleven o'clock at night.¹ One or two of the garrison were killed, and Major Stoddard, of the First Regiment, a soldier of the Revolution, who commanded the fort when Leftwich retired, was so badly wounded by a fragment of a shell that he died ten days afterward.²

On the morning of the 2d the British opened a third battery of three twelve-pounders upon the fort from the opposite side of the river, which they had completed during the night, and all that day the cannonade was kept up briskly. Within the next twenty-four hours a fourth battery was opened.³ That night a detachment of artillerymen and engineers crossed the river, and mounted guns and mortars upon two mounds for batteries already constructed in the thickets by the party that crossed on the 30th, within two hundred and fifty yards of the rear angles of the fort. One of these, nearest the ravine already mentioned, was a mortar battery; the other, a few rods farther southward, was a three-gun battery. Expecting an operation of this kind, the Americans had constructed traverses in time to foil the enemy; and when, toward noon of the 3d, the three cannon and the howitzer opened suddenly upon the rear angles of the fort, their fire was almost harmless. A few shots from eighteen-

pounders, directed by Gratio, who was convalescing, soon silenced the gun-battery, and the pieces were hastily drawn off and placed in position near the ravine.

Shot and shell were hurled upon the fort more thickly and steadily on the 3d than at any other time, but with very little effect. This seemed to discourage the besiegers, and on the 4th the fire was materially



PLAN OF FORT MEIGS.⁴

slackened. Then Proctor sent Major Chambers with a demand for the surrender of the post. "Tell General Proctor," responded Harrison, promptly, "that if he shall take the fort it will be under circumstances that will do him more honor than a thousand surrenders." Meanwhile the cannonading from the fort was feeble, because of the scarcity of ammunition. "With plenty of it," wrote Captain Wood, "we should have blown John Bull from the Miami." The guns were admirably managed, and did good execution at every discharge. The Americans were well supplied with food and water⁵ for a long siege, and could well afford to spend time and weary the assailants by merely defensive warfare sufficient to keep the foe at bay. They exhibited their confidence and spirit by frequently mounting the ramparts, swinging their hats, and shouting defiance to their besiegers. Nevertheless, Harrison was anxious. Hull and Winchester had failed and suffered. The foe was strong, wily, and confident. So he looked hourly and anxiously up the Maumee for the hoped-for reinforcements. Since Navarro and Oliver went out, he had heard nothing from

¹ As the enemy were throwing large numbers of cannon-balls into the fort from their batteries, Harrison offered a gill of whiskey for every one delivered to the magazine-keeper, Thomas L. Hawkins. Over one thousand gills were thus earned by the soldiers.—Howe's *Historical Collections of Ohio*, page 532. An eyewitness (Reverend A. M. Lorrain) relates that one of the militia took his station on the embankment, watched every shot, and forewarned the garrison thus: "Shot," or "bomb," as the case might be; sometimes "Block-house No. 1," or "Look out, main battery," "Now for the main-house," "Good-by, if you will pass." At last a shot hit him and killed him instantly.

² Amos Stoddard was a native of Massachusetts, and was commissioned a captain of artillery in 1798. He was retained in 1802. In 1804 and '05 he was governor of the Missouri Territory. He was promoted to major in 1807. He was deputy quarter-master in 1812, but left the staff in December of that year. He died of tetanus, or lockjaw, on the 31st of May, 1813. He was the author of "Sketches of Louisiana," published in 1810.

³ These were named as follows, as indicated on the above map: a, Mortar; b, Queen's; c, Sallor's; and d, King's. This plan is from a sketch made by Joseph H. Larwell, on the 10th of July, 1812. All the dotted lines represent the traverses. a a a a indicate the block-houses; b b, the magazines; c c c c, minor batteries. The grand and mortar batteries and the well are indicated by name.

⁴ During the first three days of the siege the Americans were wholly dependent upon the rain for water. Those who were sent to fetch it were exposed to the fire of the enemy. On the fourth they had completed a well within the fort which gave them an ample supply.

General Clay moving down the Maumee.

Harrison's Plans developed.

Movements near Fort Meigs.

abroad. His suspense was ended at near midnight on the 4th, when Captain Oliver, with Major David Trimble and fifteen men who had come down the river in a boat, made their way into the fort as bearers of the glad tidings that General Clay and eleven hundred Kentuckians were only eighteen miles distant, and would probably reach the post before morning.

Captain Oliver had found Clay at Fort Winchester on the 3d. The cannonading at Fort Meigs was distinctly heard there, and Clay pressed forward as speedily as possible with eighteen large flat scows, whose sides were furnished with shields against the bullets of Indians who might infest the shores of the river. It was late in the evening when the flotilla reached the head of the Rapids, eighteen miles from the scene of conflict. The moon had gone down, and the overcast sky made the night so intensely dark that the pilot refused to proceed before daylight. It was then that Trimble and his brave fifteen volunteered to accompany Captain Oliver to the fort, to cheer the hearts of Harrison and his men by the tidings of success near. It did cheer them. Harrison immediately conceived a plan of operations for Clay, and dispatched Captain Hamilton and a subaltern in a canoe to meet the general, and say to him with delegated authority, "You must detach about eight hundred men from your brigade, and land them at a point I will show you, about a mile or a mile and a half above Camp Meigs. I will then conduct the detachment to the British batteries on the left bank of the river. The batteries must be taken, the cannon spiked, and carriages cut down, and the troops must then return to the boats and cross over to the fort. The balance of your men must land on the fort side of the river, opposite the first landing, and fight their way into the fort through the Indians. The route they must take will be pointed out by a subaltern officer now with me, who will land the canoe on the right bank of the river, to point out the landing for the boats."

This explicit order reveals much of Harrison's well-devised plan. He knew that the British force at the batteries was inconsiderable, for the main body were still near old Fort Miami, and the bulk of the Indians with Tecumtha were on the eastern side of the river. His object was to strike simultaneous and effectual blows on both banks of the stream. While Dudley was demolishing the British batteries on the left bank, and Clay was fighting the Indians on the right, he intended to make a general sally from the fort, destroy the batteries in the rear, and disperse or capture the whole British force on that side of the river.

It was almost sunrise when Clay left the head of the Rapids. He descended the river with his boats arranged in solid column, as in a line of march, each officer having position according to rank. Dudley, being the senior colonel, led the van. Hamilton met them, in this order, about five miles above the fort. Clay was in the thirteenth boat from the front. When Harrison's orders were delivered, he directed Dudley to take the twelve front boats and execute the commands of the chief concerning the British batteries, while he should press forward and perform the part assigned to himself.

Colonel Dudley executed his prescribed task most gallantly and successfully. The current was swift, and the shores were rough, but his detachment effected a landing in fair order. They ascended to the plain on which Maumee City stands unobserved by the enemy, and were there formed for marching in three parallel columns, the right led by Dudley, the left by Major Shelby, and the centre, as a reserve, by Acting Major Morrison. Captain Combs, with thirty riflemen, including seven friendly Indians, flanked in front full a hundred yards distant.¹ In this order they moved through the woods a mile and a half toward the British batteries, which were playing briskly upon Fort Meigs, when the columns were so disposed as to inclose the enemy in a

¹ At the request of General Clay, Captain Combs furnished him with minute information respecting the operations under Dudley, in a letter dated May 6, 1815. The writer has kindly furnished me with a copy of that letter, from which the main facts of this portion of the narrative have been drawn.

Dudley half wins Victory, and loses it. Sad Result of Zeal and Humanity. Americans defeated and made Prisoners.

creasant, with every prospect of capturing the whole force. Dudley had failed to inform his subalterns of his exact plans, and that remissness was a fatal mistake. Shelby's column, by his order, penetrated to a point between the batteries and the British camp below, when the right column, led by Dudley in person, raised the horrid Indian yell, rushed forward, charged upon the enemy with wild vehemence, captured the heavy guns and spiked eleven of them without losing a man. The riflemen, meanwhile, had been attacked by the Indians, and, not aware of Dudley's designs, thought it their duty to fight instead of falling back upon the main body. This was the fatal mistake. The main object of the expedition was fully accomplished, although the batteries were not destroyed. The British flag was pulled down, and as it trailed to earth loud huzzas went up from the beleaguered fort.

Harrison had watched the moment with intense interest from his chief battery, and when he saw the British flag lowered, he signaled Dudley to fall back to his boats and cross the river, according to explicit orders. Yet the victors lingered, and sharp firing was heard in the woods in the rear of the captured batteries. Harrison was indignant because of the disobedience. Lieutenant Campbell volunteered to carry a peremptory order across to Dudley to retreat, but when he arrived the victory so gloriously won was changed into a sad defeat. Humanity had caused disobedience, and terrible was the penalty. At the moment when the batteries were taken, as we have just observed, Indians in ambush attacked Combs and his riflemen. With quick and generous impulse, Dudley ordered them to be re-enforced. A greater part of the right and centre columns instantly rushed into the woods in considerable disorder, accompanied by their colonel. Thirty days in camp had given them very little discipline. It was of little account at the outset, for, disorderly as they were, they soon put the Indians to flight, and relieved Combs and his little party. That work accomplished, discipline should have ruled. It did not. Impelled by the enthusiasm and confidence which is born of victory, and forgetful of all the maxims of prudence, they pursued the flying savages almost to the British camp. Shelby's column still held possession of the batteries when this pursuit commenced, but the British artillerymen, largely re-enforced, and led by the gallant Captain Dixon, soon returned and recaptured them, taking some of the Kentuckians prisoners, and driving the others toward their boats.¹ Meanwhile the Indians had been re-enforced, and had turned fiercely upon Dudley. His men were in utter confusion, and all attempts at command were futile. Shelby had rallied the remnant of his column and marched to the aid of Dudley, but he only participated in the confusion and flight. The Kentuckians were scattered in every direction through the woods back of where Maumee City now stands, making but feeble resistance, and exposed to the deadly fire of the skulking savages. The flight became a rout, precipitate and disorderly, and a greater part of Dudley's command were killed or captured, after a contest of about three hours. Dudley, who was a heavy, fleshy man, was overtaken, tomahawked, and scalped, and his captive companions, including Captain Combs and his spies, were marched to old Fort Miami as prisoners of war. Of the eight hundred² who followed him from the boats, only one hundred and seventy escaped to Fort Meigs.³

¹ When Proctor was apprised of the approach of the detachment under Dudley, he supposed it to be the advance of the main American army, and he immediately recalled a large portion of his force on the eastern side of the river. About seven hundred Indians were among them, led by Tecumtha. They did not arrive in time to participate in the battle, but they allowed Proctor to send large re-enforcements from his camp.

² The exact number of officers and private soldiers were, of Dudley's regiment, 761; Boswell's, 60, and regulars, 45—total, 866.—Manuscript Reports among the Clay papers.

³ General Harrison censured Colonel Dudley's men in General Orders on the 9th of May, signed by John O'Fallon, his acting assistant adjutant general. "It rarely occurs," he said, "that a general has to complain of the excessive ardor of his men, yet such appears always to be the case whenever the Kentucky militia are engaged. Indeed, it is the source of all their misfortunes." After speaking of the rash act in pursuing the enemy, he remarked, "Such temerity, although not so disgraceful, is scarcely less fatal than cowardice." In a letter to Governor Shelby on the 18th, General Harrison censured Colonel Dudley. "Had he retreated," he said, "after taking the batteries, or had he made a disposition to retreat in case of defeat, all would have been well. He could have crossed the river, and even if he had

Clay's Encounter with the Indians.

A Sallying-party and their Perils.

A gallant Messenger.

While these tragic scenes were transpiring on the left bank of the river, others equally stirring were in progression in the vicinity of Fort Meigs. General Clay had attempted to land the six remaining boats under his command nearly opposite the place of Dudley's debarkation, but the swiftness of the current, swollen by the heavy rains, drove five of them ashore. The other, containing General Clay, with Captain Peter Dudley and fifty men, kept the stream, separated from the rest, and finally landed on the eastern bank of the river opposite to Hollister's Island. There they were assailed by musketry from a cloud of Indians on the left flank of the fort, and by round shot from the batteries opposite. Notwithstanding the great peril, Clay and his party returned the Indians' attack with spirit, and reached the fort without the loss of a man.

Colonel Boswell's command in the other boats, consisting of a part of the battalions of Kentucky militia under Major William Johnson, and two other companies of Kentucky levies, landed near Turkey Point. He was immediately ordered by Captain Hamilton, General Harrison's representative, to fight his way into the fort. The same Indians who assailed Clay disputed his passage. Boswell arranged his men in open order, marched boldly over the low plain,¹ engaged the savages on the slopes and brow of the high plateau most gallantly, and reached the fort without suffering very serious loss. There he was greeted by thanks and shouts of applause, and met by a sallying-party² coming out to join him in an immediate attack upon that portion of the enemy with whom he had just been engaged, pursuant to Harrison's original plan of assailing the foe on both sides of the river at the same time. There was but a moment's delay. Boswell on the right, Major Alexander and his volunteers on the left, and Major Johnson in the centre, was the order in which the party advanced against their dusky foe. They fell upon the savages furiously, drove them half a mile into the woods at the point of the bayonet, and utterly routed them. In their zeal the victors were pursuing with a recklessness that, if continued, would have resulted in disaster like that which overwhelmed Dudley. Fortunately, General Harrison, always on the alert, had taken a stand, with a spy-glass, on one of his batteries, from which he could survey the whole field of operations. He discovered a body of British and Indians gliding swiftly along the borders of the woods to cut off the retreat of the pursuers, when he dispatched a volunteer aid (John T. Johnson, Esq.) to recall his troops. It was a perilous undertaking. The gallant aid-de-camp had a horse shot under him, but he succeeded in communicating the general's orders in time to allow the imperiled detachment to return without much loss.

M. W. E. Boswell

General Harrison now ordered a sortie from the fort against the enemy's works on the right, near the deep ravine. For this purpose three hundred and fifty men were

lost one or two hundred men, he would have brought over a re-enforcement of six hundred, which would have enabled me to take the whole British force on this side of the river." Harrison did not then know that Dudley had sacrificed the greater portion of his little army and his own life in the humane attempt to save Combs and his party from destruction. Combs afterward called General Harrison's attention to the injustice of his censure. It was too late; it had passed into history, and has been perpetuated by the pens of successive chroniclers.

William Dudley was a citizen of Fayette County, Kentucky, at that time, but was a native of Spottsylvania County, Virginia. He was a magistrate in Kentucky for many years, and was highly esteemed. He was overtaken, as we have observed in the text, by the Indians, and shot in the body and thigh. When last seen he was sitting on a stump in a swamp, defending himself against a swarm of savages. He was finally killed, and his body was dreadfully mutilated. I was informed by Abraham Miley, of Batavia, Ohio, who was in Fort Meigs at the time of the siege, that when the body of Dudley was found a large piece had been cut from the fleshy part of his thigh by the savages, which they doubtless ate.

¹ See picture on page 481, and note 2 on the same page.

² Composed of Pennsylvania and Virginia Volunteers (the former, except a small company, known as the *Pittsburg Blues*, and the latter the *Petersburg Volunteers*), a company of the Nineteenth United States Regiment under Captain Waring, and Captain Dudley's company, who had followed Clay into the fort. The *Pittsburg Blues* were commanded by Captain James Butler, son of the General Butler who fell at St. Clair's defeat in 1791. See pages 47 and 48. The Virginians were under Captain M'Crea.

Sortie from Fort Meigs.

Proctor disheartened.

He is deserted by his Fellow-savages.

detailed, and placed under the command of Colonel John Miller,¹ of the regular service. They consisted of the companies of United States troops under Captains Langham, Croghan, Bradford, Nearing,² Elliott,³ and Gwynne,⁴ and Lieutenant Campbell; Major Alexander's⁵ volunteers, and a company of Kentucky militia under Captain Sebree.⁶ Miller was accompanied by Major George Todd, of the Nineteenth Infantry, and led his command with the greatest bravery. They charged with the fiercest impetuosity upon the motley foe, eight hundred and fifty strong, drove them from their batteries at the point of the bayonet, spiked their guns, and scattered them in confusion in the woods beyond the ravine toward the site of the present village of Perrysburg. The enemy fought desperately, and Miller lost several of his brave men. At one moment the utter destruction of Sebree's company seemed inevitable. They were surrounded by four times their number of Indians, when Gwynne, of the Nineteenth, perceiving their peril, rushed to their rescue with a part of Elliott's company. They were saved. The object of the sortie was accomplished, and the victors returned to the fort with forty-three prisoners, followed by the enemy, who had rallied in considerable force.⁷

After these sorties on the 5th the siege of Fort Meigs was virtually abandoned by



SIEGE OF FORT MEIGS.

Proctor. The result of that day's fighting, combined with the ill success of all preceding efforts to reduce the fort, were so disheartening that his Indian allies deserted him, and the Canadian militia turned their faces homeward.⁸ The splendid Territory of Michigan had been promised to the Prophet as a reward for his services in the capture of Fort Meigs, and Tecumtha was to have the person of General Harrison, whom he had hated intensely since the battle of Tippecanoe in 1811, as his peculiar trophy. These prom-

¹ Colonel of the Nineteenth Regiment of Regulars. He was a native of Ohio, and was commissioned colonel on the 6th of July, 1812. He was transferred to the Seventeenth Infantry in May, 1814. In 1818 he left the army. He was governor of Missouri from 1828 to 1832, and a representative in Congress from 1837 to 1843. He died at Florissant, Missouri, on the 18th of March, 1846.

² Abel Nearing was from Connecticut. He survived the siege, but died on the 13th of September following from the effects of fever.

³ Captain Elliott was a nephew of the notorious Colonel Elliott in the British service, and then with Proctor, and of Captain Jesse Elliott, of the United States Navy, on Lake Erie at that time.

⁴ David Gwynne, as first lieutenant and regimental paymaster, had accompanied Colonel J. B. Campbell against the Mississinawa Towns (see page 346). He was made captain in March, 1812. In August he was made brigade major to General M'Arthur, and in 1814 was raised to major of riflemen. He left the army in 1816, and died near St. Louis in 1865.

⁵ Major Alexander was a brave officer. He commanded a rifle company, Pennsylvania Volunteers, in Campbell's expedition against the Mississinawa towns in December, 1812.

⁶ Uriel Sebree was a captain in Scott's Kentucky Volunteers in August, 1812, and was with Major Madison at Frenchtown, under Winchester. He was a gallant officer.

⁷ The Americans lost in this sortie 28 killed and 25 wounded.—MS. Report.

⁸ "I had not the option of retaining my position on the Miami. Half of the militia had left us. . . . Before the ordnance could be withdrawn from the batteries I was left with Tecumtha and less than twenty chiefs and warriors—a circumstance which strongly proves that, under present circumstances at least, our Indian force is not a disposable one, or permanent, though occasionally a most powerful aid."—Proctor's Dispatch to Governor Prevost.

In his dispatch to Sir George Prevost from Sandwich on the 14th of May Proctor fairly acknowledged himself defeated, and admitting that he had no data for judging how many the Americans had lost in killed, "conceived" the number to have been between a thousand and twelve hundred: whereupon Sir George deceived the Canadians and falsified history by asserting, in a General Order, he had "great satisfaction in announcing to the troops the brilliant result of an action which took place on the banks of the Miami River," and "which terminated in the complete defeat of the enemy, and capture, dispersion, or destruction of thirteen hundred men!" By a comparison of the most reliable accounts

Flight of the British and Indians.

Massacre of Prisoners at Fort Miami.

Tecumtha's Rebuke of Proctor.

ises were all unfulfilled. The Indians left in disgust, and probably nothing but Tecumtha's commission and pay as brigadier in the British army secured his farther services in the cause.

Proctor's eyes saw his savage allies leaving him and his Canadian militia discontented, and his ears heard the startling intelligence that Fort George, on the Niagara frontier, was in the hands of the Americans, and that re-enforcements were coming from Ohio for the little army at Fort Meigs.¹ He saw nothing before him, if he remained, but the capture or dispersion of his troops, and he resolved to flee. With the design of concealing this fact that he might move off with safety, he again sent Captain Chambers to demand the surrender of the fort. Harrison regarded the absurd message as an intended insult, and requested that it should not be repeated. It was the last friendly communication between the belligerents.²

Proctor attempted to bear away from his batteries his unharmed cannon, but a few shots from Fort Meigs made him withdraw speedily. A parting response in kind from one of his gun-boats, in return, slew several, among them Lieutenant Robert Walker, of the Pittsburg Blues, whose grave may yet be identified within the remains of the fort by a plain, rough stone, with a simple inscription, that stands at its head.³ This was the last life lost in the siege. In the same vessels that brought him to the Maumee, Proctor of the Engineers, and others.⁴ On the surrender of Dudley's command the prisoners were marched down to Fort Miami with an escort, and there, under the eye of Proctor and his officers, the Indians, who had already plundered them and murdered many on the way,⁵ were allowed to shoot, tomahawk, and scalp more than twenty of them. This butchery was stopped by Tecumtha, who proved himself to be more humane than his British ally and brother officer, Henry Proctor.⁷



REMAINS OF WALKER'S MONUMENT.

on both sides, the loss of the Americans during the siege may fairly, it seems, be put down at about 80 killed, 270 wounded, and 470 prisoners. The British loss was 15 killed, 47 wounded, and 44 made prisoners.

¹ We have observed (page 478) that Peter Navarre was sent from Fort Meigs with a letter to the Governor of Ohio. That energetic man immediately sent messengers in all directions for volunteers, and he was very soon on his way to the relief of the beleaguered garrison. His march was arrested by the flight of the besiegers.

² Harrison's dispatches to the Secretary of War, May 9, 1813; Proctor's dispatch to Sir George Prevost, May 11, 1813; M'Alce's *History of the Late War*; Perkins's and Thomson's *Sketches, etc.*; Captain Wood's Narrative, cited by M'Alce; Major Richardson's Narrative; Auchinleck's *History of the War of 1812*. General Clay's Letter to General Harrison, May 13, 1812; Captain Combs's Letter to General Clay, May 5, 1813; General Harrison to Governor Shelby, May 18, 1813; Armstrong's *Notices of the War of 1812*; Onderdonk's MS. *Life of Tecumseh*; Speech of Eleutherus Cook, Esq., of Sandusky City, at Fort Meigs, June 11, 1840; Narratives of Rev. A. M. Lorraine and Joseph R. Underwood, eyewitnesses, quoted by Howe; Hosmer's *Early History of the Maumee Valley*; oral statements to the Author by Peter Navarre.

³ The little monument, which contained only the words, Lieutenant Walker, May 9, 1813, had been greatly mutilated, when I visited the spot in the autumn of 1860, by relic-seekers, those modern iconoclasts whose business, when thus pursued, is simply infamous. The remains of the stone, as delineated in the picture, was only about five inches above the ground. It is of limestone, and was wrought by a stone-cutter in the garrison not long after his burial. A few rods east of it is the grave of Lieutenant M'ulloch, who was killed during the summer by Indians while out hunting.

⁴ See the close of Chapter XVII.

⁵ In Howe's *Historical Collections of Ohio*, page 533, may be found a very interesting narrative of the horrid events at Fort Miami, by Joseph R. Underwood, who was present. It is more circumstantial than the letter of Captain Combs to General Clay, mentioned below.

⁶ Major Richardson, of the British army, who wrote an account of events under Brock and Proctor in the West, says that the Indians who made the attack, in spite of the efforts of the guard, were some who had taken no part in the battle. "An old and excellent soldier," he says, "of the name of Russell, of the Forty-first, was shot through the heart while endeavoring to wrest a victim from the grasp of his assailant."

⁷ Major Richardson, just quoted, says, in speaking of the massacre: "More than forty of these unhappy men had fallen beneath the steel of the infuriated party, when Tecumtha, apprised of what was doing, rode up at full speed, and, raising his tomahawk, threatened to destroy the first man who resisted his injunction to desist.

General Leslie Combs, then, as we have seen, a captain of spies, and one of the prisoners, in a letter to General Clay, already alluded to, gave a very particular account of the affair. A copy of that letter, furnished by General Combs in 1861, is before me. He says that the prisoners, on their march toward Fort Meigs, met a body of Indians, who, in the

I visited the theatre of events just described, on the 24th of September, 1860, and had the singular good fortune to be accompanied by L. H. Hosmer, Esq., of Toledo, author of *The Early History of the Maumee Valley*, and the venerable Peter Navarre (a Canadian Frenchman), General Harrison's trusty scout, already mentioned.¹ Navarre resided about twenty miles from Toledo, and had come into the city on business two or three days before. Mr. Hosmer, aware of my intended visit at that time, had kindly detained him until my arrival. Only two days before, I had enjoyed a long conversation at the "West House," in Sandusky City, with General Leslie Combs, who had just visited Fort Meigs for the first time since he was there as a soldier and prisoner in 1813. That visit had recalled the incidents of the campaign most vividly to his mind, and he related them to me with his usual enthusiasm and perspicuity. With the soldier's description in my memory, and the historian and scout at my side, I visited Fort Meigs and its historical surroundings under the most favorable circumstances.

The night of my arrival at Toledo had been a tempestuous one—wind, lightning, rain, and a sprinkle of hail. The following morning was clear and cool, with a blustering wind from the southwest. We left the city for our ride up the Maumee Valley at nine o'clock, in a light carriage and a strong team of horses. Mr. Hosmer volunteered to be coachman. Our road lay on the right side of the river; and when nearly seven miles from Toledo we came to the site of Proctor's encampment, on a level plateau a short distance from the Maumee, upon land owned, when we visited



PETER NAVARRE.

presence and without the interference of General Proctor, Colonel Elliott, and other officers, as well as the British guard, commenced robbing the captives of clothes, money, watches, etc. Combs showed his wound as a plea for consideration, but without effect. He too was stripped. As they passed on, the prisoners saw ten or twelve dead men, naked and scalped, and near them two lines of Indians were formed from the entrance of a triangular ditch in front to the old gate of the fort, a distance of forty or fifty feet. Between these the prisoners were compelled to run the gauntlet, and in that race many were killed or maimed with pistols, war-clubs, scalping-knives, and tomahawks. The number of prisoners thus slaughtered, without Proctor's attempt at interference, was estimated at a number nearly, if not quite equal to those slain in battle.

When the surviving prisoners were all lulled, the savages raised the war-whoop and commenced loading their guns. The massacre already accomplished, and this preparation for a renewal of it, were made known to Tecumtha, who hastened to the fort with all the rapidity of his horse's speed, and, more humane than his white ally, instantly interposed and saved the lives of the remainder. Elliott then rode in, waved his sword, and the savages retired.

Drake, in his *Life of Tecumtha*, says that the warrior authoritatively demanded, "Where is General Proctor?" Being him near, he sternly inquired of him why he had not put a stop to the massacre. "Your Indians can not be commanded," replied Proctor, who trembled with fear in the presence of the enraged chief. "Begone!" retorted Tecumtha, in perfect disdain. "You are unfit to command; go and put on petticoats!"

The half-naked prisoners were taken in a cold rain-storm that night, in open boats, to the mouth of Swan Creek, and thence to Malden. After a brief confinement there they were sent across the river, and at the mouth of the Barou were left to find their way to the nearest settlement in Ohio, fifty miles distant.

¹ Peter Navarre was a grandson of Robert Navarre, a French officer who came to America in 1745. He settled at Detroit, and there Peter was born about the year 1796, and, with his father and family, settled at the mouth of the Maumee in 1807. At that time *Kan-tuck-ee-son*, the widow of Pontiac, was living there with her son, *Ottawas*. She was very old, and was held in great reverence. Navarre was at the Prophet's Town, on the Wabash, with a French trader, when Harrison arrived there just before the battle of Tipperanoe, but escaped. He joined Hull's army at the Itapida, was with him at Detroit, and, after the surrender, returned to the Raisin and enlisted in Colonel Anderson's regiment. He was there when Brock was ordered to surrender (see page 291), but was afterward compelled to accompany the British as a guide up the Maumee, where, as we have seen, he deserted and fled to Winchester's camp. He was an eyewitness of the massacre at the River Raisin. After that, Navarre and his brothers were employed as scouts, and performed excellent service. He is a stout-built man, of dark complexion, and is now [1867] about eighty years of age. He speaks English (imperfectly, as the Canadian French usually do). The above portrait is from a daguerreotype taken in Toledo when he was about seventy years of age, and kindly presented to me by Mr. Hosmer.

Remains of Fort Miami.

Maumee City and its historical Elm-tree.

Prosque Isle Hill.

it, by Henry W. Horton. Across a small ravine, a few rods farther southward, were the remains of old Fort Miami, famous, as we have seen, in Wayne's time, as one of the outposts of the British, impudently erected in the Indian country within the acknowledged territory of the United States.¹ It was upon the land of Benjamin Starbird, whose dwelling was just beyond the southern side of the fort. It was a regular work, and covered about two acres of land. The embankments were from fifteen to twenty feet in height. They were covered with heavy sward, and fine honey-locust and hickory trees were growing upon them. These were in full leaf, and the grass was very green,



RUINS OF FORT MIAMI.

when we were there. From the northwest angle of the fort I made the accompanying sketch, which includes the general appearance of the mounds. On the right is seen a barn, which stands within the triangular outwork, at the sally-port mentioned by Captain Combs in his narrative, substantially given in Note 7, page 489, where he was compelled to run the gauntlet for his life; and on the left a glimpse of the Maumee. All about the old fort is now quiet. For more than fifty years peace has smiled upon the Maumee Valley; and Proctor and Tecumtha, Elliott and The Prophet, and the other savages of the war, white and red, are almost forgotten, except by those families who suffered from their cruelty.

From Fort Miami we rode up to Maumee City, opposite Fort Meigs, a pleasant little village of about two thousand inhabitants, situated at the head of river navigation, eight miles from Toledo. It is the capital of Lucas County, Ohio, and was laid out in 1817 by Major William Oliver and others, within a reservation of twelve miles square. The bank of the river, curving gracefully inward here, is almost one hundred feet in height. Nearly opposite lies the little village of Perrysburg, and between them is a fertile, cultivated island of two hundred acres, with smaller islands around it. Directly in front are seen the mounds of Fort Meigs and a forest back of them; and up the Maumee are the considerable islands known respectively as Hollister's and Buttonwood, or Peninsula. The latter view is delineated in the sketch on the next page, taken from the main road along the brow of the river bank in front of the village. In it is seen the magnificent elm-tree that stood near the old "Jefferson Tavern;" and in the middle, in the distance, over Hollister's Island, is seen "Turkey Point, memorable in connection with the adventures of Combs and the landing of Boswell. That elm is famous. We have observed that, at the beginning of the siege, the water used by the garrison was taken from the river at great risk. From the thick foliage of this elm several bullets from rifles in the hands of Indians went on death-errands across the river to the water-carriers. These were returned by Kentucky riflemen, and tradition says that not less than six savages were brought to the ground out of that tree by those sharp-shooters.

From Maumee City we rode three miles up to Prosque Isle Hill² (the scene of Wayne's operations), wandered over the battle-ground of The Fallen Timber,³ and

¹ See page 54.

² See page 55.

³ See Map on page 55.

sketched Turkey-Foot's Rock, given on page 55. We then returned to the bridges (common carriage and railway bridge), and crossed to Fort Meigs, the form of which we found distinctly marked by the mounds of earth. That of the Grand Traverse¹ was from four to six feet in height, and all were covered with green sward. The fort originally included about ten acres, but was somewhat reduced in size before the second siege, which we shall notice presently. The places of the block-houses were visible, and the situation of the well, near the most easterly angle of the fort, was marked by a shallow pit, and a log in an upright position, seven or eight feet in height.²



BY THE MAUMEE, FROM MAUMEE CITY.

On leaving the fort we strolled along the ravine on its right and rear to the site of the British battery captured by Colonel Miller. There yet stood the primeval forest-trees—the very woods in which Tecumtha and his Indians were concealed. A little brook was flowing peacefully through the shallow glen, and the high wind that

¹ See Plan of Fort Meigs on page 484.



WELL AT FORT MEIGS.

² That log has a history. In 1840, General Harrison, then living at North Bend, on the Ohio, was nominated for President of the United States. It was said that the hero lived in a log cabin, was very hospitable, and was ever ready to give the traveler a draught of hard cider. Politicians, who are always anxious to find something to charm the popular mind, took the hint, and when the partisans of the general, during the political canvass that ensued, held large meetings, they erected a log cabin, and had a barrel of cider for the refreshment of all comers. In a short time there were log cabins in every city and village in the land. The partisans of the general made a capital "hit," and he was elected by an overwhelming majority. During that canvass a mass meeting of his partisans in Northern Ohio was appointed to be held at Fort Meigs, and, on the day previous to the time appointed for it, logs were taken there for the purpose of building a cabin. On that night some political opponents in the neighborhood spoiled the logs by sawing them in two. The cabin-building was abandoned. One of the logs was placed in an upright position in the nearly-filled old well, a large hole was bored in the end, a small pole was inserted, and upon it was raised a banner before the eyes of the assembled multitude,* having on it a rude picture of a man sawing a log, and the words "LOCO FOCO ZEAL." In those days the Dem-

ocratic party were called *Loco Focos*, the origin of which name was as follows: A faction of the Democratic party met to organize in the city of New York, when some opponents suddenly turned off the gas. This trick had been played before, and they were prepared. In an instant loco foco matches were produced from their pockets, and the gas-lamp relighted. From that time they were called the *Loco Foco Party*, and it became the general name, in derision, of the whole Democratic party.

* This meeting was held on the 11th day of June. It was estimated that forty thousand persons were present. The orator of the day was Eleutheros Cooke, Esq., of Sandusky City. The Reverend Mr. Badeau, the clergyman who officiated, was the chaplain of Harrison's army, and in the fort at the siege.

Visit to Fort Meigs and its Vicinity.

Journey back to Toledo.

Adieu to the Guide and Historian.

made the great trees rock was scarcely felt in the quiet nook. There we three—historian, scout, and traveler—had a “picnic” on food brought from Toledo, and clear water from the brook, and at one o'clock we departed for the city, passing down the right bank of the Maumee. Just after leaving the fort we rode through Perrysburg, a pleasant village about the size of Maumee City, and the capital of Wood County, Ohio. It was laid out in 1816, and named in honor of the gallant victor on Lake Erie three years before.

When we arrived at the ferry station opposite Toledo, the boat had ceased running because of low water. The wind had been blowing stiffly toward the lake all day, and expelled so much water from the river that the boat grounded in attempting to cross, so we left our team to be sent for, were borne over in a skiff at the moderate price of three cents apiece, and were at the “Oliver House” in time for a late dinner, and a stroll about the really fine little city of Toledo¹ before sunset. At that hour I parted company with Mr. Navarre, with heartfelt thanks for his services, for he had been an authentic and intelligent guide to every place of interest at and around Fort Meigs. I spent a portion of the evening with General John E. Hunt (a brother-in-law of General Cass), who was born in Fort Wayne in 1798. His father was an officer under General Wayne at the capture of Stony Point, on the Hudson, in 1779, and composed one of the “forlorn hope” on that occasion. Although General Hunt was only a boy at the time, he was attached to General Hull’s military family during the entire campaign which ended so disastrously at Detroit at midsummer.

At ten o'clock in the evening I bade good-by to kind Mr. Hosmer, and went up the Maumee Valley by railway to Defiance, where I landed at midnight, as already mentioned,² in a chilling fog.

¹ Toledo is on the left bank of the Maumee River, near its entrance into Maumee Bay, at the lake terminus of the Wabash and Erie Canal. It covers the site of Fort Industry, a stockade erected there about the year 1800, near what is now Summit Street. It stretches along the river for nearly a mile and a half, and the business was originally concentrated at two points, which were two distinct settlements, known respectively as Port Lawrence and Vistula. Toledo was incorporated as a city in 1836, and has now (1867) almost twenty thousand inhabitants. Little more than thirty years ago Ohio and Michigan disputed firmly for the possession of Toledo—a prize worth contending for, for it is a port of great importance. They armed, and an inter-state war seemed inevitable for a while. It was finally settled by Congress, and Toledo is within the boundaries of Ohio. For a full account of this “war,” see Howe’s *Historical Collections of Ohio*, and Major Stickney’s narrative in Hosmer’s *Early History of the Maumee Valley*.

² See page 332.



CHAPTER XXIV.

"Sound, oh sound Columbia's shell!
High the thundering paean raise!
Let the echoing bugle's swell,
Loudly answering, sound his praise!
'Tis Sandusky's warlike boy,
Crowned with Victory's trophies, comes!
High arise, ye shouts of joy,
Sound the loud triumphant sound,
And beat the drums."
C. L. S. JONES.



So soon as General Harrison was certain that Proctor had abandoned the attempt to gain possession of the Maumee Valley and had returned to Malden, he placed the command of the troops at Fort Meigs in charge of the competent General Clay, and started for Lower Sandusky and the interior, to make provision for the defense of the Erie frontier against the exasperated foe. He left the fort under an escort of cavalry commanded by Major Ball, whose horses had been sheltered by the traverses during the siege. He arrived at Lower Sandusky on the 12th of May, where he met Governor Meigs with a large body of Ohio volunteers pressing forward to his relief. Believing that their services would not be needed immediately, he thanked them cordially for their promptness and zeal, and directed them to be disbanded. He then hastened toward Cleveland, and ordered the country along the shores of Lake Erie, from the Maumee to the Cuyahoga, to be thoroughly reconnoitred. Having thus provided for the immediate safety of the frontier settlements, he took up his quarters again at Franklinton, and inaugurated measures for meeting the future exigencies of the service in that region by the establishment of military posts not far from the lake, one of the most important of which was at Lower Sandusky. The general was delighted with the evidences of spirit, courage, and patriotism that appeared on every side. The Ohio settlements were alive with enthusiasm. The advance of Proctor had spread general alarm throughout the state, and hundreds, discerning the peril that menaced their homes, had hastened to the field at the call of the patriotic Governor Meigs. These revelations of strength and will assured Harrison that when he should call for aid, the sons of Ohio would immediately appear in power.

While these events were occurring in the extreme Northwest, the naval preparations were going on vigorously at Presque Isle (Erie), and another and efficient arm of the service had been created, or rather materially strengthened. Richard M. Johnson, a representative of Kentucky in Congress, who had been with Harrison the previous autumn, had proposed to the Secretary of War the raising of a regiment of mounted men in his state, to traverse the Indian country from Fort Wayne along the upper end of Lake Michigan, round by the Illinois River, and back to the Ohio near

Louisville. The secretary approved the plan, and early in January* laid it before Harrison. The general perceived its utter impracticability in winter. Campbell's expedition to the Mississiniwa Towns¹ had taught him that. "Such an expedition in the summer and fall," he said, "would be highly advantageous, because the Indians are then at their towns, and their corn can be destroyed. An attack upon

¹ See page 347.

a particular town in the winter, when the inhabitants are at it, as we know they are at Mississiniwa, and which is so near as to enable the detachment to reach it without killing their horses, is not only practicable, but, if the snow is on the ground, is perhaps the most favorable. But the expedition is impracticable to the extent proposed."¹

The projected incursion was abandoned, but Johnson was authorized^a to raise a full regiment of mounted men in Kentucky, to serve under General Harrison. As soon as Congress adjourned, he hastened homeward and entered zealously upon the business of recruiting. He published his authority with a stirring address.^b The regiment was soon raised; and toward the close of May, Johnson was at the head of several companies, on their way to the appointed general rendezvous at Newport, opposite Cincinnati, when a note from one of General Harrison's aids was handed to him. It had already been read to the commanders of the advanced companies, and produced the greatest dissatisfaction among the troops. After thanking all patriotic citizens who had taken up arms in defense of the country in general terms, the note assured them that as the enemy had "fled with precipitancy from Camp Meigs," there was no "present necessity for their longer continuance in the field." Disappointment, chagrin, anger, and depression took the place of patriotic zeal, for a moment; but Johnson soon allayed these feelings. He did not choose to regard the note as an order for disbanding *his* troops, and he pressed forward to Newport. There he met General Harrison, when arrangements were made for the regiment to enter the United States service, to traverse a portion of the Indian country according to Johnson's original plan, and to rendezvous at Fort Winchester on the 18th of June. It was believed that the fleet on Lake Erie, designed to co-operate with the army, would be ready at that time for a movement against Malden and Detroit. The regiment arrived at Dayton on the 28th of May, and there the final organization was completed.² Under the brave Johnson that regiment performed important service.³

Proctor appears to have been disheartened, for the moment, by his failure before Fort Meigs, and on his return to Malden he disbanded the Canadian militia, and cantoned the Indians at different places in the neighborhood. Some of them were employed as scouts, others hunted, but the most of them lived upon rations furnished by the British commissariat. Meanwhile British emissaries, white and red, were busy among the tribes of the Northwest, stirring them up to make war on the Americans. A Scotchman and Indian trader, named Dickson, was one of the most efficient of these agents. He was sent, before Proctor moved for the invasion of the Maumee Valley,

¹ General Harrison's Letter to the War Department, January 4, 1813.

² Richard M. Johnson was appointed Colonel; James Johnson, Lieutenant Colonel; Duval Payne and David Thompson, Majors; R. B. M'Affee (the author of a *History of the War in the West*, already quoted frequently), Richard Matson, Jacob Elliston, Benjamin Warfield, John Payne, Elijah Craig, Jacob Stucker, James Davidson, S. R. Combs, W. M. Price, and James Coleman, Captains; Jeremiah Kertly, Adjutant; B. S. Chambers, Quarter-master; Samuel Theobalds, Judge Advocate; L. Dickinson, Sergeant-major; James Suggett, Captain and Major of the Spies; L. Sandford, Quarter-master general; Doctors Ewing, Coburn, and Richardson, Surgeons.

³ Richard Mentor Johnson was born at Bryant's Station, five miles northeast of Lexington, Kentucky, on the 17th of October, 1781. At the age of fifteen years he acquired the rudiments of the Latin language, and then entered Transylvania University as a student. His mental and physical energies were remarkable. He chose the law for a profession, and he soon took a conspicuous place in that avocation. During the excitement in the Southwest at the beginning of the present century, when hostilities between the Spaniards at New Orleans and the settlers of the Mississippi Valley seemed imminent, young Johnson took an active part, and volunteered, with others, to make an armed descent on New Orleans. Before he was twenty-two years of age he was elected to a seat in the Kentucky Legislature, where he served two years. He was elected to Congress in 1807, and took his seat when he was just twenty-five years of age. He took a prominent position from the beginning. He held that seat by continued re-election until 1819. In the debates in Congress and movements in the field he was very active during the Second War for Independence. These will find proper notice in the text.

When, in 1819, Colonel Johnson retired from Congress, he was immediately elected to a seat in the Kentucky Legislature. He was chosen a representative of his state in the Senate of the United States, where he served his country faithfully

Dickson and his Savages.

Tecumtha restive in Inaction.

Fort Meigs to be again attacked.

to visit all the tribes for that purpose on the Illinois and Mississippi Rivers, from Prairie du Chien to Green Bay, making desolated Chicago the grand rendezvous for his savage recruits. There he had collected more than one thousand of them early in June.³ He marched them across Michigan to Detroit, and barely missed falling in with Colonel Johnson and his mounted men at White Pigeon's Town on the way.¹ His influence had been such that the Indians were incited to many acts of violence in the Territories of Illinois and Missouri. They were even so bold as to invest Fort Madison, and at one time it was apprehended that the powerful Osage nation would rise in open war against the Western frontier. But that calamity was arrested by prompt measures in Illinois and Missouri.

Tecumtha had not ceased, since their return to Malden, to urge Proctor to renew the attempt to take Fort Meigs. Proctor was reluctant; but, toward the close of June, he consented, and an expedition was organized for the purpose. At about that time, a Frenchman, taken prisoner on the field of Dudley's defeat, and kept at Malden ever since, escaped. As the enemy suspected, he fled to Fort Meigs, and informed General Clay of the preparations to attack him. Clay immediately communicated the fact to Harrison at Franklinton, and Governor Meigs at Chillicothe. It was rumored that the expected invading force was composed of nearly four thousand Indians and some regulars from the Niagara frontier. The vigilant Harrison was quickly in the saddle. He did not believe Fort Meigs to be the object of attack, but the weaker posts of Lower Sandusky, Cleveland, or Erie. He ordered the Twenty-fourth Regiment of United States Infantry, under Colonel Anderson, then at Upper Sandusky, to proceed immediately to Lower Sandusky. Major Croghan, with a part of the Seventeenth, was ordered to the same post, and also Colonel Ball with his squadron of cavalry.² Harrison followed, and on the evening of the 26th he over-

ten years. Then [1829] he again took a seat in the Lower House, and held that position until 1837, when, having been elected Vice-president of the United States, he took his place as President of the Senate. At the end of his official term he retired from public life, and passed the remainder of his days on his farm in Scott County, Kentucky, excepting a brief period, when he was again in the Legislature of that state. While engaged in that service at Frankfort, he was prostrated by paralysis, and expired on the 16th of November, 1850. In the cemetery near Frankfort, Kentucky, is a splendid monument erected to the memory of soldiers of the Commonwealth who had fallen in battle. Within its inclosure is a beautiful monument, made of slightly clouded Italian marble, to the memory of Colonel Johnson, bearing the following inscriptions: on one side of the pedestal, "RICHARD MEXTON JOHNSON, born at Bryant's Station, Kentucky, on the 17th day of October, 1781; died in Frankfort, Kentucky, on the 16th of



JOHNSON'S MONUMENT.

November, 1850." On the opposite side: "To the memory of Colonel Richard M. Johnson, a faithful public servant for nearly half a century, as a member of the Kentucky Legislature, and Representative and Senator in Congress; author of the Sunday Mail Report, and of the laws for abolishing imprisonment for debt in Kentucky and in the United States. Distinguished by his valor as colonel of a Kentucky regiment at the battle of the Thames. For four years Vice-president of the United States, Kentucky, his native state, to mark her sense of his eminent services in the cabinet and in the field, has erected this monument in the resting-place of her illustrious dead."

On the northeast side of the pedestal is a bust of Johnson in low relief; and on the southwest side an historical group, in the same style, in which he is represented as shooting Tecumtha at the battle of the Thames. Some remarks on that subject will be found in our account of that battle.

¹ Dickson's recruits are represented as being the most savage and cruel in their nature. The principal chief among them was *Me-fo-ock*, whose girdle was covered with human scalps as trophies of his prowess. "It is remarkable," says *M'Ac*, "that after the savages joined the British standard to combat for 'the Defenders of the Faith,' victory never again declared for the allies in the Northwest. For the cruelties they had already committed, and those which were threatened by this inhuman association, a just God frowned indignant on all their subsequent operations."—*History of the Late War*, page 298.

² General Harrison had just held an important council with the Shawnoese, Delaware, Wyandot, and Seneca Indians

Johnson's Reconnoissance to the Raisin. At Fort Stephenson. Departure for the Wilderness, and Recall.

took Colonel Anderson. Scouts had reported the appearance of numerous Indians on the Lower Maumee, and the general selected three hundred men to make a forced march to Fort Meigs. He arrived there himself on the 28th, and then ordered Colonel Johnson, who had come down from Fort Winchester with his seven hundred men after forty days of hard service in traversing the Wilderness, to make a reconnoissance toward the Raisin to procure intelligence. Obedience followed command. The movement was successful. Johnson ascertained that there was no immediate danger of an invasion from Malden in force. Satisfied of this, Harrison left Fort Meigs on the 1st of July, escorted by seventy mounted men under Captain M'Afee as far as Lower Sandusky. From there he went to Cleveland, escorted by Colonel Ball, to make farther defensive provisions. There he left Ball and his cavalry in charge, and returned to his head-quarters after ordering Colonel Johnson, with his mounted men, to take post at the Huron River. That efficient officer again promptly obeyed. He arrived at Lower Sandusky on the 4th of July. Flags were flying, and music filled the air. The garrison of Fort Stephenson,¹ under Major Croghan, were about to celebrate the day with appropriate ceremonies, and, at their request, Colonel Johnson delivered a patriotic oration. Toasts were given, and good cheer abounded. But duty called from pleasure, and the mounted men resumed their saddles to press onward to the Huron. An order from the War Department arrested them. Johnson was directed to turn back, and hasten to the defense of the Illinois and Missouri Territories, then, in the opinion of the authorities there, seriously menaced by Dickson and his savage followers. He was disappointed and mortified; but, after writing to Harrison expressing his strong desire to remain in the army destined for Detroit and Malden, he turned his horse's head again toward the Wilderness. The commander-in-chief urged the Department to comply with Johnson's wishes, assuring the Secretary that Dickson's savages were on the Detroit. The order was countermanded, and, when far on his way toward the Mississippi as an obedient soldier, Johnson was recalled. It was well for the country that he was left to serve under the direct command of General Harrison at that time.

Late in July the British had collected on the banks of the Detroit nearly all of the warriors of the Northwest, full twenty-five hundred in number. These, with Proctor's motley force already there, made an army of about five thousand men. Early in the month bands of Indians began to appear in the vicinity of Fort Meigs, killing and plundering whenever opportunity offered. Tecumtha, meanwhile, had become

at his head-quarters at Franklinton. Circumstances had made him suspect their fidelity to their promises of strict neutrality. It was a crisis when all should be made plain. He required them to take a decided stand for or against the Americans; to remove their families into the interior, or the warriors must accompany him in the ensuing campaign, and fight for the United States. The venerable *Ta-he*, who was the acknowledged representative of them all, assured the general of their unflinching friendship, and that the chiefs and warriors were anxious to take part in the campaign. He accepted their assurances as true, and told them he would let them know when he wanted them. "But," he said, "you must conform to our mode of warfare. You are not to kill defenseless prisoners, old men, women, or children. By your good conduct I shall be able to tell whether the British can restrain their Indians if they wish to do so." He then told them that he had heard of Proctor's promise to deliver him into the hands of Tecumtha. "Now," he said, jocularly, "if I can succeed in taking Proctor, you shall have him for your prisoner, provided you will treat him as a squaw, and only put petticoats upon him, for he must be a coward who would kill a defenseless prisoner."

¹ Fort Stephenson was erected in the summer of 1812. Lower Sandusky (now the village of Fremont) was a mere trading-post, the only buildings being a government store and a Roman Catholic mission-house in charge of two priests. Thomas Butler, who had been in Wayne's army, was charged with the duty of selecting the site and superintending the construction of a stockade at that place. He drew the lines of the fort around the store-house, about one hundred yards in one direction, and about fifty yards in the other. The men employed in the work were a company under Captain Norton, of Connecticut, who were ordered to Lower Sandusky by Governor Meigs for the purpose. Sergeant Erastus Bowe, of Tiffin, Ohio, one of the three known survivors of the detachment in 1860, was the first to break ground, saying, "Captain, I don't think there will be much fighting here, but I believe I will make a hole here." His remark was caused by the general belief that the British would never be able to penetrate so far. The pickets for the fort were cut near the present railway station, and in the course of twenty-five days they were all set. A block-house was constructed on the northeast corner, and another in the middle of the north side of the fort. Croghan strengthened the fort in the summer of 1813 by the erection of two more block-houses, one of which was built against the middle block-fort on the north side, and the other on the southwest corner. He also constructed an embankment and ditch, and in house on the northeast angle placed his six-pounder.—*Statement of Erastus Bowe in the "Sandusky Democrat," July 27, 1860.* The other two known survivors of the constructors of the fort at that time were Samuel Scribner, of Marion, and Ira Carpenter, of Delaware, Ohio.

very restive under the restraints of inaction, especially when he saw so large a body of his countrymen ready for the war-path, and he at last demanded that another attempt should be made to capture Fort Meigs. He submitted to Proctor an ingenious plan by which to take the garrison by stratagem and surprise. He proposed to land the Indians several miles below the fort, march through the woods, unobserved by the garrison, to the road leading from the Maumee to Lower Sandusky in the rear, and there engage in a sham-fight. This would give Clay an idea that some approaching re-enforcements had been attacked, and he would immediately sally out with the garrison to their aid. The Indians would form an ambuscade, rise, and attack the unsuspecting Americans in their rear, cut off their retreat, and, rushing to the fort, gain an entrance before the gates could be closed.¹ Proctor accepted the plan and arranged for the expedition, but the vigilance and firmness of General Clay defeated the well-devised scheme and saved the fort.

On the 20th of July Proctor and Tecumtha appeared with their combined forces, about five thousand strong, at the mouth of the Maumee.² General Clay immediately dispatched a messenger to Harrison, at Lower Sandusky, with the information. The commander-in-chief, doubtful what post the enemy intended to attack, sent the messenger (Captain M'Cune) back with an assurance for General Clay that he should have re-enforcements if needed, and a warning to beware of a surprise. He then removed his head-quarters to Seneca Town,³ nine miles farther up the Sandusky River, from which point he might co-operate with Fort Meigs or Fort Stephenson, as circumstances should require. There, with one hundred and forty regulars, he commenced fortifying his camp, and was speedily joined by four hundred and fifty more United States troops under Lieutenant Colonel Paul,⁴ of the infantry, and Ball, of the dragoons; also by M'Arthur and Cass, of Ohio, who had each been promoted to brigadier general. Colonel Theodore Deye Owings was also approaching with five hundred regulars from Fort Massac, on the Ohio River.

Tecumtha attempted to execute his strategic plan. On the afternoon of the 25th,^a while the British were concealed in the ravine already described, just below Fort Meigs, the Indians took their prescribed station on the Sandusky road, and at sunset commenced their sham-fight. It was so spirited, and the yells of the savages were so powerful, that the garrison had no doubt that the commander-in-chief, with re-enforcements, had been attacked. They were exceedingly anxious to go out to their aid. Fortunately, General Clay was better informed. Captain M'Cune had just returned from a second errand to General Harrison, after many hair-breadth escapes in penetrating the lines of the Indians swarming in the woods. Although Clay could not account for the firing, yet he was so certain that no Americans were engaged in the contest, whatever it might be, that he remained firm, even when officers of high rank demanded permission to lead their men to the succor of their friends, and the troops were almost mutinous because of the restraint. Clay's firmness saved them from utter destruction. A heavy shower of rain, and a few cannon-

¹ Statement of Major Richardson, of the British army.

² Proctor commanded the white troops in person. Dixon, of the Royal Artillery, commanded the Mackinaw and other Northern tribes; Tecumtha those of the Wabash, Illinois, and St. Joseph; and Round-Head (see page 291) those of the Chippewas, Ottawas, and Pottawatomies of Michigan.—Harrison's Letter to the Secretary of War, Seneca Town, August 4, 1813.

³ The Indians who occupied this region were called "the Senecas of Sandusky"—why does not appear, for they were composed of Cayugas chiefly, with a few Oneidas, Mohawks, Onondagas, Tuscaroras, and Wyandots. They numbered about four hundred souls at the close of the war, and were the remnant of the tribe of Logan, the chief immortalized by Mr. Jefferson. In 1817 and 1818 forty thousand acres of land lying on the east side of the Sandusky River were granted to them. In 1831 they ceded their lands to the United States, and went west of the Mississippi. Seneca County, of which Tiffin is the county seat, derived its name from these so-called Seneca Indians. The fortified camp of Harrison assumed the form of a regular work known as Fort Seneca, having a stockade and ditch, and occupied several acres of a plain on the bank of the Sandusky. Slight remains of the work were yet visible in 1860.

⁴ George Paul was a major of Pennsylvania militia under General Harrison. He afterward resided in Ohio, and entered the service again early in the war. He was commissioned a lieutenant colonel in April, 1813, and colonel at the close of June following. He resigned in October, 1814.

Fort Stephenson to be attacked.

Major Croghan's Instructions.

A Council of War.

shot hurled from the fort in the direction of the supposed fight, put an end to the firing, and that night was as quiet at Fort Meigs as in a time of peace. The strategy of Tecumtha had failed, to the great mortification of the enemy. Ignorant of the strength of the fort and garrison,¹ they did not attempt an assault. After lingering around their coveted prize about thirty hours, the besiegers withdrew² to Proctor's old encampment, near Fort Miami, and on the 28th the British embarked with their stores and sailed for Sandusky Bay, with the intention of attacking Fort Stephenson. A large number of their savage allies marched across the country for the purpose of co-operating with Proctor in the siege. Intelligence of this movement was promptly communicated to Harrison by General Clay.

Fort Stephenson was garrisoned by one hundred and sixty men, under the command, as we have observed, of a gallant young Kentuckian, Major George Croghan, of the Regular Army, then only twenty-one years of age. Their only ordnance was an iron six-pounder cannon, and their chief defenses were three block-houses, circumvallating pickets from fourteen to sixteen feet in height, and a ditch about eight feet in width and of equal depth.

Already an examination of Fort Stephenson by General Harrison had convinced him that it would be untenable against heavy artillery, and, in orders left with Major Croghan, he said, "Should the British troops approach you in force with cannon, and you can discover them in time to effect a retreat, you will do so immediately, destroying all the public stores. You must be aware that to attempt to retreat in the face of an Indian force would be vain. Against such an enemy your garrison would be safe, however great the number."



G. Croghan

On the receipt of the intelligence from General Clay, General Harrison called around him in council³ M^r Arthur, Cass, Ball, Wood, Hukill, Paul, Holmes, and Graham, and it was unanimously agreed that Fort Stephenson was untenable, and that, as the approaching enemy had cannon, Major Croghan ought immediately to comply with the standing order of his general. Believing that the innate bravery of Croghan would make him hesitate, General Harrison immediately dispatched to him an order to abandon the fort.⁴ The bearers started at midnight, and lost their way in the dark. They did not arrive at Fort Stephenson before eleven o'clock the next day, when the forest around was swarming with Indians.

Major Croghan consulted his officers concerning a retreat, when a majority agreed with him that such a step would be disastrous, and that the post might be maintained. A few moments after the conference, he placed in the hands of the messengers from General Harrison the following answer to his chief:⁵ "SIR,—

¹ The garrison numbered, in rank and file, only about eighteen hundred men. There were a little over two thousand at the close of May, but full two hundred had died of camp fever.

² The order was sent by a white man (Conner) and two Indians, who found some difficulty in the performance of their mission. The following is a copy of the order: "SIR,—Immediately on receiving this letter you will abandon Fort Stephenson, set fire to it, and repair with your command this night to head-quarters. Cross the river and come up on the opposite side. If you should deem and find it impracticable to make good your march to this place, take the road to Huron, and pursue it with the utmost circumspection." The order was dated 29th July.

* July 27,
1813.

* July 29.

* July 30,
1813.

Croghan disobeys Orders.

His Explanations justify the Act.

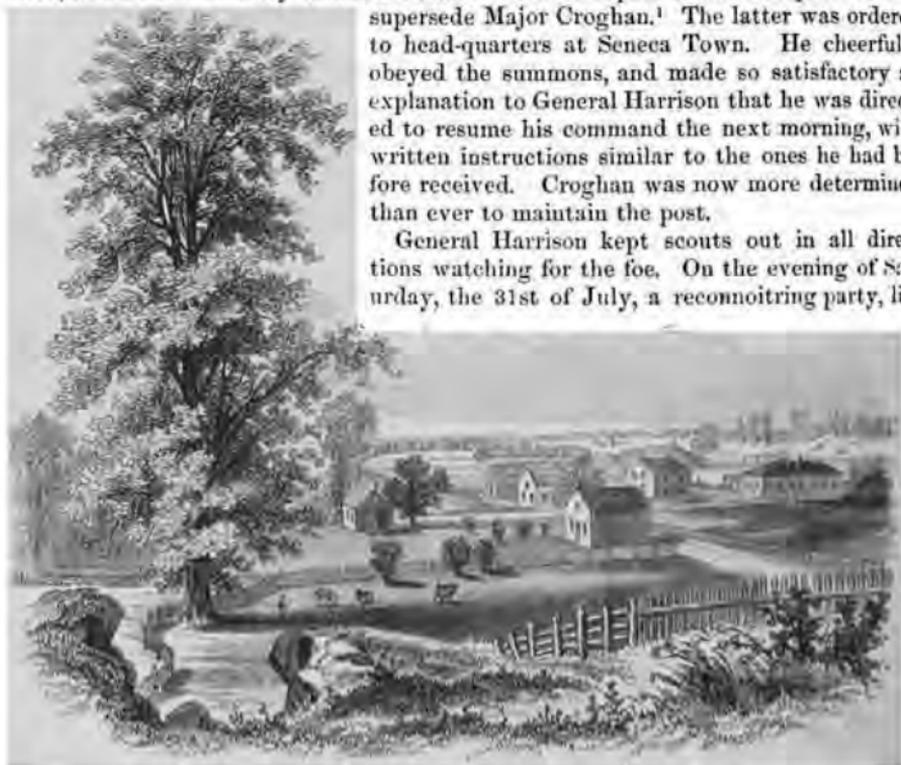
Colonel Ball's Fight with Indians.

I have just received yours of yesterday, ten o'clock P.M., ordering me to destroy this place and make good my retreat, which was received too late to be carried into execution. We have determined to maintain this place, and, by heavens! we can.¹

This positive disobedience of orders was not intended as such. The gallant young Kentuckian gladly perceived sufficient latitude given him in the clause of the earlier order, in which the danger of a retreat in the face of an Indian force was mentioned, to justify him in remaining, especially as the later order did not reach him until such force was apparent. But the general could not permit disobedience to pass unnoticed, and he immediately ordered Colonel Wells to repair to Fort Stephenson and

supersede Major Croghan.¹ The latter was ordered to head-quarters at Seneca Town. He cheerfully obeyed the summons, and made so satisfactory an explanation to General Harrison that he was directed to resume his command the next morning, with written instructions similar to the ones he had before received. Croghan was now more determined than ever to maintain the post.

General Harrison kept scouts out in all directions watching for the foe. On the evening of Saturday, the 31st of July, a reconnoitring party, lin-



VIEW AT FREMONT, OR LOWER SANDUSKY.²

¹ Colonel Wells was escorted by Colonel Ball, with his corps of dragoons, and bore the following letter to Major Croghan: "Sir.—The general has just received your letter of this date informing him that you had thought proper to disobey the order issued from this office, and delivered to you this morning. It appears that the information which dictated the order was incorrect, and as you did not receive it in the night, as was expected, it might have been proper that you should have reported the circumstances and your situation before you proceeded to its execution. This might have been passed over, but I am directed to say to you that an officer who presumes to aver that he has made his resolution, and that he will act in direct opposition to the orders of his general, can no longer be intrusted with a separate command. Colonel Wells is sent to relieve you. You will deliver the command to him, and repair, with Colonel Ball's squadron, to this place. By command, etc., A. H. HOLMES, Assistant Adjutant General."

On the way, about half a mile southwest of the present village of Balleville, Colonel Ball's detachment were attacked by about twenty Indians, and quite a severe skirmish ensued. Seventeen of the Indians were killed; and, until within a few years, an oak-tree stood on the site of the contest, bearing seventeen marks of a hatchet, to indicate the number of Indians slain.

² This view was taken from the verge of the hill, near where the howitzer, or mortar, of the British was planted after landing, so as to be brought to bear upon the fort. In the front is seen a magnificent elm-tree, of large growth at the time of the invasion. Tradition avers that an Indian, who climbed into its top to reconnoitre Fort Stephenson, was shot by one of the Kentucky riflemen in the garrison. In this view we are looking down the Sandusky River. In the little cove, seen nearly over the roof of the small building nearest the left of the picture, is the place where the British landed. The island opposite is seen more to the left. In the extreme distance are store-houses, at which point the British gun-boats were first discovered by the garrison. On the extreme right is the gas-house, and over it, on the east side of the river, is the elevated plain where Croghanville was laid out, and where the Indians were first seen.

Fort Stephenson summoned to surrender.

Incidents under a Flag of Truce.

The Surrender refused.

gering upon the shores of Sandusky Bay, about twenty miles from Fort Stephenson, discovered the approach of Proctor by water. They hastened back, stopping at the fort on the way at about noon the next day.^a Croghan was on the alert. Already many Indians had appeared upon the eminence on the eastern side of the Sandusky River (where Croghanville was laid out in 1817), and had scamp-^a August 1. ered away after a few discharges of the six-pounder in the fort.

At four o'clock that afternoon the British gun-boats, with Proctor and his men, appeared at a turn in the river more than a mile distant. In the face of shots from the six-pounder they advanced, and, in a cove not quite a mile from the fort, the British landed, with a five-and-a-half-inch howitzer, opposite a small island in the stream. At the same time the Indians displayed themselves in the woods in all directions, to cut off a retreat of the garrison.

General Proctor entered immediately upon the business of his errand. His attacking force consisted of a portion of the Forty-first Regiment, four hundred strong, and several hundred Indians. Tecumtha, with almost two thousand more, was stationed upon the roads leading from Fort Meigs and Seneca Town, to intercept apprehended re-enforcements from those directions.

Having disposed of his forces so as to cut off Croghan's retreat, General Proctor sent Colonel Elliott, accompanied by Captain Chambers with a flag of truce, to demand the instant surrender of the fort. These officers were accompanied by Captain Dixon, of the Royal Engineers, who was in command of the Indian allies.

Major Croghan sent out Second Lieutenant Shipp,¹ as his representative, to meet the flag. After the usual salutations, Colonel Elliott said: "I am instructed to demand the instant surrender of the fort, to spare the effusion of blood, which we can not do should we be under the necessity of reducing it by our powerful force of regulars, Indians, and artillery."

"My commandant and the garrison," replied Shipp, "are determined to defend the post to the last extremity, and bury themselves in its ruins, rather than surrender it to any force whatever."

"Look at our immense body of Indians," interposed Dixon. "They can not be restrained from massacring the whole garrison, in the event of our undoubted success."

"Our success is certain," eagerly added Chambers.

"It is a great pity," said Dixon, in a beseeching tone, "that so fine a young man as you, and as your commander is represented to be, should fall into the hands of the savages. Sir, for God's sake, surrender, and prevent the dreadful massacre that will be caused by your resistance."

Shipp, who had lately dealt with the same foe at Fort Meigs, coolly replied: "When the fort shall be taken, there will be none to massacre. It will not be given up while a man is able to resist."

Shipp was just turning to go back to the fort, when an Indian sprung from a bushy ravine near and attempted to snatch his sword from him. The indignant American was about to dispatch the savage, when Dixon interfered. Croghan, who had stood upon the ramparts during the conference, observed the insult, and shouted, "Shipp, come in, and we will blow them all to hell!" The ensign hastened into the fort, the flag returned, and the British opened a fire immediately from their gun-boats, and from the five-and-a-half-inch howitzer which they had landed. For some reason, never

¹ Edmund Shipp, Jr., was a native of Kentucky, and was appointed ensign of the 17th regiment of infantry in May, 1812. He was promoted to second lieutenant in March, 1813, and distinguished himself in the defense of Fort Meigs the following year. After the affair at Fort Stephenson he became General M'Arthur's brigade major. In March, 1814, he was promoted to first lieutenant, and to captain in May, and at the close of the war was retained in the service. He died at Bellefontaine, Ohio, on the 22d of April, 1817. On the 13th of February, 1835, the Congress of the United States voted a sword, to be received by his nearest male relative, in testimony of their sense of his services at Fort Stephenson.—Gardner's *Dictionary of the Army*.

until recently explained, they commenced the attack in great haste, before proper arrangements were made.¹

All night long, five six-pounders, which had been landed from the British gun-boats, and the howitzer upon the land, played upon the stockade without serious effect. They were answered occasionally by the solitary cannon in the fort, which was shifted from one block-house to another, so as to give the impression that the garrison had several heavy guns. But their supply of ammunition was small, and Major Croghan determined to use his powder and ball to better advantage than firing at random in the dark. He silenced the gun, and ordered Captain Hunter,² his second in command, to place it in the block-house at the middle of the north side of the fort, so as to rake the ditch in the direction of the northwest angle, the point where the foe would doubtless make the assault, it being the weakest part. This was accomplished before daylight, and the gun, loaded with a half charge of powder and a double charge of slugs and grapeshot, was completely masked.

During the night the British had dragged three six-pounders to a point of woods on ground higher than the fort, and about two hundred and fifty yards from it (near the spot where the court-house in Fremont now stands, westward of Croghan Street), and early in the morning they opened a brisk fire upon the stockade from these and the howitzer. Their cannonade produced but little effect, and for many hours the little garrison made no reply. Proctor became impatient. That long day in August was rapidly passing away, and he saw before him only a dreary night of futile effort in his present position. His Indians were becoming uneasy, and at length he resolved to storm the fort. At four o'clock in the afternoon he concentrated the fire of all his guns upon the weak northwest angle. His suspected purpose was now apparent. Toward that weak point Croghan directed his strengthening efforts. Bags of sand and sacks of flour were piled against the pickets there, and the force of the cannonade was materially broken.

At five o'clock, while the bellowing of distant thunder in the western horizon, where a dark storm-cloud was brooding, seemed like the echo of the great guns of the foe, the British, in two close columns, led by Brevet Lieutenant Colonel Short and Lieutenant Gordon, advanced to assail the works. At the same time a party of grenadiers, about two hundred strong, under Lieutenant Colonel Warburton, took a wide circuit through the woods to make a feigned attack upon the southern front of the fort, where Captain Hunter and his party were stationed. Private Brown, of the Petersburg Volunteers, with half a dozen of his corps and Pittsburgh Blues, happened to be in the fort at the time. Brown was skilled in gunnery, and to him and his companions was intrusted the management of the six-pounder in the fort.

As the British storming-party under Lieutenant Colonel Short advanced, their artillery played incessantly upon the northwestern angle of the fort, and, under cover of the dense smoke, they approached to within fifteen or twenty paces of the out-works before they were discovered by the garrison. Every man within the fort was at his post, and these were Kentucky "sharp-shooters!" They instantly poured upon the assailants such a shower of rifle-balls, sent with fatal precision, that the British line was thrown into momentary confusion. They quickly rallied. The axe-men

¹ The late Hon. Elisha Whittlesey, in his address at Fremont (Lower Sandusky), on the forty-fifth anniversary of the defense of Fort Stephenson, explained the cause. Aaron Norton, of Portage County, Ohio, told him that on that Sunday afternoon, in total ignorance of the proximity of the British and Indians, he was approaching the fort on the opposite side of the Sandusky, when he discovered quite a large body of Indians scattered along the bank of the river, half concealed by bushes. He wheeled his horse and fled in the direction of Seneca. The startled Indians fired several shots at him, but without effect. This occurrence was doubtless communicated to the British commander. He knew Harrison was near, and feared that he might sally forth from his fortified camp with re-enforcements from Cleveland or Mansfield, beat back Tecumtha, and fall upon him at Sandusky; hence his haste in assailing the fort.

² James Hunter was a native of Kentucky, and was adjutant of the Kentucky mounted riflemen in the battle of Tippecanoe. He was wounded there. He was promoted to captain in the 17th regiment of infantry in March, 1812. He left the army in May, 1814. On the 18th of February, 1835, the Congress of the United States voted him a sword because of his distinguished services at Fort Stephenson.—Gardner's *Dictionary of the Army*.

Storming of Fort Stephenson.

Slaughter of the Assaulters.

The British and Indians repulsed.



PLAN OF FORT STEPHENSON.¹

bravely pushed forward over the glacis, and leaped into the ditch to assail the pickets. Lieutenant Colonel Short was at the head of the gallant party, and when a sufficient number of men were in the ditch behind him, he shouted, "Cut away the pickets, my brave boys, and show the damned Yankees no quarter!" Now was the moment for the voice of the unsuspected six-pounder to be heard. The masked port flew open instantly. The gun spoke with terrible effect. Slugs and grapeshot streamed along that ditch overflowing with human life, and spread terrible havoc there. Few escaped. A similar attempt was made by the second column of the storming-party, when another discharge from the six-pounder and a destructive volley of rifle-balls ended the contest. Brevet Lieutenant Colonel Short and Lieutenant Gordon, of the Forty-first Regiment, Laussaussiege, of the Indian department, and twenty-five privates, were left dead in the ditch,² and twenty-six of the wounded were made prisoners. Captain Dixon and Captain Muir, and Lieutenant M'Intyre, of the Forty-first Regiment, were slightly wounded and escaped. A precipitate and confused retreat immediately followed this repulse. Warburton and his grenadiers did not reach the south front of the fort until after the disaster. They were assailed with a destructive volley from Hunter's corps, and fled for shelter to the adjacent woods.

The whole loss of the garrison was one man killed and seven slightly wounded. The loss of the British in killed and wounded, according to the most careful estimates, was one hundred and twenty. The cowardly Indians, as usual when there was open

¹ EXPLANATION OF THE PLAN.—1, line of pickets; 2, embankment from the ditch to and against the pickets; 3, dry ditch; 4, outward embankment or glacis; A, block-house first attacked by cannon; B, bastion or block-house from which the ditch was raked by the six-pounder in the fort; C, guard block-house; D, hospital while attacked; E E E, military store-houses; F, commissary's store-house; G, magazine; H, fort gate; K K K, wicker gates; L, partition gate; M, position of the five six-pounders of the British on the night of the 2d of August; P, the graves of Lieutenant Colonel Short and Lieutenant Gordon, who were killed in the ditch. The mortar or howitzer shifted position, as indicated on the plan. In the first assault there were four six-pounders in battery, only one being left in the first position near the river. This Plan was first published, from the official drawing, in the *Port Folio* for March, 1815, and soon afterward in Thomson's carefully prepared *Historical Sketches of the Late War*. The graves of the two British officers are a few yards northeastward from the junction of High and Market Streets.

² It is said that Lieutenant Colonel Short, when he fell, twisted a white handkerchief on the end of his sword as a supplication for that mercy which his battle-cry a moment before denied to his foe.

Dead and Wounded borne away.

The Night succeeding the Struggle.

fighting or great guns to face, kept themselves out of harm's way in a ravine near by, and the whole battle was fought by the small British force, who behaved most gallantly. During the night Proctor sent Indians to gather up the dead and wounded, and at three o'clock in the morning^a the invaders sailed down the Sandusky, leaving behind them a vessel containing clothing and military stores.

At about the same hour the gallant Major Croghan wrote a hurried note to General Harrison, informing him of his victory and the retreat of Proctor.

The assault lasted only about half an hour. The dark storm-cloud in the west passed northward, the setting sun beamed out with peculiar splendor, a gentle breeze from the southwest bore the smoke of battle far away over the forest toward Lake Erie, and in the lovely twilight of that memorable Sabbath evening the brave young Croghan addressed his gallant little band with eloquent words of praise and grateful thanksgiving. As the night and the silence deepened, and the groans of the wounded in the ditch fell upon his ears, his generous heart beat with sympathy. Buckets filled with water were let down by ropes from the outside of the pickets; and as the gates of the fort could not be opened with safety during the night, he made a communication with the ditch by means of a trench, through which the wounded were borne into the little fortress and their necessities supplied.¹

Intelligence of this gallant defense caused the liveliest sentiments of admiration throughout the country, and congratulations were sent to Major Croghan from every quarter. His general, in his official report, spoke of him in words of highest praise.² The ladies of Chillicothe, Ohio, purchased and presented to him an elegant sword;³ and the Congress of the United States voted him the thanks of the nation.⁴ Twenty-two years later the Congress gave him a gold medal, in commemoration of his signal service on that day. Posterity will ever regard his name with honor.⁵

¹ Major Croghan's Report to General Harrison, August 5, 1813; General Harrison's Report to the Secretary of War, August 5, 1813; M'Afee's *History of the Late War*, pages 322 to 328; Auchinleck's *History of the War of 1812*, pages 184 to 187; James's *Military Occurrences, etc.*, pages 262 to 266; *Niles's Register*, August 14, 1813; *The Port Folio*, March, 1815; *The War*, volume ii., pages 39, 43, 47, 49, 51, 61; Address of Colonel Elisha Whittlesey at Fremont, August 2, 1838; Address of Homer Everett, Esq., at Fremont, February 24th and 25th, 1860; Perkins's *History of the Late War*, pages 228, 224; *Sketches of the War* (Rutland, 1815), pages 166 to 168; Atwater's *History of Ohio*, pages 226 to 229; Dawson's *Life of General Harrison*, pages 249 to 251; MS. of Dr. Brainerd, quoted by Homer Everett, Esq.

² "I am sorry," wrote General Harrison to the Secretary of War on the 4th of August, "that I can not transmit you Major Croghan's official report. He was to have sent it to me this morning, but I have just heard that he was so much exhausted by thirty-six hours of continued exertion as to be unable to make it. It will not be among the least of General Proctor's mortifications to find that he has been baffled by a youth who has just passed his twenty-first year. He is, however, a hero worthy of his gallant uncle, General George Rogers Clarke."

³ This gift, at their request, was presented to him by Samuel Finley and Joseph Wheaton, with the following letter bearing the signatures of the donors:

"CHILICOTHE, August 13, 1813.

"SIR,—In consequence of the gallant defense which, under Divine Providence, was effected by you and the troops under your command, of Fort Stephenson, at Lower Sandusky, on the evening of the 2d inst., the ladies of the town of Chillicothe, whose names are undersigned, impressed with a high sense of your merits as a soldier and a gentleman, and with great confidence in your patriotism and valor, present you with a sword. Mary Finley, Mary Sterret, Ann Creighton, Eliza Creighton, Eleanor Lamb, Nancy Waddle, Eliza Carlisle, Mary A. Southard, Susan D. Wheaton, of Washington City, Richamah Irwin, Judith Delano, Margaret M'Langburg, Margaret Miller, Elizabeth Martin, Nancy M'Arthur, Jane M'Coy, Lavina Fulton, Catharine Fullerton, Rebecca M. Orr, Susan Wake, Ann M. Dunn, Margaret Keys, Charlotte James, Esther Doolittle, Eleanor Buchanan, Margaret M'Farland, Deborah Ferree, Jane M. Evans, Frances Brush, Mary Curtis, Mary P. Brown, Jane Heylin, Nancy Kerr, Catharine Hough, Eleanor Worthington, Martha Scott, Sally M'Lean."

To this letter Major Croghan replied at Lower Sandusky on the 25th of August:

"LADIES OF CHILICOTHE,—I have received the sword which you have been pleased to present to me as a testimonial of your approbation of my conduct on the 2d instant. A mark of distinction so flattering and unexpected has excited feelings which I can not express. Yet, while I return you thanks for the unmerited gift you have thus bestowed, I feel well aware that my good fortune (which was bought by the activity of the brave soldiers under my command), has raised in you expectations from my future efforts which must, I fear, be sooner or later disappointed. Still, I pledge myself (even though fortune should not be again propitious) that my exertions shall be such as never to cause you in the least to regret the honors you have been pleased to confer on your 'youthful soldier.'"

⁴ On the 8th of February, 1814, the Committee on Military Affairs reported a resolution, among others similar, to request the President to present an elegant sword to Colonel Croghan. This resolution was passed by at the time, and never called up again.

⁵ George Croghan was a son of Major William Croghan, of the Revolutionary army. His father was a native of Ireland; his mother was a sister of General George Rogers Clarke, sometimes called the Father of the Northwest. He was born at Locust Grove, near the Falls of the Ohio (now Louisville), in Kentucky, on the 15th of November, 1751. He

Medal presented to Croghan.

A Visit to Sandusky.

A Ride to Castalian Springs.



GOLD MEDAL AWARDED TO GENERAL CROGHAN.¹

It was a soft, hazy, half sunny day, late in September,² when I visited the site of Fort Stephenson and the places of events that made it famous. I had come up by railway during the early hours of the morning from pleasant Sandusky City, where I had spent two or three days with friends, vainly endeavoring to visit Put-in-Bay, where Perry's fleet rendezvoused before the battle which gave him victory and immortality. The excursion steam-boat to that and other places had been withdrawn for the season, and the wind was too high to make a voyage thither in a sail-boat safe or pleasant. I was less disappointed than I should otherwise have been, by the discovery that an artist (Miss C. L. Ransom), then in Sandusky City, had made careful drawings of the historical points about Put-in-Bay. I had the pleasure of meeting her, and availing myself of her courteous permission to copy such of her drawings as I desired. Of these more will be said when giving an account of the naval battle near there.

²September 24, 1850.

In company with Mr. Barney, with whom I was staying, I visited the famous Castalian Springs, at the village of Castalia, five or six miles south from Sandusky City. They flow up from subterranean fountains, almost as limpid as air, and in volume so great that along the outlet, which is called Cold Creek, in its course of three miles through a beautiful prairie of three thousand acres to Sandusky Bay, no less than

was graduated at William and Mary College, in Virginia, in the summer of 1810; entered its law school, and remained there until the fall of 1811, when he joined the army under Harrison at Vincennes. He was volunteer aid to Colonel Boyd at the battle of Tippecanoe. On account of his services in the Wabash expedition, he was appointed a captain of infantry in the spring of 1812, and in August he marched with the forces under General Winchester to the relief of General Hull in Canada. In March, 1813, he was promoted to major, and became aid-de-camp to General Harrison. In that capacity he distinguished himself in the defense of Fort Meigs, and the sortie on the 5th of May under the gallant Colonel Miller. For his gallantry at Fort Stephenson he was breveted a lieutenant colonel, and was appointed colonel of a rifle corps in February, 1814. At the close of the war he was retained in service, but married in 1817 and resigned. In 1824 he was appointed postmaster at New Orleans, and returned to the service in 1825 as inspector general, with the rank of colonel. In 1835 Congress awarded him a gold medal for his gallantry at Fort Stephenson. He died at New Orleans on the 8th of January, 1849.

¹ On Tuesday, the 27th of January, 1835, a joint resolution passed the House of Representatives, authorizing the President of the United States to "present a gold medal to General Croghan" (he was then inspector general of the army), and awards to several officers under his command. These were Captain James Hunter, and Lieutenants Benjamin Johnson and Cyrus A. Baylor, of the Seventeenth Regiment, Lieutenant John Meek, of the Seventh Regiment, and Ensigns Edward Shipp and Joseph Duncan. The latter was afterward Governor of Illinois.

Lieutenant Johnson was promoted to captain of a rifle corps in March, 1814, and left the service at the close of the war. Lieutenant Baylor also left the service at the close of the war. Lieutenant Meek resigned in May, 1814. He was appointed military store-keeper at Little Rock, Arkansas, in the summer of 1808, and was removed, on a change of administration, in 1841. Ensign Duncan was promoted to first lieutenant of infantry in July, 1814, and was disbanded in 1815. He was a representative in Congress from Illinois from 1827 to 1833, Governor of Illinois from 1834 to 1838, and died at Jacksonville on the 15th of January, 1844.

It is proper to observe that the representation of the fort and its surroundings, on this medal, presented to General Croghan, is incorrect. It was not a regular fort, but a picketed inclosure, with rudely-built block-houses. The Sandusky River is here a narrow stream, and not such an expanse of water as the place of the vessels represent. It may have been intended for Sandusky Bay.

fourteen sets of mill-stones were kept in motion by it. In a rough scow we hovered



LOWER CASTALIAN SPRING.

over the centre of the spring, and, peering down into its clear, mysterious depths, saw logs, and plants, and earth in grotto form, made iridescent by the light in the aqueous prism.¹ We intended to visit the somewhat marvelous cave in the range of limestone about two

miles from the springs, but the day was too far spent when I had completed my sketch of the fountains to allow us to do so. We returned to the town by the way of Mr. Barney's fine vineyard, and arrived at sunset. I spent the evening with General Leslie Combs at the "West House," and in a public meeting.² The next day was the Sabbath, and on Monday morning I started by railway for Lower Sandusky with impressions which have crystallized into pleasant memories of a delightful little city on a slope overlooking one of the finest bays that indent the southern shores of Lake Erie.³ On our way we stopped a few minutes at the little village of Clyde, where the railways from Cleveland and Toledo and from Cincinnati and Sandusky City cross each other. There a crowd had collected to see and hear the late Judge Douglas, then one of the candidates for the presidency of the United States, who was traveling for his political health, weary and wayworn. Eager eyes, vociferous shouts, loud huzzas, and the swaying of a little multitude, is the picture of a few minutes of time impressed upon the memory. An hour later I was in Fremont, as the old village of Lower Sandusky was named a few years ago in honor of the accomplished explorer in earlier years, and general in the army of the republic during a portion of the late Civil War.

Very soon after my arrival I was favored with the company of Messrs. Sardis Birchard and Homer Everett (residents of the village, and familiar with its history) in a pilgrimage to places of interest in and around that shire-town of Sandusky County.⁴

¹ The Castalian Springs are great natural curiosities, and are much visited. There are two, known respectively as Upper and Lower. They are about one fourth of a mile apart, and are connected by a race. At the lower one, where Messrs. Cochrane and Weston had a flouring-mill, a dike had been raised (seen in the above sketch) to give more fall to the water. The two springs are of about equal dimensions. That of the lower one, which I visited, is about sixty feet in depth. The water is so limpid that a white object an inch in diameter may be plainly seen lying on the bottom. The temperature of the water is about 46° Fahrenheit, and holds in solution lime, soda, magnesia, and iron. It petrifies every thing with which it comes in contact. This process makes the mill-wheels indestructible. About a mile and a half from the springs is a limestone ridge covered with alluvium. From beneath this these springs appear to flow, and are doubtless the first appearance on the earth of a little subterranean river, like that of the Etnaw in South Carolina. See page 406.

² Sandusky City is the capital of Erie County, Ohio. It was named Portland when it was first laid out in 1817, when there were only two log houses there, one on the site of the "Veranda Hotel," and the other about sixty rods east of it. The town stands upon an inexhaustible quarry of the finest limestone. It was a favorite resort of the Indians, and previous to the War of 1812 it was known as Ogontz's Place, Ogontz being the name of a Wyandot chief who resided there. A writer in the *American Pioneer*, l. 199, says the name of Sandusky is derived from that of a Polish trader who was with the French when they were establishing their line of trading-posts on the Maumee and Wabash Rivers. His name was Sanduski, and established himself near the present village of Fremont. His trading operations were confined to the river and bay there, and these became known to both Indians and Europeans as Sanduski's River and Sanduski's Bay. Sanduski quarreled with the Indians, fled to Virginia, and was there killed by some of those who followed him.

On the peninsula, across the bay opposite Sandusky, is a rough monument, erected there by the order and at the expense of the late Honorable Joshua H. Giddings, to perpetuate the memory of the spot where he and twenty-one others had a skirmish with the Indians on the 29th of September, 1812. He was a substitute for an older brother, and was only fourteen years of age. The regiment to which he belonged was commanded by Colonel Richard Hayes, and the little company, who had been ordered on duty on the peninsula after the defeat of General Hull, was led by Captain Collier. They had two skirmishes with the savages, in which, of the twenty-two soldiers, six were killed, and an equal number were wounded. Mr. Giddings was the youngest soldier of the regiment.

⁴ This town stands at the head of the navigation of Sandusky River, eighteen or twenty miles from Sandusky Bay

Site of Fort Stephenson.

Its Locality and Appearance.

The Six-pounder "Good Bess,"

The site of Fort Stephenson is in the bosom of the village of Fremont. It occupies about two thirds of the square bounded by Croghan, High, Market, and Arch



SITE OF FORT STEPHENSON.

Streets. The dwelling of the late Honorable Jacques Hurlburt stands within the area of the old stockade, and a few yards south of the block-house in which was placed the cannon that swept the ditch. The northwest angle, where the British made their chief assault, is at the junction of High and Croghan Streets. Near the house of Dr. J. W. Wilson, on Croghan Street, was the head of the ravine and small stream of water (see Plan of Fort Stephenson on page 503) between the stockade and the British battery. It was to the shelter of that ravine that the affrighted Indians fled after the first discharge of rifle-balls from the garrison.

From the site of the fort we went to the brow of the hill overlooking the landing-place of the British. When I had finished my sketch (printed on page 500) we visited the *Good Bess*, the iron six-pound cannon that performed such fearful service in the defense of the fort.² I then rode, in company with Mr. Birchard, to old Cro-

ghan by its course. Here, at the Lower Rapids of the Sandusky, the Indians were granted a reservation by the treaty of Greenville. The French had a trading-station here at an early day. Here was the residence of a band of Wyandot Indians, called the Neutral Nation. They had two villages. They were "cities of refuge" for all. Whoever sought safety in them found it. During the bloody wars between the Iroquois and the Europeans, this band of Indians were always peace-makers. Their two towns were walled, and remains of their works may yet be seen. Indian tribes at war recognized them as neutral. Those coming from the West might enter the Western City, and those from the East the Eastern City. The inhabitants of one city might inform those of the other that war-parties had been there, but who they were, or where from, must never be mentioned. At length the inhabitants of the two cities quarreled, and one destroyed or dispersed the other.—Stickney's *Lecture at Toledo, 1845*, quoted by Howe.

¹ This view is from the northern side of Croghan Street, opposite the residence of Dr. J. W. Wilson. The building seen in the centre is the late residence of Honorable Jacques Hurlburt. Croghan Street descends to the left, to the business part of the village, and High Street passes to the right. On the extreme left, on High Street, is seen a barn. This is just beyond the southwest angle of the fort, where Croghan placed a block-house. At the foot of the bank on Croghan Street is the site of the ditch swept by the six-pounder, and a little way eastward from the corner of High Street is the place, that it may be converted into a public square, and the site kept free from buildings.



PART OF SHORT'S SWORD-SCABBARD.

where the body of Lieutenant Colonel Short was found. In 1850, when the street and side-walk were being regulated, the brass piece at the top of a sword-scabbard was found upon that spot, supposed to have belonged to Lieutenant Colonel Short. It is now in the possession of Sardis Birchard, Esq., of Fremont.

The ground occupied by Fort Stephenson belongs to Chester Edgerton, Esq. The citizens have manifested a laudable desire to purchase the property from buildings.

² The garrison named the piece the *Good Bess*. It was taken to Pittsburg, where it remained until it was presented to the Corporation of Lower Sandusky (Fremont) in 1850. It was then nicely mounted as a field-piece, and is used on the anniversary of the battle for salutes, and sometimes by political parties. The breech is somewhat mutilated, it having been spiked by contending political parties at different times. It was carefully preserved in a small building on Croghan Street, between Forest Street and the site of the fort.

ghanville, on the eastern side of the Sandusky, and afterward to the place of Ball's skirmish with the Indians, mentioned in Note 1, page 500. It was between the dwelling of Mr. Villetti (the residence of Mr. Birchard) and Mr. Platt Brush, on the road from Fremont to Tiffin and Columbus. The oak-tree, with the hatchet-marks, stood on the west side of the road, near Mr. Brush's house.

At Mr. Villetti's I enjoyed the pleasure of seeing some valuable paintings belonging to Mr. Birchard, among them the fine picture of *The Dog and Dead Duck*, a work of art of the Dusseldorf school that attracted much attention during the exhibition in the Crystal Palace in New York in 1854. Leaving his attractive gallery, we returned to the village, stopping on the way in the "Spiegel Wood," a lovely spot not far from the banks of the winding Sandusky, where he was erecting an elegant summer mansion.

The day was now far spent. Dark clouds were gathering in the western sky, and in that direction I was soon moving swiftly over the railway toward Toledo, thirty miles distant. I arrived at the "Oliver House," in that city, a few minutes before a heavy thunder-storm burst upon it and the surrounding country. On the following day I made the visit to Fort Meigs, up the Maumee Valley, already described on pages 490 to 493 inclusive.

After the repulse of the British at Fort Stephenson, very little of importance occurred in the Northwest until the battle on Lake Erie, at near the middle of September, when the aspect of affairs in that quarter was entirely changed. Harrison's regular force in the field did not exceed two thousand men, yet he considered them sufficient for all present purposes. The din of a second invasion of the state had again aroused the people, and hundreds of volunteers had flocked to the field only to be again disbanded. These volunteers were offended. They regarded the action of the general as an indication that he believed them to be, as soldiers, unworthy of his confidence; and their indignant officers, in published resolutions, attacked the military character of General Harrison, and declared that they would never again rally to his flag. His personal and political enemies joined in the hue and cry; and men sitting at home in ease, utterly ignorant of military affairs, assailed him with jeers as an imbecile or a coward, because he did not, with his handful of regulars and a mass of raw troops, push forward against Malden and Detroit, before the tardily-building navy was completed. Misrepresentation followed misrepresentation, for the purpose of poisoning the public mind. Fearing their effects, his general, field, and staff officers, ^{August 14,} ^{1813.} fourteen in number,¹ held a meeting at head-quarters, Lower Seneca Town,² and in an address to the public, drawn up by General Cass, they expressed their entire confidence in the military abilities of their chief, and their belief that his course "was such as was dictated by military wisdom, and by a due regard to our circumstances and to the situation of the enemy."

Up to this time General Harrison's efforts had been mainly directed to defensive measures; now, the fleet at Erie being nearly ready, and Captain Perry, who was to command it, having received orders to co-operate with Harrison, the latter bent all his energies to the creation of a well-appointed army for another invasion of Canada. Let us leave General Harrison for a while at his head-quarters at "Camp Seneca," and consider the naval preparations to co-operate with him.

We have observed that General Hull's advice respecting the creation of a fleet on Lake Erie, before attempting an invasion of Canada, was unheeded,³ and that the army of the Northwest was involved in disaster, and its commander was covered with a cloud of disgrace. The event taught the rulers wisdom, and they profited by

¹ General Cass; Colonels Wells, Owings, Paul, and Bartlett; Lieutenant Colonels Ball and Morrison; Majors Todd, Trigg, Smiley, Graham, Croghan, Hukill, and Wood. The gallant Croghan, in a special letter on the 27th, silenced the slanderers who were making political capital of Harrison's order for him to evacuate Fort Stephenson, and his disobedience. "The measures recently adopted by him," wrote Croghan, "so far from deserving censure, are the clearest proofs of his keen penetration and able generalship."

² See page 251.

Captain Perry ordered to Lake Erie.

His Journey thither.

Presqu' Isle and Captain Dobbins.

the lesson. They resolved to dispute the supremacy of the lakes with the British, and to Commodore Chauncey was intrusted the necessary preparations.

During the summer and autumn of 1812, Captain Oliver H. Perry, of Rhode Island, a zealous naval officer twenty-seven years of age, was in command of a flotilla of gun-boats on the Newport station. He was very anxious for service in a wider field of action—on the lakes or the broad ocean—where he might encounter the enemy and win distinction. In November¹ he offered his services for the lakes; and on the first of February following² he received a cordial letter from Chauncey, in which that gentleman said, "You are the very person that I want for a particular service, in which you may gain reputation for yourself and honor for your country." This service was the command of a naval force on Lake Erie. Perry was delighted; and his joy was complete when, on the 17th of the same month, he received orders from the Secretary of the Navy to report to Commodore Chauncey, at Sackett's Harbor, with all of the best men of his flotilla in Narraganset Bay. Before sunset that day he had dispatched Sailing-master Almy, with fifty men and officers, for the eastern shore of Lake Ontario. Two days afterward another company of fifty men were sent to the same destination, under Sailing-master Champlin; and on the 21st fifty more, under Sailing-master Taylor, left Providence and followed their companions. Twenty hours later Perry left his pleasant home in Newport, with his little brother Alexander, then only thirteen years of age, and was on his way in a sleigh. He stopped part of a day at Lebanon, in Connecticut, to visit his parents, and on the 28th he met Chauncey at Albany. They journeyed together northwardly through the Wilderness, and arrived at Sackett's Harbor on the evening of the 3d of March. There Perry remained a fortnight on account of an expected attack by the British. The menaces of danger ceased, and the young commander was ordered to proceed to Presqu' Isle (now Erie), and hasten the equipment of a little squadron then in process of construction there.³ He arrived at Buffalo on the 24th,



PERRY'S RESIDENCE.¹



Daniel Dobbins

¹ Perry's house, a well-preserved mansion, stood, when the writer sketched it in 1848, on the south side of Washington Square, Newport, a few doors from Thance Street. It was a spacious, square building, and was erected almost a century ago by Mr. Levi, a Jew. To that house Perry took his bride, a daughter of Dr. Mason, of Newport, and there she lived a widow almost forty years. She died in February, 1856.

² Erie was chosen for this purpose on the recommendation of Captain Daniel Dobbins, one of the most experienced navigators on Lake Erie. He suggested its advantages as a place for building gun-boats early in the autumn of 1812. The bay being completely land-locked, and its only entrance too shallow for large vessels to enter, but deep enough for the egress of gun-boats, he regarded it as the safest place on the lake for the construction of small vessels. He was appointed sailing-master in the navy at the middle of September, 1812,* and received instructions from the government to commence the construction of gun-boats at Erie. On the 12th of December he informed the Department that, under the lead of Ebenezer Crosby, a good shipwright, and such house-carpenters as he could supply, he had two of the gun-boats—50 feet keel, 17 feet beam, and 5 feet hold—on the stocks, and would engage to have them all ready by the time the ice was out of the lake.

* On his return from Detroit he was sent by General David Mead with dispatches to Washington. There he was summoned to a Cabinet council, and was fully interrogated concerning the lakes. His opinions were received with deference; and such was the confidence of the Cabinet in his judgment that he was appointed sailing-master, and directed to construct gun-boats at Erie.

spent the next day in examining vessels on the stocks at the navy yard at Black Rock, then superintended by Lieutenant Pettigru, and made arrangements for having stores forwarded to him. He pressed onward by land, and at an inn on the way he was informed by the keeper, who had just returned from Canada, that the British were acquainted with the movements at Erie, and would doubtless soon attempt to penetrate the harbor, and destroy the naval materials collected there.

The harbor of Erie is a large bay, within the embrace of a low, sandy peninsula that juts five miles into the lake, and a bluff of main land on which the pleasant village of Erie, the capital of Erie County, Pennsylvania, stands. The peninsula has sometimes been an island when its neck has been cleft by storms, and the harbor has been entered from the west by small vessels. Within the memory of living men Presqu' Isle (the peninsula) has been a barren sand-bank; now it is covered by a growth of young timber. It is deeply indented toward its extremity by an estuary called Little Bay. The harbor is one of the finest on the lake when gained, but at the period in question, and until lately, its entrance was by a shallow channel, tortuous and difficult on account of sand-bars and shoals. Although Presqu' Isle was a place of historic interest in colonial times,¹ it was an insignificant village in 1812, and less than twenty years of age.² Many miles of wilderness, or a very sparsely-populated country, lay between it and the thick settlements; and the supplies of every

Captain Dobbins was an efficient man and faithful officer. He was duly appointed a sailing-master in the navy, and was highly esteemed by Commodore Perry. He was born in Mifflin County, Pennsylvania, on the 6th of July, 1776, and first visited Erie, with a party of surveyors, in 1796. It was then a wilderness. He was there with General Wayne at the time of his death. He settled there, and became a navigator on the lakes. He was at Mackinaw with his vessel, the *Saltina*, when that place was captured by the British in 1812, and, with K. S. and William Reid, of Erie, he was paroled. At Detroit he was again made prisoner, and paroled unconditionally. He was very efficient in fitting out the squadron at Erie, and in the expedition, under Commodore Sinclair, that attempted to retake Mackinaw. After the war he was in command of the *Washington*, and in 1816 he conveyed troops in her to Green Bay. She was the first vessel, except a canoe, that ever entered that harbor. A group of islands in that vicinity were named Dobbins's Islands in honor of him. He was ordered to sea in 1826, when he resigned his commission in the navy, but remained in the government employment. In 1829 President Jackson appointed him commander of the revenue cutter *Rush*. He left active service in 1849, and died at the age of almost eighty-one, February 29, 1856. The likeness of Captain Dobbins, given on the preceding page, is from a portrait painted by Moses Billings, of Erie, when he was seventy-five years of age.

¹ Here was erected one of the chain of French forts in the wilderness which first excited the alarm and jealousy of the English colonies in America and the government at home. The remains of the ramparts and ditches, seen in the sketch on the opposite page, are very prominent upon a point overlooking the entrance to the harbor, which it commands, and a deep ravine, through which Mill Creek flows, within the eastern limits of the borough of Erie. The fort is supposed to have been erected early in 1749, that being the year when the French sent armed emissaries throughout the Ohio Valley to drive off the English traders. It was constructed under the direction of Jean Cœur (commonly written Joncaire in history), an influential Indian agent of the French governor general of Canada. This was intended

by the French for an important entrepôt of supplies for the interior forts; but when Canada passed into the possession of the English, a hundred years ago, the fort was abandoned, and fell into decay. General Wayne established a small garrison there in 1794, and caused a block-house to be built on the bluff part of Mill Creek, at the lake shore of Garrison Hill. On his return as victor over the Indians in the Maumee Valley, he occupied a log house near the block-house. There he died of gonorrhea, and, at his own request, was buried at the foot of the flag-staff. His remains were removed to Rodnor Church-yard, Pennsylvania, in 1809. The block-house fell into decay, and, in the winter of 1813-'14, another was built on its site: also one on the Point of the Peninsula of Presqu' Isle. The former remained until 1833, when some miscreant burnt it. It was the last relic of the War of 1812 in that vicinity. I am indebted to B. F. Sloan, Esq., editor of the *Erie Observer*, for the accompanying sketch of the block-house, made by Mr. Chevalier, of Erie. The view is from the ridge



WAYNE'S BLOCK-HOUSE AT ERIE.

of the water at the mouth of Mill Creek, just below the old mill. On the left is seen the open lake, and on the right of the block-house, where a small building is seen, was the place of the flag-staff and Wayne's grave.

² It was laid out in 1795, when reservations were made of certain lots for the use of the United States. The first white settler there was Colonel John Reid, from Rhode Island, who built a log cabin, enlarged it, and called it the *Presqu' Isle Hotel*, entertained travelers, soldiers, traders, speculators, and Indians, and laid the foundation of a large fortune. His son built the "Reid House," in Erie, one of the finest hotels in the country out of the large cities.

Perry's Arrival at Erie.

Construction of a Fleet begun.

Cascade Creek, and Block-house near.



VIEW OF THE SITE OF THE FRENCH FORT AND ENTRANCE TO ERIE HARBOR.¹

kind, but timber, for naval preparations, had to be brought from far-away places with great labor. Zeal and energy overcame all difficulties.

Perry arrived at Erie, as we have observed, on the 27th of March. He established his quarters at Duncan's "Erie Hotel," and entered upon the duties of his important errand by calling around him the employés of the government there. Much preliminary work had already been done under the direction of the energetic Sailing-master Dobbins and Noah Brown, a shipwright from New York. Forest-trees around Erie had been felled and hewn; the keels of two twenty-gun brigs and a clipper schooner had been laid at the mouth of Cascade Creek; two gun-boats were nearly planked up at the mouth of Lee's Run, between the present Peach and Sassafras Streets; and a third, afterward call-



MOUTH OF CASCADE CREEK.²



BLOCK-HOUSE.

¹ This view of the entrance to Erie Harbor was taken from the site of the old French Fort de la Presqu' Isle, mentioned in the note on the preceding page. The mounds indicating the remains of the fort are seen on the right, and near them, in the centre of the picture, is a small building used as a powder-house. On the bluff on the extreme right is seen a little structure, indicating the site of the block-house mentioned in the note on the preceding page, which is not far from the present light-house. On the left, in the extreme distance, is Presqu' Isle Point, and in the water, piers that have been constructed for the improvement of the entrance channel, and a light-house.

² This is a view of the site of the navy yard at the mouth of the Cascade Creek, and of a portion of the harbor of Erie, made by the author early in September, 1860. The creek and the gentle cascade, which gives its appropriate name, are seen in the foreground. Beyond it, and the small boats seen in its waters, is the beach where the *Lawrence*, *Niagara*, and *Ariel* were built. On the clay and gravel bluff at the extreme right, the fence marks the site of a block-house built to protect the ship-yard, whose stout flag-staff, with cross-pieces for steps, served as an observatory. From its top a full view of the lake over Presqu' Isle could be seen. The lower part of the block-house was heavy, rough logs; the upper, or battery part, was made of hewn timber.

In the distance, in the centre of the picture, is seen the landing at Erie, and on the left the pier and light-house at the entrance to the harbor. Just behind the bluff, in the distance, is the mouth of Lee's Run, where the *Porcupine* and *Tigress* were built. The cascade is about fifteen feet in perpendicular fall in its passage over a ledge of slate rock, and is about one mile from the public square in Erie.

ed *Scorpion*, was just commenced. To guard against surprise and the destruction of the vessels by the British, a volunteer company of sixty men, under Captain Foster, had been organized. Captain Dobbins had also formed a guard of the ship-carpenters and other mechanics engaged on the vessels.

On the arrival of Sailing-master Taylor, on the 3d of March, with officers and men, Perry hastened to Pittsburg to urge forward supplies of every kind for the completion and equipment of his little squadron. He had already ordered Dobbins to Buffalo for men and munitions; and on his return^a he was gratified to find that faithful officer back and in possession of a twelve-pound cannon, four chests of small arms, and ammunition. The vessels, too, were in a satisfactory state of forwardness. They were soon off the stocks. Early in May the three smaller ones were launched, and on the 24th of the same month the two brigs were put afloat.¹

At sunset of the day before the launching of the brigs,^b Perry left Erie in an open four-oared boat, to join Chauncey in an attack upon Fort George, at the mouth of the Niagara River. The commodore had promised him the command of the marines in the enterprise. All night he buffeted the angry waves of Lake Erie, and arrived at Buffalo the next day. Perry was accompanied from Erie as far as Lewiston by his faithful coadjutor, Captain Dobbins. From that point the latter was sent back to Schlosser, to prepare boats for seamen who were to be sent up after the reduction of Fort George, and to the Black Rock navy yard, to hasten the equipment of some government vessels that were to join the growing squadron at Erie.

Fort George fell,^c Fort Erie was evacuated and burnt, and the British abandoned the entire line of the Niagara River. This enabled Perry to take safely from that stream into Lake Erie and the sheltering arms of Presqu' Isle five vessels which Henry Eckford had prepared for warlike service, and which had been detained below Buffalo by the Canadian batteries. They were loaded with stores at the Black Rock navy yard; and on the morning of the 6th of June, oxen, seamen, and two hundred soldiers, under Captains Brevoort and Younge, who had been detailed to accompany Perry to Erie, with strong ropes over willing shoulders commenced warping or "tracking" them up the swift current. It was a task of incredible labor, and occupied full six days.

The little flotilla² sailed from Buffalo on the 13th. Perry was in the *Caledonia*, sick with symptoms of bilious remittent fever. Head winds prevailed. "We made twenty-five miles in twenty-four hours," wrote Doctor Usher Parsons, Perry's surgeon, in his diary.³ It was not until the 19th that they entered the harbor of Erie, just in time to avoid the little cruising squadron of the enemy under the gallant Captain Finnis, of the Royal Navy, which had been on the look-out for them. Of this Perry had been informed, on his way, by men in a small boat that shot out from the southern shore of the lake, and he had prepared to fight. When the last vessel of the flotilla had crossed the bar at Erie, the squadron of the enemy hove in sight off Presqu' Isle Point.⁴ Three or four days afterward the flotilla went up to the mouth of the Cascade Creek, where the two brigs and a gun-boat lay.

Perry's fleet was completed and finished on the 10th of July; but, alas! he had

¹ The timber for the vessels was found on the spot. Their frames were made of white and black oak and chestnut, the outside planking of oak, and the decks of pine. Many trees found their places as timber in the vessels on the very day when they were felled in the forest.

² It consisted of the prize brig *Caledonia* (see page 886); the schooner *Somers* (formerly *Catharine*), carrying one long 24; schooner *Amelia* (formerly *Tigress*), carrying one long 18; and schooner *Ohio*, carrying one long 24; the sloop *Contractor* (now called *Trippe*), carrying one long 18. The commanders of this flotilla from Buffalo to Erie were Perry, Almy, Holdup, Darling, and Dobbins.

³ Doctor Usher Parsons, of Providence, Rhode Island, is the last surviving commissioned officer of Perry's fleet. I am greatly indebted to him for many valuable contributions to this portion of my work, both oral and written, especially for the use of his diary kept during the campaign of 1813. We shall meet him presently as the surgeon of the *Lance-rence*, Perry's flag-ship, in the battle of the 10th of September.

⁴ This cruising squadron consisted of the ship *Queen Charlotte*, mounting 17 guns; the fine schooner *Lady Prevost*, mounting 13 guns; the brig *Hunter*, a smaller vessel of 10 guns; the schooner *Little Belt*, of 8 guns; and the *Chippewa*, of 1 gun.

Brig *Lawrence* to be the Flag-ship.

Lack of Men.

Perry's Earnestness and Unselfishness.

only men enough to officer and man one of the brigs, and he was compelled to lie idle in the harbor of Erie, an unwilling witness of the insolent menaces of the enemy on the open lake. The brig that was to bear his broad pennant was named (by order of the Secretary of the Navy, received on the 12th) *Lawrence*, in honor of the gallant captain of the *Chesapeake*, who had just given his life to his country.^a The other brig was named *Niagara*, and the smaller vessels constructed at Erie were called respectively *Ariel* (the clipper schooner), *Porcupine*, and *Tigris*.^b But what availed these vessels without officers and crews? The two hundred soldiers lent as a guard for the flotilla on its voyage from Buffalo had been ordered back. Only Captain Brevoort, who was familiar with the navigation of the lake, remained, and he was assigned to the command of the marines of the *Niagara*. Perry was sick, and almost one fifth of his men were subjects for the hospital in the court-house, under Doctor Horsley, or the one near the site of Wayne's block-house, under Doctor Roberts. And yet the government, remiss itself in furnishing Perry with men, was calling loudly upon him to co-operate with Harrison. Twice within four days he received orders to that effect from the Secretary of the Treasury.^b Harrison, too, was sending messages to him recounting the perils of the situation of his little army, and intelligence came that a new and powerful vessel, called *Detroit*, was nearly ready for service at Malden. This was coupled with the assurance that the veteran Captain Robert H. Barclay, who had served with Nelson at Trafalgar, had arrived with experienced officers and men, and was in chief command of the hostile squadron seen off Presqu' Isle. In the bitterness of a mortified spirit Perry wrote to Chauncey,^c his chief, saying, "The enemy's fleet of six sail are now off the bar of this harbor. What a golden opportunity, if we had men! Their object is, no doubt, either to blockade or attack us, or to carry provisions and re-enforcements to Malden. Should it be to attack us, we are ready to meet them. I am constantly looking to the eastward; every mail and every traveler from that quarter is looked to as the harbinger of the glad tidings of our men being on the way. . . . Give me men, sir, and I will acquire both for *you* and myself honor and glory on this lake, or perish in the attempt. Conceive my feelings: an enemy within striking distance, my vessels ready, and not men enough to man them. Going out with those I now have is out of the question. You would not suffer it were you here. Think of my situation: the enemy in sight, the vessels under my command more than sufficient and ready to make sail, and yet obliged to bite my fingers with vexation for want of men."^d Again, on the 23d of July, when Sailing-master Champlin had arrived with seventy men, Perry wrote to Chauncey: "For God's sake, and *yours*, and mine, send me men and officers, and I will have them all [the British squadron] in a day or two. Commodore Barclay keeps just out of the reach of our gun-boats. . . . The vessels are all ready to meet the enemy the moment they are officered and manned. Our sails are bent, provisions on board, and, in fact, every thing is ready. Barclay has been bearding me for several days; I long to be at him." Then, with the most generous patriotism, he added, "However anxious I am to reap the reward of the labor and anxiety I have had on this station, I shall rejoice, whoever commands, to see this force on the lake, and surely I had rather be commanded by my friend than by any other. Come, then, and the business is decided in a few hours."

Perry's importunities were almost in vain. Few and mostly inferior men came to him from Lake Ontario, and, so far as the government was concerned, he was left to call them from the forest or the deep. When he gave Harrison the true reason for failing to co-operate with him, the Secretary of the Navy reproved him for exposing

¹ Two days afterward [July 21] the enemy were becalmed off the harbor, when Perry went out with three gun-boats from Cascade Creek to attack him. Only a few shots were exchanged, at the distance of a mile. One of Perry's shots struck the mizzen-mast of the *Queen Charlotte*. A breeze sprung up, and the enemy's squadron bore away to the open lake.

his weakness; and when he complained to Chauncey of the inferiority of the men sent to him—"a motley set, blacks, soldiers, and boys"—he received from the irritated commodore a letter so filled with caustic but half-concealed irony, that he felt constrained to ask for a removal from the station, because, as he alleged, he "could not serve longer under an officer who had been so totally regardless of his feelings."¹ A manly, generous letter from Chauncey soon afterward restored the kindness of feeling between them.

In the mean time the post of Erie had been seriously menaced. General Porter, at Black Rock, sent word that the enemy were concentrating at Long Point, on the Canada shore of the lake, opposite Erie. At about the same time a hostile movement was made toward Fort Meigs, and the British fleet mysteriously disappeared. No doubt was entertained of a design to attempt the capture of Erie, with the vessels and stores, by a combined land and naval force. A panic was the consequence. The families of many citizens fled with their valuables to the interior. Already a block-



house had been erected on the bluff east of Cascade Creek to protect the ship-yard,² and a redoubt mounting three long twelve-pounders had been planted on the heights (now called Garrison Hill), near the present light-house, and named Fort Wayne. Barracks had been erected in the village,³ and a regiment of Pennsylvania militia were encamped near Fort Wayne. The vessels were as well manned as possible, and boats rowed guard at the entrance to the harbor. But these means of defense were not considered sufficient, and Perry called on Major General David Mead, of Meadville, to re-enforce the troops with his militia. This was done,⁴ and in the course of a few days upward of fifteen hundred soldiers were concentrated at a rendezvous near. But an invasion from the lake was not attempted, owing, as was afterward ascertained, to the difficulty of collecting a sufficient number of troops in time at Long Point.

At the close of July Perry had about three hundred effective officers and men at

¹ Letter to the Secretary of the Navy, dated on board the *Lawrence*, at Erie, August 10, 1813.

² See note 2, page 511.

³ These occupied a portion of the space now bounded by Third and Fifth and State and Sassafras Streets. These objects and localities, and others, are indicated on the above map, in the construction of which I acknowledge and kindly afforded me by Giles Sanford, Esq., of Erie. The public square is indicated by the white space on the village plan, and the court-house by the shaded square within it.

⁴ Doctor Parsons wrote in his diary, under date of August 1, 1813, "General Mead, of Meadville, arrived two or three days ago, and, with his suite, came on board the *Lawrence* under a salute of thirty-two guns."

Erie, with which to man two 20-gun brigs and eight smaller vessels. The enemy disappeared and the lake was calm. He was so restive under the bearding of Barclay and the chafing from superiors, that he resolved with these to go out upon the lake and try the fortune of war. On Sunday, the first of August, he moved his flotilla down to the entrance of the harbor, intending to cross early the next morning. The lake was lower than usual, and the squadron would not float over the bar. Even the smaller vessels had to be lightened for the purpose, and at one time it was considered doubtful whether the *Lawrence* and *Niagara* could be taken out of the harbor at all. The flag-ship was tried first. Her cannon, not "loaded and shotted," as the historians have said (for they had been discharged in saluting General Mead), were taken out and placed on timbers on the beach, while the *Niagara* and smaller vessels lay with their broadsides toward the lake for her protection, in the event of the reappearance of Barclay.¹

By means of "camels"² the *Lawrence* was floated over on the morning of the 4th, and by two o'clock that day her armament was all on board of her, mounted and prepared for action. The *Niagara* was taken over in the same way with very little trouble, and the smaller vessels reached the deep water outside^a without much difficulty. The labor of this movement had been exciting and ex-^{a August 5, 1813.}hausting, and the young commander scarcely slept or partook of food during the four days. The enemy was expected every moment. Should he appear while the flotilla was on the bar, all might be lost. Fortunately, Commodore Barclay's social weakness—the inordinate love of public festivities—prolonged his absence, and his squadron did not leave in sight until the 5th, just as the *Niagara* was safely moving into deep water.³ The *Ariel*, Lieutenant Packet, and *Scorpion*, Sailing-master Champlin, were sent out boldly to engage and detain the squadron. Barclay was surprised at this movement, and perceiving that his golden opportunity was lost, he bore away toward Long Point. The whole of Perry's flotilla was in perfect preparation before night. That evening it weighed anchor,^b and stood toward Long Point^{b August 5.} on its first cruise. Perceiving no farther use for the militia, who were anxious to get into their harvest-fields, General Mead discharged them, and the armed citizens of Erie resumed their accustomed avocations.

Perry cruised between Erie and the Canada shore for two or three days, vainly searching for the enemy, who had gone to Malden to await the completion of the *Detroit*, a ship that would make the British force superior to that of the Americans. But the latter now received accessions of strength. On the 9th the squadron was joined at Erie by Captain Jesse D. Elliott,⁴ who brought with him about one hundred officers and superior men. With these he manned the *Niagara* and assumed command of her. Thus re-enforced, Perry resolved to sail up the lake and report himself ready to co-operate with Harrison.

The squadron left Erie on the 12th^c in double column, one line in regular^{c August.} battle order,⁵ and rendezvoused in an excellent harbor called Put-in-Bay,^d ^{d August 15.}

¹ Manuscript corrections of the text of M'Kenzie's *Life of Perry*, by Captain Daniel Dobbins, who assisted in the movement. I am indebted for the use of these notes to his son, Captain W. W. Dobbins, of Erie, Pennsylvania.

² A "camel" is a machine invented by the Dutch for carrying vessels over shallow places, as bars at the entrance of harbors. It is a huge box or kind of scow, so arranged that water may be let in or pumped out at pleasure. One of them is placed on each side of a vessel, the water let in, and the camels so sunken that, by means of ropes under the keel and windlasses, the vessel may be placed so that beams may bear it, resting on the camels. The water in the camels is then pumped out, they float, and the vessel, raised by them, is carried over the shallow place.

³ Captain Dobbins, in his MS. notes on M'Kenzie's *Life of Commodore Perry*, says that the citizens of Port Dover, a small village on Ryason's Creek, a little below Long Point, in Canada, offered Commodore Barclay and his officers a public dinner. The invitation was accepted. While that dinner was being attended Perry was getting his vessels over the bar, and thereby acquired power to successfully dispute the supremacy of Lake Erie with the British. At the dinner Captain Barclay remarked, in response to a complimentary toast, "I expect to find the Yankee brigs hard and fast on the bar at Erie when I return, in which predicament it will be but a small job to destroy them." Had Barclay been more mindful of duty, his expectations might have been realized. Captain Dobbins makes this statement on the authority of an old lake acquaintance, Mr. Ryason, who was at the dinner. ⁴ See page 388.

⁵ Perry's aggregate force of officers and men was less than four hundred. His squadron was composed as follows:

Islands around Put-in-Bay.

Harrison visits Perry on his Flag-ship.

Sickness in the Fleet.

formed by a group of islands known as the North, Middle, and South Bass, Put-in-Bay, Sugar, Gibraltar, and Strontian,¹ and numerous small islets, some of them containing not more than half an acre. These lie off Port Clinton, the capital of Ottawa County, Ohio. Nothing was seen of the enemy; and on the following day, toward evening, the squadron weighed anchor and sailed for Sandusky Bay, when a strange sail was discovered off Cunningham (now Kelly) Island by Champlin, of the *Scorpion*, who had been sent out as a sort of scout. He signaled and gave chase, followed for a short time by the whole squadron. It was a British schooner reconnoitring. She eluded her pursuers by darting among the islands that form Put-in-Bay, under cover of the night. A heavy storm of wind and rain came with the darkness. The *Scorpion* partly grounded, the schooner ran ashore in the gale, and the squadron lay at anchor all night.² On the following morning the point of the peninsula off Sandusky Bay was reached, when Perry fired signal-guns, according to agreement, to apprise Harrison at his quarters at Camp Seneca of his presence. That evening Colonel E. P. Gaines, with a few officers and a guard of Indians, appeared on board the *Lawrence*, and informed Perry that Harrison, with eight thousand men—militia, regulars, and Indians—was only twenty-seven miles distant. Boats were immediately dispatched to bring the general and his suite on board. He arrived late in the evening of the 19th, during a heavy rain, accompanied by his aids, M'Arthur and Cass, and other officers composing his staff, and a large number of soldiers and Indians, twenty-six of the latter being chiefs of the neighboring tribes, whose friendship it was thought important to maintain. The plan of the campaign was then arranged by the two commanders. The 20th,³ a bright and beautiful day, was spent in reconnoitring Put-in-Bay, with the view of concentrating the army there for transportation to Malden, and on the 21st the general returned to his camp.

¹ August, 1813.



Usher Parsons

As Harrison was not quite ready for the forward movement, Perry⁴ sailed^b on a reconnoitring expedition toward Malden, first ordering the ever-trusty Captain Dobbins to hasten with the *Ohio* to Erie on the important errand of procuring additional stores. He found the enemy within the mouth of the Detroit River. The new vessel had not yet joined the squadron, and he resolved to strike a bold blow. Unfavorable winds made the measure very perilous; and before the elements were propitious he was prostrated by an attack of bilious remittent fever, then very prevalent in the squadron. His surgeon and chaplain, and his young brother Alexander, who had accompanied him from Rhode Island, were also severely ill, and the assistant surgeon, Doctor Parsons, was too weak from a similar attack to walk.⁵ The enterprise was abandoned for the time, and

Lawrence, commanded by Commodore Perry; *Niagara*, Captain Elliott; *Caledonia*, Purser M'Orath; *Ariel*, Lieutenant Packet; *Somers*, Sailing-master Almy; *Tigress*, Master's-mate M'Donald; *Scorpion*, Sailing-master Champlin; *Percussive*, Midshipman Senat; *Ohio*, Sailing-master Dobbins; *Tripple*, Lieutenant Smith.

¹ So named because of the quantity of that mineral found there.
² Parsons's Diary. MS. statement of Captain Champlin, communicated to the Author.
³ "Though so ill as to be incapable of walking," says M'Kenzie, "with a humane self-devotion most honorable to him, he continued to attend at the bedside of the sick, to which he was carried, and to prescribe for them, not only as

Put-in-Bay.

A Reconnoissance by Perry.

The Circumspection of the British commander.

on the 27th,* at eight o'clock in the evening, the squadron again anchored in Put-in-Bay. There, on the 31st, Perry received from Harrison a re-en-

* August,
1813.



PUT-IN-BAY.

forcement of thirty-six men, to act as marines and supply the places of some of the sick.

At the end of a week's confinement Perry gave orders for another cruise, and on the first of September the squadron weighed anchor and sailed again for Malden, where he challenged Borelay, who did not then choose to respond, but, under shore batteries, lay securely and unmoved. On the following morning Perry sailed for Sandusky Bay, to communicate with General Harrison, and then, with his whole squadron, returned to anchorage in Put-in-Bay.¹

board of the *Lawrence*, but of the smaller vessels, being lifted for the purpose in his cot, and the sick brought on deck for his prescriptions."—*Life of Perry*, i., 203.

Usher Parsons was born at Alfred, Maine, on the 18th of August, 1788. He chose the medical profession as a life-pursuit, and studied with Dr. John Warren, of Cambridge, Massachusetts. On the promulgation of the declaration of war he entered the navy as surgeon's mate. He volunteered to accompany Perry to Lake Erie with the crew of the *John Adams*. In the battle on Lake Erie, described in the next chapter, he was on the flag-ship *Lawrence* as acting surgeon, his superior being too ill to attend to his duties. Indeed, the duties of both Dr. Barton and Dr. Horseley devolved on Dr. Parsons when the battle was over. Speaking of him in a letter to the Secretary of the Navy, Perry said: "I can only say that in the event of my having another command, I should consider myself particularly fortunate in having him with me as a surgeon." In 1814 he served on the upper lakes under Commodore Sinclair. At the request of Perry, Parsons became the surgeon of the new frigate *Jara*, 44, commanded by the hero of Lake Erie. After ten years' service in the navy he retired, settled as a physician and surgeon in Providence, Rhode Island, was professor in Brown University and other colleges, president of the Rhode Island Medical Society, and first vice-president of the National Medical Society. In 1822 he married a daughter of Rev. Dr. Holmes, of Cambridge, the author of the *Annals of America*. She died three years afterward, bearing one son, Dr. Charles W. Parsons, now (1867) president of the Rhode Island Medical Society. Dr. Parsons is the author of several medical works and historical discourses, and a well-written *Life of Sir William Pepperell, Bart.* Dr. Parsons is still (1867) in the enjoyment of perfect physical and mental health, at the age of seventy-nine years.

¹ Put-in-Bay Harbor is on the north side of Put-in-Bay Island, one of the largest of the group of about twenty in that neighborhood. The view of the harbor from Put-in-Bay Island, given above, is from a drawing made on the spot, in September, 1809, by Captain Van Cleave, a veteran Lake Ontario steam-boat commander, who kindly presented it to me. Directly in front is seen Gibraltar Island, and the place of "Perry's Look-out," delineated in the little picture at the beginning of the next chapter, is indicated by the flag. The smoke in the distance points out the place of the battle, ten miles in a northwesterly direction from Put-in-Bay. The Bass Islands are seen on the right, and Rattlesnake Island on the left. The beaches of all are chiefly of white pebbles. The view is from Put-in-Bay Island, near the landing.

CHAPTER XXV.

"September the tenth, full well I ween,
In eighteen hundred and thirteen,
The weather mild, the sky serene,
Commanded by bold Perry,
Our saucy fleet at anchor lay
In safety, moor'd at Put-in-Bay;
'Twi'xt sunrise and the break of day,
The British fleet
We chanced to meet;
Our admiral thought he would them greet
With a welcome on Lake Erie."—OLD SONG.



"ALL ho!" were the stirring words that rang out loud and clear from the mast-head of the *Laurence* on the warm and pleasant morning of the 10th of September, 1813. That herald's proclamation was not unexpected to Perry. Five days before he had received direct and positive information from Malden that Proctor's army were so short of provisions that Barclay was preparing to go out upon the lake, at all hazards, to open a communication with Long Point, the chief deposit of supplies for

the enemy on the banks of the Detroit River. Perry had made preparations accordingly; and, day after day, from the rocky heights of Gibraltar Island, now known as



PERRY'S LOOK-OUT, GIBRALTAR ISLAND, PUT-IN-BAY.¹

"Perry's Look-out," he had pointed his glass anxiously in the direction of Malden.¹ On the evening of the 9th he called around him the officers of his squadron, and gave instructions to each in writing, for he was determined to attack the enemy at his anchorage the next day if he did not come out. His plan was to bring on a close action at once, so as not to lose the advantage of his short carronades. To each vessel its antagonist on the British side was assigned, the size and character of them having been communi-

¹ Perry also kept two of the smaller vessels as look-outs in the vicinity of the Sisters Islands.
² This little picture is from a painting made on the spot by Miss C. L. Ransom, who kindly permitted me to copy it (see page 565). "Perry's Look-out" is on the left, and is composed of limestone piled about fifty feet above the water. In front is a natural arch. On the summit is a representation of a monument proposed to be erected there, of which the corner-stone was laid several years ago with imposing ceremonies. On the left are seen the graves of some sailors who died of cholera. In the middle is seen Rattlesnake Island. On the right, in the extreme distance, is North Bass Island, and between the two is the passage toward Detroit. The Middle Bass is also seen on the right. This is a faithful copy of Miss Ransom's picture, with the exception of time. It has been made a moonlight scene, for effect, instead of a daylight one.

Near the site of the proposed monument, Jay Cooke, an eminent banker, has a fine dwelling, and on the foundations

ated to him by Captain Brevoort,¹ whose family lived in Detroit. The *Lawrence* was assigned to the *Detroit*; the *Niagara*, to the *Queen Charlotte*, and so on; and to each officer he said, in substance, Engage your antagonist in close action, keeping on the line at half-cable length from the vessel of our squadron ahead of you.

It was about ten o'clock when the conference ended. The moon was at its full, and it was a splendid autumn night. Just before they parted, Perry brought out a large square battle-flag, which, at his request, Mr. Hambleton,² the purser, had caused to be privately prepared at Erie. It was blue, and bore, in large letters, made of white muslin, the alleged dying words of the gallant commander of the *Chesapeake*, "DON'T GIVE UP THE SHIP!" "When this flag shall be hoisted to the main-royal mast-head," said the commodore, "it shall be your signal for going into action." As the officers were leaving, he said, "Gentlemen, remember your instructions. Nelson has expressed my idea in the words, 'If you lay your enemy close alongside, you can not be out of your place.' Good-night."



PERRY'S BATTLE-FLAG.³

The cry of "Sail ho!" was soon followed by signals to the fleet of "Enemy in sight;" "Get underweigh;" and the voices of the boatswains sounding through the squadron and echoing from the shores the command, "All hands up anchor, ahoy!" At sunrise the British vessels were all seen upon the northwestern horizon—

"Six barques trained for battle, the red flag displaying,
By Barclay commanded, their wings wide outspread,
Forsake their strong-hold, on broad Erie essaying
To meet with that foe they so lately did dread."—OLD BALLAD.

A light wind was blowing from the southwest. Clouds came upon it from over the Ohio wilderness, and in passing dropped a light shower of rain. Soon the sky became serene, and before ten o'clock, when, by the aid of the gentle breeze in beat-

¹ prepared for that monument he caused to be erected, in 1866, a small one, composed of yellowish limestone. It is about ten feet in height, and surmounted by a bronze vase for flowers. On its sides are naval devices of the same metal.

² Henry Brevoort, of New York, was commissioned Second Lieutenant in Third Infantry in 1801. He commanded transports on Lake Erie, and in May, 1811, was promoted to captain. He distinguished himself in the battle of Magna (see page 279), and also as commander of marines in the *Niagara* in the battle of Lake Erie. He received a silver medal for his gallantry there. He was promoted to major in 1814, and was disbanded in 1815. In 1822 he was made United States Indian Agent at Green Bay.—*Gardner's Dictionary of the Army*.

³ Samuel Hambleton was a native of Talbot County, Maryland, where he was born in 1777. He was first a merchant, then a clerk in the Navy Department, and in 1806 was appointed purser in the navy. After the battle of Lake Erie, the officers and crews of the American squadron appointed him prize agent, and more than \$200,000 passed through his hands. He left the lake in 1814, and performed good service afloat and ashore for many years. He died at his residence in Maryland, near St. Michael's, called "Perry's Cabin," January 17, 1851.

⁴ This is a picture of the flag as seen in the Trophy Room of the Sanitary Fair in the City of New York in the month of April, 1864. It is between eight and nine feet square. The form of the letters is preserved in the engraving. They are about a foot in length, and might be seen at a considerable distance.

The following lines, in allusion to this flag, are from a fine poem on *The Hero of Lake Erie*, by Henry T. Tuckerman, Esq.:

"Behold the chieftain's glad, prophetic smile,
As a new banner he unrolls the while;
Hear the gay shout of his clated crew
When the dear watchword hovers to their view,
And Lawrence, silent in the arms of death,
Bequeaths defiance with his latest breath!"

Perry's Determination to fight.	Names and Character of the opposing Vessels.	Signal for Battle.
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ing and strong arms with oars, the squadron had passed out from the labyrinth of islands into the open lake, within five or six miles of the enemy, not a cloud was hanging in the firmament, nor a fleck of mist was upon the waters. It was a splendid September day.

Perry was yet weak from illness when the cry of "Sail ho!" was repeated to him by Lieutenant Dulaney Forrest. That announcement gave him strength, and the excitement of the hour was a tonic of rare virtue. The wind was variable, and he tried in vain to gain the weather-gage of the enemy by beating around to the windward of some of the islands. He was too impatient to fight to long brook the waste of precious time in securing an advantage so small with a wind so light. "Run to the leeward of the islands," he said to Taylor, his sailing-master.¹ "Then you will have to engage the enemy to leeward," said that officer, in a slightly remonstrant manner. "I don't care," quickly responded Perry; "to windward or to leeward, they shall fight to-day." The signal to wear ship followed immediately, when the wind shifted suddenly to the southeast, and enabled the squadron to clear the islands, and to keep the weather-gage. Perceiving this, Barclay hove to, in close order, and awaited Perry's attack. His vessels, newly painted and with colors flying, made an imposing appearance. They were six in number,² and bore sixty-three carriage-guns, one on a pivot, two swivels, and four howitzers. Perry's squadron numbered nine vessels, and bore fifty-four carriage-guns and two swivels.³ Barclay had *thirty-five* long guns to Perry's *fifteen*, and possessed greatly the advantage in action at a distance. In close action, the weight of metal was with the Americans, and for that reason Perry had resolved to close upon the enemy at once. The British commander had one hundred and fifty men from the royal navy, eighty Canadian sailors, two hundred and forty soldiers, mostly regulars, and some Indians. His whole force, officers and men, was a little more than five hundred. The American commander had upon his muster-roll four hundred and ninety names. Of these the bearers of one hundred and sixteen were sick, and most of them too weak to go upon deck. About one fourth of Perry's crew were from Rhode Island; one fourth were regular seamen, American and foreign; about one fourth were raw volunteers, chiefly from Kentucky; and about another fourth were negroes.

At a little past ten o'clock Perry's line was formed according to the plan arranged the previous evening, the *Niagara* in the van. The *Lawrence* was cleared for action, and the battle-flag, bearing the words "DON'T GIVE UP THE SHIP," in letters large enough, as we have observed, to be seen by the whole squadron, was brought out and displayed. The commodore then addressed his officers and crew a few stirring words, and concluded by saying, "My brave lads! this flag contains the last words of Captain Lawrence. Shall I hoist it?" "Ay, ay, sir!" they all shouted, as with one voice, and in a moment it was run up to the main-royal mast-head of the flag-ship, amid cheer after cheer, not only from the *Lawrence*, but the whole squadron. It was the signal for battle.

¹ William Vigeron Taylor was of French descent. He was a captain in the merchant service, and entered that of the navy under Perry as sailing-master. Perry esteemed him highly, and made him sailing-master of his flag-ship on Lake Erie. He rendered efficient service in the fitting out of the squadron. In the battle on the 10th of September he received a wound in the thigh, but kept the deck until the close. On the return of the *Lawrence* to Erie, Mr. Taylor was sent with dispatches to Chauncey. In 1814 he was commissioned a lieutenant in the navy. He was promoted to commander in 1831, and to post captain in 1841. He commanded the sloop *Warren* and *Erie* in the Gulf of Mexico. After his promotion to post captain he was placed in command of the ship-of-the-line *Ohio*, and took her around Cape Horn to the Pacific. He was then sixty-eight years of age. On the 11th of February, 1851, he died of apoplexy, in the seventy-eighth year of his age.

It is proper here to mention that most of the biographical sketches of the officers of Perry's squadron contained in this chapter are compiled from a paper on the subject from the pen of Dr. Usher Parsons, published in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register for January, 1863*.

² These were as follows: Ship *Detroit*, 19 guns, 1 in pivot, and 2 howitzers; ship *Queen Charlotte*, 17, and 1 howitzer; schooner *Lady Prevost*, 13, and 1 howitzer; brig *Hunter*, 10; sloop *Little Bell*, 3; and schooner *Chippewa*, 1, and 2 swivels.

³ These were as follows: Brig *Lawrence*, 20 guns; brig *Niagara*, 20; brig *Caledonia*, 8; schooner *Ariel*, 4; schooner *Scorpion*, 2, and 2 swivels; sloop *Tripp*, 1; schooner *Tigress*, 1; and schooner *Porcupine*, 1. The *Ohio*, Captain Dobbins, had gone to Erie for supplies, and was not in the action.

Perry's Care for his Men.

Change in the Order of Battle.

Biographical Sketch of Perry.



OLIVER H. PERRY.

As the dinner-hour would occur at the probable time of action, the thoughtful Perry ordered refreshments to be distributed. The decks were then wetted and sprinkled with sand so that feet should not slip when blood should begin to flow. Then every man was placed in proper position. As the squadron moved slowly and silently toward the enemy, with a gentle breeze, at the rate of less than three knots, the *Niagara*, Captain Elliott, leading the van, it was discovered that Barclay had made a disposition of his force that required a change in Perry's prescribed order of battle. It was instantly made, and the American squadron moved to the attack in the order best calculated to cope with the enemy. Barclay's vessels were near together. The flag-ship *Detroit*,

Oliver Hazard Perry was born in South Kingston, Rhode Island, on the 23d of August, 1785. His father was then in the naval service of the United States. He entered the navy as midshipman at the age of fifteen years, on board the sloop-of-war *General Greene*, when war with France seemed inevitable. He first saw active service before Tripoli, in the squadron of Commodore Preble. He was commissioned a lieutenant in 1810, and placed in command of the schooner *Revenge*, attached to Commodore Rodgers's squadron in Long Island Sound. She was wrecked, but his conduct in saving public property was highly applauded. Early in 1813 he was placed in command of a flotilla of gun-boats in Newport Harbor. After his victorious battle on Lake Erie in 1813, he was promoted to post-captain, and at the close of the war he was placed in command of the *Java*, 44, a first-class frigate, and sailed with Decatur for the Mediterranean Sea.



VIEW OF PERRY'S BIRTH-PLACE.

On his return, while his vessel was lying in Newport Harbor, in mid-winter, a fearful storm arose. He heard of the wreck of a merchant vessel upon a reef six miles distant. He immediately manned his barge and said to his crew, "Come, my boys, we are going to the relief of shipwrecked seamen; pull away!" He rescued eleven almost exhausted seamen from death.

On account of piracies in the West Indies, the United States government determined to send a little squadron there for the protection of American commerce. Perry was assigned to the command of it, and in 1819 he sailed in the *John Adams*, accompanied by the *Non-such*. In August he was attacked by the yellow fever, and on his

birthday (August 23d) he expired, at the age of thirty-four years. He was buried at Port Spain, Trinidad, with military honors. His death produced a most profound sensation throughout the United States, for it was regarded as a great public calamity. Tributes of national grief were displayed, and the Congress of the United States made a liberal provision for his family, and his mother, who was dependent on him for support. In 1826 his remains were conveyed from Trinidad to Newport in the sloop-of-war *Lexington*, and landed on the 27th of November. On Monday (December 4th) following he was interred with funeral honors due to his rank. His coffin rested in a sort of *catfalco*, the lower part being in the form of a boat. The canopy was decorated with stars and



CATAFALCO.



PERRY'S MONUMENT.

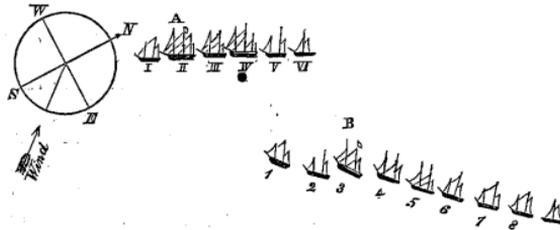
trimmed with black curtains, and at each corner were black plumes. The State of Rhode Island afterward caused to be erected a substantial granite monument to his memory. It stands upon a grassy mound on the west side of the Island Cemetery, and at the base rest the remains of the commodore and the deceased of his family. The monument bears the following inscriptions. *East side*: "OLIVER HAZARD PERRY. At the age of 27 years he achieved the victory of Lake

Relative Position of the two Squadrons.

Opening of the Battle.

Choice of Antagonists.

19, was in the van supported by the schooner *Chippewa*, with one long 18 on a pivot, and two swivels. Next was the brig *Hunter*, 10; then the *Queen Charlotte*, 17, commanded by Finnis. The latter was flanked by the schooner *Lady Prevost*, 13, and the *Little Belt*, 3. Perry, in the brig *Lawrence*, 20, moved forward, flanked on the left by the schooner *Scorpion*, under Champlin, bearing two long guns (32 and 12), and the schooner *Ariel*, Lieutenant Packet, which carried four short 12's. On the right



THE TWO SQUADRONS JUST BEFORE THE BATTLE.

of the *Lawrence* was the brig *Caledonia*, Captain Turner, with three long 24's. These were intended to encounter the *Chippewa*, *Detroit*, and *Hunter*. Captain Elliott, in the fine brig *Niagara*, 20, followed, with instructions to fight the *Queen Charlotte*; while Almy, in the *Somers*, with two long

32's and two swivels, Senat, in the *Porcupine*, with one long 32, Conklin, in the *Tigress*, with one long 24, and Holdup, in the *Trippie*, one long 32, were left in the rear to engage the *Lady Prevost* and *Little Belt*.¹

The sun was within fifteen minutes of meridian when a bugle sounded on board the *Detroit* as a signal for action, and the bands of the British squadron struck up "Rule Britannia." A shout went up from that little squadron, and a 24-pound shot from the enemy's flag-ship was sent booming over the water toward the *Lawrence*, then a mile and a half distant. It was evident that Barclay appreciated the advantage of his long guns, and wished to fight at a distance, while Perry resolved to press to close quarters before opening his fire.

That first shot from the enemy fell short. Another, five minutes later, went crashing through the bulwarks of the *Lawrence*. It stirred the blood of her gallant men, but, at the command of Perry, she remained silent. "Steady, boys! steady!" he said, while his dark eye flashed with the excitement of the moment—an excitement which was half smothered by his judgment. Slowly the American line, with the light wind abeam, moved toward that of the enemy, the two forming an acute angle of about fifteen degrees.

"Sublime the pause, when down the gleaming tide
The virgin galleys to the conflict glide;
The very wind, as if in awe or grief,
Scarce makes a ripple or disturbs a leaf."—H. T. TUCKERMAN.

Signals were given for each vessel to engage its prescribed antagonist. At five minutes before twelve the *Lawrence* had reached only the third one in the enemy's line, and was almost as near the *Queen Charlotte* as the *Detroit*, with the *Caledonia* half-length behind, and the *Niagara* abaft the beam of the *Charlotte* and opposite the *Lady Prevost*.

The battle now began on the part of the Americans. The gallant young Champlin,

Erie, September 10, 1818." *North side*: "Born in South Kingston, R. I., August 23, 1785. Died at Port Spain, Trinidad, August 23, 1819, aged 34 years." *West side*: "His remains were conveyed to his native land in a ship-of-war, according to a resolution of Congress, and were here interred December 4, 1826." *South side*: "Erected by the State of Rhode Island."

In person Commodore Perry was tall and well-proportioned, of exquisite symmetry, and graceful in every movement. He was every inch a man. He possessed splendid talents; was prudent and brave in the highest degree. In private life he was gentle, and his conjugal love and faithfulness were perfect. His respect for his wife amounted to reverence, and he was ever ready to acknowledge her salutary influence. Doctor Parsons relates that his first remark on regaining the *Lawrence*, after the battle, was addressed to his friend Hambleton, the purser. He said, "The prayers of my wife have prevailed in saving me."

¹ The above diagram shows the position of the two squadrons when the American was approaching that of the British in battle order. A is the British squadron, and its vessels are designated by Roman numerals. 1, *Chippewa*; 2, *Detroit*; 3, *Hunter*; 4, *Queen Charlotte*; 5, *Lady Prevost*; 6, *Little Belt*. B is the American squadron, and the vessels are designated by Arabic numerals. 1, *Scorpion*; 2, *Ariel*; 3, *Lawrence*; 4, *Caledonia*; 5, *Niagara*; 6, *Somers*; 7, *Porcupine*; 8, *Tigress*; 9, *Tripps*. I have been furnished with these diagrams by Commodore Stephen Champlin, of the U. S. Navy, the commander of the *Scorpion* in the battle.

The first Shot fired by the Americans. -Sailing-master Champlin. First Position of the Vessels in the Fight.

then less than twenty-four years of age, who still (1867) lives to enjoy a well-earned reputation,¹ had already fired the first (as he did the last) shot of the battle from the guns of the *Scorpion*.

"But see that silver wreath of curling smoke—
'Tis Barclay's gun! The silence now is broke.
Champlin, with rapid move and steady eye,
Sends back in thunder-tones a bold reply."

This was followed by a cannonade from Packet,² of the *Ariel*; and then the *Lawrence*, which had begun to suffer considerably from the enemy's missiles, opened fire upon the *Detroit* with her long bow-gun, a twelve-pounder. The action soon became general. The smaller, slow-sailing vessels had fallen in the rear, and when the battle began the *Trippe* was more than two miles from the enemy.

The *Scorpion* and *Ariel*, both without bulwarks, fought bravely, and kept their places with the *Lawrence* throughout the entire action. They did not suffer much, for the enemy concentrated his destructive energies upon the *Lawrence* and neglected the others.

From the *Detroit*, the *Hunter*, the *Queen Charlotte*, and even from the *Lady Prevost*, shots were hurled upon the American flag-ship, with the determination to destroy her and her gallant commander, and then to cut up the squadron in detail. No less than thirty-four heavy guns were brought to bear upon her. The *Caledonia*, with her long guns, was enabled to do good ex-



Stephen Champlin



FIRST POSITION IN THE ACTION.³

¹ Stephen Champlin was born in South Kingston, Rhode Island, on the 17th of November, 1789. His father was a volunteer soldier in the Revolution. His mother was a sister of Commodore Perry's father, making the two commanders first cousins. He went to sea as a sailor at the age of sixteen years, and at the age of twenty-two, having passed through all grades, he was captain of a ship that sailed from Norwich, Connecticut. On the 23d of May, 1812, he was appointed sailing-master in the navy, and commanded a gun-boat, under Perry, at Newport. As we have seen, he was sent to Lake Erie. On his arrival he was appointed to the command of the *Scorpion*, which he gallantly managed throughout the battle. Subsequently to the battle he was placed in command of the *Queen Charlotte* and *Detroit*, two private-ships taken from the enemy. In the spring of 1814 he was placed in command of the *Tygres*, under Commander Sinclair, and, with Captain Turner, he blockaded the port of Mackinaw. His services on the Upper Lake will be noticed in the future text. Suffice it to say here that he was severely wounded in the thigh while in that service by a causter-shot, and taken prisoner. That wound has been troublesome to him until this hour. In 1816 he was appointed to the command of the *Porcupine*, and conveyed a party of topographical engineers to the Upper Lakes, who were to consider the boundary-line between the United States and Great Britain. His wound prevented his doing much active service. He was ordered to the steam-ship *Fulton* at New York, and had left her but a short time when she blew up. In 1842 he was placed in command of the naval rendezvous at Buffalo, and was successful in shipping apprentices for the service. In 1845 he was ordered to the command of the *Nichigan* at Erie, and continued there about four years and a half. A few years ago he was placed on the reserve list, with full pay, and remains so. He now bears the title of commodore. He resides at Buffalo, and, with the exception of the sufferings caused by his wound, he is in the enjoyment of fair health, at the age of seventy-eight years. He is a stout, thick-set man, of middle size. He is the last survivor of the nine commanders in Perry's squadron in the great battle in 1813.

² John R. Packet was a native of Virginia. He received his warrant as midshipman in 1809, and was commissioned a lieutenant a few days before this battle. He was with Bainbridge when the *Constitution* captured the *Jaca*. He served at Erie some years after the battle, and died there of fever.

³ The acting sailing-master of the *Ariel* in the battle, Thomas Brownell, was from Rhode Island, and went to Erie as master's-mate, where he was promoted. He was commissioned a lieutenant in 1845, when he was placed on the retired list. He now (1867) resides at Newport, Rhode Island. He was always an active and esteemed officer.

⁴ This diagram shows the position of the vessels at the beginning of the action. The British vessels, A, are indicated by Roman numerals, and the American vessels, B, by Arabic. I., *Chippewa*; II., *Detroit*; III., *Hunter*; IV., *Queen*

ecution from the beginning, but the shot of the carronades from the *Niagara* fell short of her antagonist. Of her twenty guns, only a long 12 was serviceable for a while. Shifting another, Elliott brought two to bear with effect, and these were served so vigorously that nearly all of the shot of that calibre were exhausted. The smaller vessels meanwhile were too far astern to be of much service.

Perry soon perceived that he was yet too far distant to damage the enemy materially, so he ordered word to be sent from vessel to vessel by trumpet for all to make sail, bear down upon Barclay, and engage in close combat. The order was transmitted by Captain Elliott, who was the second in command, but he failed to obey it himself.¹ His vessel was a fast sailer, and his men were the best in the squadron, but he kept at a distance from the enemy, and continued firing his long guns. Perry meanwhile pressed on with the *Lawrence*, accompanied by the *Scorpion*, *Ariel*, and *Caledonia*, and at meridian exactly, when he supposed he was near enough for execution with his carronades, he opened the first division of his battery on the starboard side on the *Detroit*. His balls fell short, while his antagonist and her consorts poured upon the *Lawrence* a heavy storm of round shot from their long guns, still leaving the *Scorpion* and *Ariel* almost unnoticed. The *Caledonia* meanwhile engaged with the *Hunter*, but the *Niagara* kept a respectful distance from the *Queen Charlotte*, and gave that vessel an opportunity to go to the assistance of the *Detroit*. She passed the *Hunter*, and, placing herself astern of the *Detroit*, opened heavily upon the *Lawrence*, now, at a quarter past twelve, only musket-shot distance from her chief antagonist. For two hours the gallant Perry and his devoted ship bore the brunt of the battle with twice his force, aided only by the schooners on his weather-bow and some feeble shots from the distant *Caledonia* when she could spare them from her adversary the *Hunter*. During that tempest of war his vessel was terribly shattered. Her rigging was nearly all shot away; her sails were torn into shreds; her spars were battered into splinters; her guns were dismounted; and, like the *Guerriere* when disabled by the *Constitution*, she lay upon the waters almost a helpless wreck. The carnage on her deck had been terrible. Out of one hundred and three sound men that composed her officers and crew when she went into action, twenty-two were slain and sixty-one were wounded. Perry's little brother had been struck down by a splinter at his side, but soon recovered.² Yarnall,³ his first lieutenant, had come to him bleeding, his nose swelled to an enormous size, it having been perforated by a splinter, and his whole appearance the impersonation of carnage and ill luck, and said, "All the officers in my division are cut down; can I have others?" They were sent; but Yarnall soon returned, again wounded and bleeding profusely, with the same sad story. "I have no more officers to furnish you," replied Perry; "you must endeavor to make out by yourself." The brave lieutenant did so. Thrice wounded, he kept the deck, and directed every shot from his battery in person. Forest, the second lieutenant, fell stunned at Perry's feet;⁴ and the gallant Brooks,

Charlotte; V., *Lady Prevost*; VI., *Little Belt*. 1, *Scorpion*; 2, *Ariel*; 3, *Lawrence*; 4, *Caledonia*; 5, *Niagara*; 6, *Somers*; 7, *Porcupine*; 8, *Tigress*; 9, *Tripple*.

¹ Dr. Usher Parsons's *Discourse on the Battle of Lake Erie*, delivered before the Rhode Island Historical Society, February 16, 1852, page 10.

² Two musket-balls had already passed through his hat, and his clothes had been torn by splinters.

³ John J. Yarnall was a native of Pennsylvania, and was commissioned a lieutenant in July, 1813, having been in the service as midshipman since 1809.

Ten days after the battle on Lake Erie he was sent to Erie with the *Lawrence*, and soon afterward was ordered to the *John Adams*. He was appointed commander of the *Epervier* in 1815. She was

the dedication of the statue of Perry in that city in September, 1860. I copied the following inscription from the blade: "In testimony of the undaunted gallantry of Lieutenant John J. Yarnall, of the United States ship *Lawrence*, under Commodore Perry, in the capture of the whole English fleet on Lake Erie, September 10, 1813, the State of Virginia bestows this sword." It was brought from Wheeling to Cleveland by Mr. Fleming, of the former place.

⁴ He was struck in the breast by a spent grape-shot. Perry raised him up, assured him that he was not hurt, as there

John J. Yarnall



lost at sea with all on board. The State of Virginia presented Lieutenant Yarnall with a sword soon after the battle of Lake Erie. It was exhibited at the head-quarters of the Old Soldiers at Cleveland, on the occasion of

Death of Lieutenant Brooks.

Terrible Scenes on board the *Lawrence*.

Strange Conduct of Captain Elliott.

so remarkable for his personal beauty,¹ a son of an honored soldier of the old war for independence, and once governor of Massachusetts, was carried in a dying state to the cockpit, where balls were crashing through, his mind more exercised about his beloved commander and the fortunes of the day than himself. When the good surgeon, Parsons, who had hastened to the deck on hearing a shout of victory, returned to cheer the youth with the glorious tidings, the young hero's ears were closed—the doors of the earthly dwelling of his spirit were shut forever.²

While the *Lawrence* was being thus terribly smitten, officers and crew were anxiously wondering why the *Niagara*—the swift, stanch, well-manned *Niagara*—kept aloof, not only from her prescribed antagonist the *Queen Charlotte*, now battling the *Lawrence*, but the other assailants of the flag-ship. Her commander himself had passed the order for close conflict, yet he kept far away; and when afterward censured, he pleaded in justification of his course his perfect obedience to the original order to keep at "half-cable length behind the *Caledonia* on the line." It may be said that his orders to fight the *Queen Charlotte*, who had left her line and gone into the thickest of the fight with the *Lawrence* and her supporting schooners, were quite as imperative, and that it was his duty to follow. This he did not do until the guns of the *Lawrence* became silent, and no signals were displayed by, nor special orders came from Perry. These significant tokens of dissolution doubtless made Elliott believe that the commodore was slain, and himself had become the chief commander of the squadron. He then hailed the *Caledonia*, and ordered Lieutenant Turner³ to

were no signs of a wound, and, thus encouraged, he soon recovered from the shock. The ball had lodged in his clothes. "I am not hurt, sir," he said to the commander, "but this is my shot," and coolly put it in his pocket.

¹ John Brooks was a native of Massachusetts. He studied medicine with his father. Having a military taste, he obtained the appointment of lieutenant of marines, and was stationed at Washington when the war broke out. He was sent to Lake Erie under Perry; and at Erie, while the squadron was a-building, he was engaged in recruiting for the service. There he raised a company of marines for the squadron. He was an excellent drill officer, and gave great promise of future distinction. So intense was his agony when he fell, his hip having been shattered by a cannon-ball, that he begged Perry to shoot him. He died in the course of an hour. "Mr. Brooks," says Doctor Parsons, "was probably surpassed by no officer in the navy for manly beauty, polished manners, and elegant personal appearance."

² The scenes on board the *Lawrence*, as described to me by Doctor Parsons, must have been extremely terrible. The vessel was shallow, and the ward-room, used as a cockpit, to which the wounded were taken, was mostly above water, and exposed to the shots of the enemy; while nothing but the deck-planks separated it from the terrible tumult above, caused by the groans and shrieks of the wounded and dying, the deep rumbling of the gun-carriages, the awful explosions of the cannon, the crash of round-shot as they splintered spars, stove the bulwarks, dismounted the heavy ordnance, and cut the rigging, while through the seams of the deck blood streamed into the surgeon's room in many a crimson rill. When the battle had raged half an hour, and the crew of the *Lawrence* were falling one by one, the commodore called from the small skylight for the doctor to send up one of his six assistants. In five minutes the call was repeated and obeyed, and again repeated and obeyed, until Parsons was left alone. "Can any of the wounded pull a rope?" inquired Perry. The question was answered by two or three crawling upon deck to lend a feeble hand in pulling at the last guns in position.

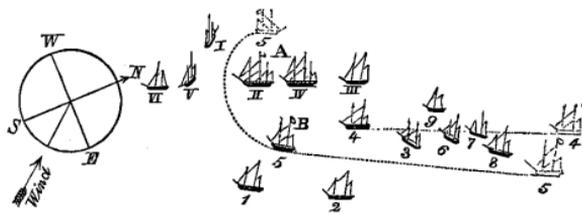
Midshipman Lamb had his arm badly shattered. While moving forward to lie down, after the doctor had dressed the wound, a round-shot came crashing through the side of the vessel, struck the young man in the side, dashed him across the room, and killed him instantly. Pohig, a Narraganset Indian, badly wounded, was released from his sufferings in the same way by another ball that passed through the cockpit. No less than six round-shot entered the surgeon's room during the action.

Some of the incidents witnessed by the doctor were not so painful. A cannon-ball passed through a closet containing all the brig's crockery, dashing a greater portion of it in pieces. It was an illustration—that ball from John Bull—of "a bull in a china-shop." The commodore's dog had secreted himself in that closet when the war of battle commenced, and when the destructive intruder came he set up a furious barking—"a protest," said the doctor, "against the right of such an invasion of his chosen retirement."

We have observed that Lieutenant Yarnall was wounded, yet kept the deck. He had his scalp badly torn, and "came below," said the doctor, "with the blood streaming over his face." Some lint was applied to the wound and confined by a handkerchief, and the lieutenant was then directed to come for better dressing after the battle, as he insisted upon returning to the deck. It was not long before he again made his appearance, having received a second wound. On the deck were stowed some hammocks stuffed with reed-tops, or "cat-tails," as they are popularly called. These filled the air like down, and had settled like snow upon the blood-wet head and face of Yarnall. When he made his appearance below, his visage was ludicrous beyond description; his head appeared like that of a huge owl. The wounded roared with laughter, and cried out, "The devil has come among us!"

³ Daniel Turner was a native of New York. He was appointed a midshipman in 1808, and in 1813 was commissioned a lieutenant. He was efficient in getting the little lake squadron ready for service. In its first cruise across the lake, young Turner, less than twenty-one years of age, commanded the *Niagara*. On the arrival of Captain Elliott, he was ordered to the third ship, the *Caledonia*, and managed her gallantly during the action. He continued in the lake service the following year, and was made a prisoner and sent to Montreal. He was exchanged, and accompanied Perry in the *Java* to the Mediterranean. For his services in the battle of Lake Erie his native state presented him with an elegant sword. He was at one time commander of the naval station at Portsmouth; at another of the Pacific squadron, and always performed his duties with the greatest promptness. He was temperate, brave, generous, and genial. He was

leave the line and bear down upon the *Hunter* for close conflict, giving the *Niagara* a chance to pass for the relief of the *Lawrence*. The gallant Turner instantly obeyed, and the *Caledonia* fought her adversary nobly. The *Niagara* spread her canvas before a freshening breeze that had just sprung up, but, instead of going to the relief of the *Lawrence*, thus silently pleading for protection, she bore away toward the head



SECOND POSITION IN THE BATTLE.¹

squadrons had caught the breeze and moved forward, and left the crippled vessel floating astern. Elliott seemed to notice her only by sending a boat to bring round shot from her to replenish his own scanty store.

As the *Niagara* bore down she was assailed by shots from the *Queen Charlotte*, *Lady Prevost*, and *Hunter*, and returned them with spirit. It was while she was abreast of the *Lawrence's* larboard beam, and nearly half a mile distant, that Perry performed the gallant feat of transferring his broad pennant from one vessel to the other. He had fought as long as possible. More than two hours had worn away in the conflict. His vessel lay helpless and silent upon the almost unruffled bosom of the lake, utterly incapable of farther defense. His last effective heavy gun had been fired by himself, assisted by his purser and chaplain. Only fourteen unhurt persons remained on his deck, and only nine of these were seamen. A less hopeful man would have pulled down his flag in despair; but Perry's spirit was too lofty to be touched by common misfortunes. From his mast-head floated the admonition, as if audibly spoken by the gallant Lawrence, DON'T GIVE UP THE SHIP. In the dash of the *Caledonia* and the approach of the long-lagging *Niagara* he felt the inspiration of hope; and when he saw the latter, like the priest or the Levite, about to "pass by on the other side," unmindful of his wounds, resolutions like swift intuitions filled his mind, and were as quickly acted upon. The *Niagara* was stanch, swift, and apparently unhurt, for she had kept far away from great danger. He determined to fly to her deck, spread all needful sail to catch the stiffening breeze, bear down swiftly upon the crippled enemy, break his line, and make a bold stroke for victory.

With the calmness of perfect assurance, Perry laid aside his blue nankeen sailor's jacket which he had worn all day, and put on the uniform of his rank, as if conscious that he should secure a victory, and have occasion to receive as guests the conquered commander and officers of the British squadron.² "Yarnall," he said, "I leave the *Lawrence* in your charge, with discretionary powers. You may hold out or surrender, as your judgment and the circumstances shall dictate." He had already ordered his boat to be lowered, his broad pennant, and the banner with its glorious words, to be taken down,³ but leaving the Stars and Stripes floating defiantly over the battered

made master commander in 1825, and post-captain in 1835. He died on the 4th of February, 1850, leaving a widow and one daughter, who still survive him.

¹ This shows the relative position of the two squadrons at the time when the *Niagara* bore down upon the head of the British line, the change of her course after Perry took command of her, and the penetration of that line by her. One dotted line, from 4 to 4, shows the attack of the *Caledonia* on the *Hunter*, and the other, from 5 to 5, the course of the *Niagara* as described on this and the next page. The vessels of the British squadron, A, are designated by Roman numerals, thus: I., *Chippewa*; II., *Detroit*; III., *Hunter*; IV., *Queen Charlotte*; V., *Lady Prevost*; VI., *Little Belt*. Those of the American squadron, B, are designated by Arabic numerals, thus: 1, *Scorpion*; 2, *Ariel*; 3, *Lawrence*; 4, *Caledonia*; 5, *Niagara*; 6, *Somers*; 7, *Porcupine*; 8, *Tigress*; 9, *Trippie*.

² Letter of Rev. Francis Vinton, D.D., son-in-law of Commodore Perry, to the Author.

³ This was rolled up and cast to him, after he had entered his barge, by Hosea Sargent, now [1867] living at Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Perry's Voyage from the *Lawrence* to the *Niagara*. Its Perils and its Success. A British Survivor of the Battle.

hulk. With these, his little brother, and four stout seamen for the oars,¹ he started upon his perilous voyage, anxiously watched by Yarnall and his companions.

"A soul like his no danger fears:
His pendant from the mast he tears,
And in his gallant bosom bears,
To grace the bold *Niagara*.
See! he quits the *Lawrence's* side,
And trusts him to the foaming tide,
Where thundering navies round him ride,
And flash their red artillery."—OLD SOSE.

He stood upright in his boat, the pennant and the banner half folded around him, a mark for the anxious eyes of his own men and for the guns of the enemy.² The latter discovered the movement. Barclay, who was badly wounded, and whose flagship was almost dismantled, well knew that if Perry, who had fought the *Lawrence* so gallantly, should tread the quarter-deck of the fresh *Niagara* as commander, his squadron would be in great danger of defeat. He therefore ordered great and little guns to be brought to bear upon the frail but richly-laden vessel—laden with a hero of purest mould. Cannon-balls, grape, canister, and musket-shot were hurled in showers toward the little boat during the fifteen minutes that it was making its way from the *Lawrence* to the *Niagara*.³ The oars were splintered, bullets traversed the boat, and the crew were covered with spray caused by the falling of heavy round and grape-shot in the water near. Perry stood erect, unmindful of danger. His men entreated him to be seated, for his life at that critical moment seemed too precious to be needlessly exposed to peril. It was not foolhardiness nor thoughtlessness, but the innately brave spirit of the man, that kept him on his feet. At length, when his oarsmen threatened to cease labor if he did not sit down, he consented to do so. A few minutes later they were all climbing to the deck of the *Niagara*, entirely unharmed, and greeted with the loud cheers of the Americans, who had watched the movement

¹ One of these was Thomas Penny, who died in the Naval Asylum, near Philadelphia, in 1863, at the age of eighty-one years.

² Perry's portrait belonging to the city of New York, and hanging in the Governor's Room, from which ours on page 321 was copied, is what artists call a kit-kat, or three-quarters length. It was painted by John Wesley Jarvis, and represents Perry standing, with the banner floating like a huge scarf from his shoulders.

³ Among the survivors of the Battle of Lake Erie whom I have met was John Chapman, a resident of Hudson, Ohio, a small, energetic man, who related his past experience in an attractive, dramatic style. He was in the British fleet as gunner, maintop-man, and boarder in the *Queen Charlotte*, and claimed the distinction of having fired the first shot at the *Lawrence* from a 24-pounder. He also said that he aimed a shot at Commodore Perry when making his perilous passage from the *Lawrence* to the *Niagara*. Mr. Chapman was a native of England. He came from there in the transport *Justwick* early in 1812, and landed at Quebec. From that city he went up the St. Lawrence in May, and took post in Fort George, on the Niagara River. He afterward went up to assist in the erection of Fort Erie. He was present at the surrender of Hull, and participated in the battle of Queenston Heights. In the summer of 1813 he was placed on board the schooner *Lady Prevost*, at Long Point, and arrived at Malden about three weeks before the battle of Lake Erie. He was with Proctor at the attack on Fort Stephenson. He was one of the survivors in the fatal ditch (see page 563), and escaped to the woods under cover of the darkness. On the return of Proctor to Malden he went on board the *Queen Charlotte*, and was with her in the battle. He was sent to Ohio with other prisoners, and was one of those who were held as hostages for the safety of the Irishmen under Scott who were sent to England, as mentioned on page 406. He was released on the 20th of October, at Cleveland. He went immediately to Hudson, a few miles distant, where he resided until his death in 1866. I am indebted to the Rev. T. B. Fairchild, of Hudson, for the substance of the above brief sketch of the public career of Mr. Chapman, and to the soldier himself for his likeness, taken in the spring of 1862.



John Chapman

I am indebted to the Rev. T. B. Fairchild, of Hudson, for the substance of the above brief sketch of the public career of Mr. Chapman, and to the soldier himself for his likeness, taken in the spring of 1862.

Meeting of Perry and Elliott.

Surrender of the helpless *Lawrence*.

Perry strikes the British Line.

with breathless anxiety. Perry was met at the gangway by the astonished Elliott. There stood the hero of the fight, blackened with the smoke of battle, but unharmed in person and unflinching in his determination to win victory—he whom the commander of the *Niagara* thought to be dead. There were hurried questions and answers. "How goes the day?" asked Elliott. "Bad enough," responded Perry; "why are the gun-boats so far astern?" "I'll bring them up," said Elliott. "Do so," responded Perry. Such is the reported substance of the brief conversation of the two commanders,¹ at the close of which Elliott pushed off in a small boat to hurry up the lagging vessels. Having given his orders to each to use sails and oars with the greatest vigor, he went on board the *Somers*, and behaved gallantly until the close of the action.

At a glance Perry comprehended the condition and capabilities of the *Niagara*. There had been few casualties on board of her, and she was in perfect order for conflict. He immediately ran up his pennant, displayed the blue banner, hoisted the signal for close action, and received quick responses and cheers from the whole squadron; hove to, altered the course of the vessel, set the proper sails, and bore down upon the British line, which lay half a mile distant. Meanwhile the gallant Yarnall, after consulting Lieutenant Forrest and Sailing-master Taylor, had struck the flag of the *Lawrence*, for she was utterly helpless, and humanity required that firing upon her should cease. As the starry flag trailed to the deck a triumphant shout went up from the British. It was heard by the wounded on the *Lawrence*. When informed of the cause, their hearts grew almost still, and in the anguish of chagrin they refused to be attended by the surgeon, and cried out, "Sink the ship! sink the ship! Let us all sink together!"² Noble fellows! they were worthy of their commander. In less than thirty minutes after they had offered themselves a willing sacrifice for the honor of their country's flag, they were made joyful by hearing the step and voice of their beloved commander again upon the deck of the *Lawrence*.

Perry's movement against the British line was successful. He broke it; passed at half pistol-shot distance between the *Lady Prevost*³ and *Chippewa* on his larboard, and the *Detroit*, *Queen Charlotte*, and *Hunter* on his starboard, and poured in tremendous broadsides right and left from double-shotted guns. Ranging ahead of the vessels on his starboard, he rounded to and raked the *Detroit* and *Queen Charlotte*, which had got foul of each other.⁴ Close and deadly was his fire upon them with great guns and musketry. Meanwhile, the *Lawrence* having drifted out of her place in the line, her position against the *Detroit* was taken by the *Caledonia*, Captain Turner; the latter's place in line, as opposed to the *Hunter*, was occupied by the *Trippe*, commanded by Lieutenant Holdup.⁵ These gallant young officers had exchanged signals

¹ Mr. Hambleton, the purser of the *Lawrence*, has left on record an account of this interview between Perry and Elliott. "As Perry reached the deck of the *Niagara*," he says, "he was met at the gangway by Captain Elliott, who inquired how the day was going. Captain Perry replied, Badly; that he had lost almost all of his men, and that his ship was a wreck, and asked what the gun-boats were doing so far astern. Captain Elliott offered to go and bring them up; and, Captain Perry consenting, he sprang into the boat and went off on that duty.—Hambleton's *Journal*, cited by M'Kenzie.

² Oration by George H. Calvert, at Newport, Rhode Island, on the 10th of September, 1858, on the occasion of the celebration of the fortieth anniversary of the Battle of Lake Erie.

³ Lieutenant Buchan, the commander of the *Lady Prevost*, was shot through the face by a musket-ball from Perry's marines. Perry saw him standing alone, leaning on the companion-way, his face resting on his hand, and looking with fixed gaze toward the *Niagara*. His companions, unable to endure the terrible fire, had all fled below. Perry immediately silenced the marines on the quarter-deck. He afterward learned that the strange conduct of Buchan was owing to sudden derangement caused by his wound. Poor fellow! he was a brave officer, and had distinguished himself under Nelson.

⁴ The position of the *Detroit* and *Queen Charlotte* at this time may be seen by reference to II. and IV. in the diagram on page 526. In the same diagram the course of the *Niagara* in breaking the British line may be seen along the dotted line from 5 to 5.

⁵ Thomas Holdup was a native of South Carolina, and was an inmate and pupil of the Orphan Asylum in Charleston. He became a protégé of General Stevens, of that city, who obtained a midshipman's warrant for him in 1809. He was on board the *John Adams*, at Brooklyn, in 1812,

Perry breaks the British line.

British Vessels attempt to escape.

Perry's Victory complete.

to board the *Detroit*, when they saw the *Niagara* with the commodore's pennant bearing down to break the British line. Turner followed her closely with the *Caladonia*; and the freshened breeze having brought up the *Somers*, Mr. Almy,¹ the *Tigress*, Lieutenant Coneclin,² and the *Porcupine*, Acting Master Senat,³ the whole American squadron except the *Lawrence* was, for the first time, engaged in the conflict. The fight was terrible for a few minutes, and the combatants were completely enveloped in smoke.

Eight minutes after Perry dashed through the British line the colors of the *Detroit* were struck, and her example was speedily followed by all the other vessels of



POSITION OF THE SQUADRONS AT THE CLOSE OF THE BATTLE.*

Barclay's squadron, excepting the *Little Belt* and *Chippewa* (I. and IV. in the annexed diagram), which attempted to escape to leeward. Champlin with the *Scorpion*, and Holdup with the *Trippe*, made chase after the fugitives, and both were overtaken and brought back to grace the triumph of the victor, the *Little Belt* by the former, and the *Chippewa* by the latter. It was in this chase that Champlin fired the last gun in that memorable battle. "So near were they to making their escape," says Champlin in a letter to the author, "that it was 10 o'clock in the evening before I came to an anchor under the stern of the *Lawrence* with the *Little Belt* in tow."

It was three o'clock in the afternoon when the flag of the *Detroit* was lowered. The roar of cannon ceased; and as the blue vapor of battle was borne away by the breeze, it was discovered that the two squadrons were intermingled.⁵ The victory was complete. The flag of the *Lawrence* had indeed been struck to the enemy, but she had not been taken possession of. She was yet free, and, with a feeble shout

and, with others, volunteered for the lake service. He performed gallant service near Buffalo toward the close of the year, and was commissioned a lieutenant. In April, 1813, he went to Erie with men, and assisted in fitting out the squadron there. He fought his vessel bravely in the action of the 10th of September, and he and Champlin pursued the two fugitives of the British squadron. He was in service on the upper lakes the following year, and there was invited to the *Jaco* by Perry. He had married, and declined the offer of a good post on that vessel. He subsequently commanded several different vessels, and was promoted to master commandant in 1825. He was commissioned post-captain in 1836. He died suddenly while in command of the Washington Navy Yard, in January, 1841. His widow, who was a Miss Sage, died soon afterward. By act of the Legislature of South Carolina he assumed the name of his benefactor, with a promise that he should inherit his fortune. From that time (1818) he is known as Thomas Holdup Stevens. He was possessed of a high order of literary ability, and was beloved by all. His son, Thomas Holdup Stevens, behaved gallantly in the naval action off Milton Head in the late civil war.

¹ Thomas C. Almy was a native of Rhode Island, of Quaker parentage. He became a sailor in early life, and at the age of twenty-one years he was commander of a ship. He was in the *Scorpion* at Newport, went to Lake and young Senat was killed. They fought at what is now the corner of Third and Cassadaga Streets, Erie.

² In this, as in the preceding diagrams, furnished by Commodore Champlin, the British vessels are designated by Roman numerals, and the American vessels by Arabic numerals. This diagram shows the relative position of the vessels of the two squadrons at the close of the battle. The respective numbers indicate the same vessels as in the other diagrams.

to grace the triumph of the victor, the *Little Belt* by the former, and the *Chippewa* by the latter. It was in this chase that Champlin fired the last gun in that memorable battle. "So near were they to making their escape," says Champlin in a letter to the author, "that it was 10 o'clock in the evening before I came to an anchor under the stern of the *Lawrence* with the *Little Belt* in tow."

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ALMY'S SWORD.

The annexed engraving is a picture of the hilt of the sword awarded to Almy, and which was given to his next of kin. On one side of the blade are the words "THOMAS C. ALMY, Sailing-master commanding, Lake Erie, 10th September, 1813." On the other side the words "ALMY WENT OFF AT SUMMER MEETING," with a little view of ships-of-war.

² Augustus H. M. Coneclin was a native of Virginia. He was appointed midshipman in 1800, and lieutenant in 1813. He followed Elliott to Erie. On a dark night in 1814 his vessel was captured by a party in boats off Fort Erie. He left the service in 1820, while stationed at Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

³ George Senat was a native of New Orleans, of French extraction. He commenced active life as a sailor, but of his career previous to his joining the squadron at Erie nothing appears on record. He served on the upper lakes in 1814. On his return to Erie he became involved in a quarrel with Sailing-master McInnis. A duel ensued, and young Senat was killed. They fought at what is now the corner of Third and Cassadaga Streets, Erie.

⁵ See the above diagram and note of explanation.

Perry's Triumph a remarkable one.

His famous Dispatch to Harrison.

His Dispatch to his Government.

that floated not far over the waters, her exhausted crew flung out the flag of their country from her mast-head.¹

This triumph was a remarkable one in American and British history. Never before had an American fleet or squadron encountered an enemy in regular line of battle, and never before, since England created a navy, and boasted that

"Britannia rules the wave,"

had a whole British fleet or squadron been captured. It was a proud moment for Perry and his companions.

"As lifts the smoke, what tongue can fitly tell
The transports which those manly bosoms swell,
When Britain's ensign down the reeling mast
Sinks to proclaim the desperate struggle past!
Electric cheers along the shattered fleet,
With rapturous hail, her youthful hero greet;
Meek in his triumph, as in danger calm,
With reverent hands he takes the victor's palm;
His wreath of conquest on Faith's altar lays,²
To his brave comrades yields the meed of praise."—H. T. TUOKERMAN.

When Perry's eye perceived at a glance that victory was secure, he wrote, in pencil, on the back of an old letter, resting it upon his navy cap, that remarkable dispatch to General Harrison whose first clause has been so often quoted—

"We have met the enemy, and they are ours: two ships, two brigs, one schooner, and one sloop. Yours, with great respect and esteem,

O. H. PERRY."

*We have met the enemy and they are ours.
Two Ships, two Brigs one
Schooner & one Sloop.*

Yours, with great respect and esteem

O. H. Perry.

FAO-SIMILE OF PERRY'S DISPATCH.

A few minutes afterward, when, as Bancroft says, "a religious awe seemed to come over him at his wonderful preservation in the midst of great and long-continued danger,"³ he wrote to the Secretary of the Navy as follows:

"U. S. Brig *Niagara*, off the Western Sister,⁴ Head of Lake Erie, September 10, 1813, 4 P.M.

"SIR,—It has pleased the Almighty to give to the arms of the United States a signal victory over their enemies on this lake. The British squadron, consisting of two ships, two brigs, one schooner, and one sloop, have this moment surrendered to the force under my command after a sharp conflict.

"I have the honor to be, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

O. H. PERRY.

"Honorable William Jones, Secretary of the Navy."

¹ "The shattered *Lawrence*," says Dr. Parsons, "lying to the windward, was once more able to hoist her flag, which was cheered by a few feeble voices on board, making a melancholy sound compared with the boisterous cheering that preceded the battle."—*Discourse*, page 13.

² See Perry's Dispatch to the Secretary of the Navy, printed above.

³ *New York Ledger*.

⁴ This is the most southwardly of three islands near the western end of Lake Erie, named respectively Eastern Sister, Middle Sister, and Western Sister, lying in a line from the southwest to the northeast. It was a little westward of the island named in the dispatch that the battle occurred.

Perry returns to the *Lawrence*.

Surrender of the British Officers.

Burial of the Dead in the Lake.

These hurried but admirably-worded dispatches were sent by the same express to both Harrison and the Secretary of the Navy.¹ Then the ceremony of taking possession of the conquered vessels, and receiving the formal submission of the vanquished, was performed. Perry gave the signal to anchor, and started for his battered flag-ship, determined, on her deck, and in the presence of her surviving officers and crew, to receive the commanders of the captured squadron. "It was a time of conflicting emotions," says Dr. Parsons, "when he stepped upon deck. The battle was won and he was safe, but the deck was slippery with blood, and strewn with the bodies of twenty officers and men, seven of whom had sat at table with us at our last meal, and the ship resounded every where with the groans of the wounded. Those of us who were spared and able to walk met him at the gangway to welcome him on board, but the salutation was a silent one on both sides; not a word could find utterance."²

The next movement in the solemn drama was the reception of the British officers, one from each of the captured vessels. Perry stood on the after-part of the deck, and his sad visitors were compelled to pick their way to him among the slain. He received them with solemn dignity and unaffected kindness. As they presented their swords, with the hilts toward the victor, he spoke in a low but firm tone, without the betrayal of the least exultation, and requested them to retain their weapons. He inquired, with real concern, about Commodore Barclay and his fellow-sufferers from severe wounds; and he made every captive feel, at that sad and solemn moment, the thrill of pleasure excited by the conduct of a Christian gentleman in the moment of the adversity of the recipient of his kindness.

"A chastened rapture, Perry, fills thy breast;
Thy sacred tear embalms the heroes slain;
The gem of pity shines in glory's crest
More brilliant than the diamond wreath of fame."

When this sad ceremony was over, the conqueror, exhausted by the day's work upon which he had entered with fever-enfeebled body, lay down upon the deck in the midst of his dead companions, and, surrounded by prisoners, and with his hands folded over his breast, and his drawn sword held in one of them, he slept as sweetly as a wearied child.³

There was yet another sad service to be performed. The dead of the two squadrons were yet unburied. When twilight—the rich, glowing twilight at the end of a gorgeous September day—lay upon the bosom of the lake like a luminous, deepening mist, the bodies of all the slain, excepting those of the officers, wrapped in rude shrouds, and with a cannon-ball at the feet of each, were dropped, one by one, into the bosom of the clear lake, at the close of the beautiful and impressive burial service of the Anglican Church.

"Neath the dark waves of Erie now slumber the brave,
In the bed of its waters forever they rest;
The flag of their glory floats over their grave;
The souls of the heroes in memory are blessed."—W. B. TAPPAN.

¹ The gallant Lieutenant Dulaney Forrest was Perry's chosen courier. He was a native of the District of Columbia, and had been in the service since 1809, when he was appointed midshipman. He was with Bainbridge when the *Constitution* captured the *Jawa*. He was acting lieutenant on board Perry's flag-ship, and was chief signal officer. His conduct was brave, and he was greatly beloved by his companions. He bore to Washington not only the dispatches of his commander, but the flags captured from the British. Forrest also took with him the blue banner with the words of Lawrence, mentioned on page 520. Forrest accompanied Perry to the Mediterranean in the *Jawa*. He was commissioned a lieutenant at that time. He died of fever in 1825.

Colonel Peter Force, of Washington City, has a piece of every flag captured in this battle, and of nearly every trophy-flag of the war. They were all taken to Washington, where, in course of time, through neglect, they fell into decay. The pieces in the possession of Mr. Force are carefully preserved in a scrap-book, with the place and date of their capture recorded, and make an interesting collection of bits of bunting.

The intelligence of the victory on Lake Erie was carried to Pennsylvania from Detroit by Samuel Doche, Samuel Burnett, and Cyrus Bosworth. The first was a mail-carrier from Detroit to Cleveland; the second from Cleveland to Warren, Ohio, and the third from Warren to Pittsburg. They were all three living at the time of the inauguration of Perry's statue at Cleveland in September, 1860. Mr. Bosworth participated in that celebration.

² *Discourse*, page 14.

³ Calvert's *Oration*, page 21.

* September 21, 1813. The moon soon spread her silver sheen over their common grave, and all but the suffering wounded slumbered until the dawn.^a

The two squadrons weighed anchor at nine o'clock and sailed into Put-in-Bay Harbor, and there, twenty-four hours afterward, on the margin of South Bass Island,



THE BURIAL-PLACE.

from which, on the right, may be seen the channel leading out toward Canada, and on the left the open way toward Detroit, where now willow, hickory, and maple-trees cast a pleasant shade in summer, three American and three British officers¹ were buried^b with the same

solemn funeral rites, in the presence of their respective countrymen.²

The light of the morning of the 11th revealed sad sights to the eyes of the belligerents. Vessels of both squadrons were dreadfully shattered, especially the two flag-ships. Sixty-eight persons had been killed and one hundred and ninety wounded during the three hours that the battle lasted. Of these, the Americans lost one hundred and twenty-three, twenty-seven

of whom were killed; the British lost one hundred and thirty-five, forty-one of whom were killed.³ Barclay, of the *Detroit* (the British commander), who had lost an arm at Trafalgar, was first wounded in the thigh, and then so severely injured in the shoulder as to deprive him of the use of the other arm. Pinnis, of the *Queen Charlotte*, the second in command, was mortally wounded, and died that evening. Both were gallant men; and justice to all demands the acknowledgment that the Americans and British carried on that terrible conflict with the greatest courage, fortitude, and skill. It is also just to say that the British experienced what is called "ill luck" from the beginning. First, the wind suddenly turned in favor of the Americans at the commencement of the action, giving them the weather-gage; then the two principal British commanders were struck down early in the action; then the rudder of the *Lady Prevost* was disabled, which caused her to drift out of the line; the entanglement of the *Detroit* and *Queen Charlotte* gave the *Niagara*, under Perry, an opportunity to rake them severely; and, lastly, the men of the British squadron had not, with the exception of those from the Royal Navy, received the training with guns

¹ These were Lieutenant Brooks and Midshipmen Lum and Clarke, of the American service, and Captain Flints and Lieutenants Stokoe and Garland, of the British service. The view here given of the burial-place of these officers I copied, by permission, from one of the paintings of Miss C. L. Ransom, already mentioned.

² Samuel R. Brown, who arrived at Put-in-Bay Island on the evening of the 9th, and from the head of it was a witness of the battle at about ten miles distant, was present at the burial. "An opening on the margin of the bay," he says, "was selected for the interment of the bodies. The crews of both fleets attended. The weather was fine; the elements seemed to participate in the solemnities of the day, for every breeze was hushed, and not a wave ruffled the surface of the water. The procession of boats—the neat appearance of the officers and men—the music—the slow and regulated motion of the oars, striking in exact time with the notes of the solemn dirge—the mournful waving of the flags—the sound of the minute-guns from the different ships in the harbor—the wild and solitary aspect of the place—the stillness of nature—gave to the scene an air of melancholy grandeur better felt than described. All acknowledged its influence, all were sensibly affected."—*Fleets on Lake Erie*, printed in Albany in 1814.

³ The American loss was distributed as follows: On the *Lawrence*, 88; *Nausar*, 27; *Calistonia*, 3; *Somers*, 2; *Arct*, 4; *Trypse* and *Scorpion*, 2 each. Besides the officers mentioned in Note 1, above, the British lost in wounded Midshipman Foster, of the *Queen Charlotte*; Lieutenant Commanding Buchan and First Lieutenant Roulette, of the *Lady Prevost*; Lieutenant Commandant Brignall and Master's Mate Gateshill, of the *Hunter*; Master's Mate Campbell, commanding the *Chippewa*; and Purser Hoffmeister, of the *Detroit*.

Doctor Horseley, the surgeon of the squadron, being ill, the duties devolved wholly upon his young assistant, Doctor Usher Parsons, then only twenty-five years of age. During the action he removed six legs, which were nearly divided by cannon-balls. On the morning of the 11th he went on board the *Niagara* to attend to her wounded, and then those of the other vessels requiring surgical attention were sent to the *Lawrence*. The skill of Doctor Parsons is attested by the fact that of the whole ninety-six wounded only three died. He modestly attributed the result to fresh air, good spirits caused by the victory, and the "devoted attention of the commodore."

Importance of Perry's Victory.

Its Effects.

How his Cannon were afterward used.

that most of the Americans had just experienced, for they came out of port the morning of the battle.¹

Perry's victory proved to be one of the most important events of the war. At that moment two armies, one on the north and the other on the south of the warring squadrons, were waiting for the result most anxiously. Should the victory remain with the British, Proctor and Tecumtha were ready at Malden, with their motley army five thousand strong, to rush forward and lay waste the entire frontier. Should the victory rest with the Americans, Harrison, with his army in the vicinity of Sandusky Bay, was prepared to press forward by land or water for the seizure of Malden and Detroit, the recovery of Michigan, and the invasion of Canada. All along the borders of the lake within sound of the cannon in the battle (and they were heard from Cleveland to Malden²), women with terrified children, and decrepit old men, sat listening with the deepest anxiety; for they knew not but with the setting sun they would be compelled to flee to the interior, to escape the fangs of the red blood-hounds who were ready to be let loose upon helpless innocency by the approved servants of a government that boasted of its civilization and Christianity. Happily for America—happily for the fair fame of Great Britain—happily for the cause of humanity—the victory was left with the Americans, and the savage allies of the British were not allowed to repeat the tragedies in which they had already been permitted to engage. Joy spread over the northwestern frontier as the glad tidings went from lip to lip. That whole region was instantly relieved of the most gloomy forebodings of coming evil. That victory led to the destruction of the Indian confederacy, and wiped out the stigma of the surrender at Detroit thirteen months before. It opened the way for Harrison's army to repossess the territory then surrendered, and to penetrate Canada. It was speedily followed by the overthrow of British power in the Canadian peninsula and the country bordering on the upper lakes, and the absolute security forever of the whole northwestern frontier from British invasion and Indian depredations. From that moment no one doubted the ability of the Americans to maintain the mastery of our great inland seas, and the faith of the people in this ability was well expressed by a poet of the time, who concluded an epic with the following lines:

"And though Britons may brag of their ruling the ocean,
And that sort of thing—by the Lord I've a notion—
I'll bet all I'm worth—who takes it?—who takes?—
Though they're lords of the sea, we'll be lords of the lakes."³

The effect of this victory upon the whole country was electric and amazingly in-

¹ The great guns used by Perry, and those captured by him from the British, remained in the United States Naval Depot at Erie until the autumn of 1825, when they were transferred to the Naval Station at Brooklyn. They were about to be removed through the agency of Dows, Cary, and Meech, who had prepared a line of boats for the just completed Erie Canal. The happy thought occurred to some one that these cannon might be used for telegraphic purposes in connection with the celebration of the first opening of the canal. They were accordingly placed at intervals of about ten miles along the whole line of the canal. When the first fleet of boats left Buffalo on that occasion, the fact was announced to the citizens of New York in one hour and twenty minutes by the serial discharges of these cannon. This announcement, literally conveyed in "thunder-tones" from the lake to the sea-board, was responded to in like manner and in the same space of time.—Statement of Orlando Allen to the Buffalo Historical Society, April, 1863.

The authorities consulted in the preparation of the foregoing account of the Battle of Lake Erie are the official dispatches of Perry and Barclay: Niles's Register; The War: Port Folio; Analectic Magazine; Political Register; M'Kenzie's Life of Perry; Life of Elliott, by a citizen of New York; Cooper's Naval History; Discourses by Parsons, Burges, and Calvert; oral and written statements communicated to the author by the survivors; Brown's *Views on Lake Erie*, and Log-book of the *Lawrence*, kept by Sailing-master Taylor.

² I was informed by Captain Levi Johnson, whom I met at Cleveland in the autumn of 1860, that he and others were engaged in the last work upon the new court-house, which stood in front of the present First Presbyterian Church, on the day of the battle. They thought they heard thunder, but, seeing no clouds, concluded that the two squadrons had met. He and several others went down to the lake bank, near the present residence of Mr. Whittaker, on Water Street. Nearly all the villagers assembled there, numbering about thirty. They waited until the firing ceased. Although the distance in a straight line was full seventy miles, they could easily distinguish the sounds of the heavier and lighter guns. The last five reports were from the heavy guns. Knowing that the Americans had the heaviest ordnance, they concluded that victory remained with them, and with that conviction they gave three cheers for Perry. Miss Reynolds, sister of the venerable Robert Reynolds, of the British army, whom I also visited in the autumn of 1860, told me that she listened to the firing during the whole battle. The distance was less than forty miles.

A letter dated at Erie, September 24, 1813, says that a gentleman from the New York state line heard at his house the cannoning on the lake one hundred and sixty miles distant! It was heard at Erie, and at first was supposed to be distant thunder.

³ *Analectic Magazine*, iii., 84.

spiriting. There had been a prevailing apprehension that the failures of 1812 were to be repeated in 1813. This victory dissipated those forebodings, and kindled hope and joy all over the land.

"O'er the mountains the sun of our fame was declining,
And on Thetis' billowy breast
The cold orb had reposed, all his splendor resigning,
Bedimmed by the mists of the West.
The prospect that rose to the patriot's sight
Was cheerless, and hopeless, and dreary;
But a bolt burst the cloud, and illumined the night
That enveloped the waters of Erie."—OLD SONG.

It is difficult at this time to imagine the exultation then felt and exhibited every where. Illuminations,¹ bonfires, salvos of artillery, public dinners, orations, and songs were the visible indications of the popular satisfaction in almost every city, village, and hamlet within the bounds of the republic. The newspapers teemed with eulogies of the victor and his companions, and the pulpit and rostrum were resonant with words of thanksgiving and praise. The lyre² and the pencil³ made many con-

¹ The City Hall and other buildings in New York were splendidly illuminated on the evening of Saturday, October 23, 1813. There was a band of music in the gallery of the portico, and transparencies were exhibited showing naval battles; also the words of Lawrence, "DON'T GIVE UP THE SHIP," and those of Perry's dispatch, "WE HAVE MET THE ENEMY, AND THEY ARE OURS." The last-named transparency was exhibited at the theatre, with a picture of the fight between the *Hornet* and *Peacock*.

² Many songs were written and sung in commemoration of Perry's victory. One of the most popular of these was *American Perry*, which commences thus:

"Bold Barclay one day to Proctor did say,
I'm tired of Jamaica and Cherry;
So let us go down to that new floating town,
And get some American Perry.*
Oh, cheap American Perry!
Most pleasant American Perry!
We need only all bear down, knock, and call,
And we'll have the American Perry."

³ Among the caricatures of the day was one by Charles, of Philadelphia, representing John Bull, in the person of the king, seated, with his hand pressed upon his stomach, indicating pain, which the fresh juice of the pear, called perry,



Queen Charlotte and Johnny Bull got their dose of Perry.

will produce. *Queen Charlotte*, the king's wife (a fair likeness of whom is given), enters with a bottle labeled PERRY, out of which the cork has flown, and in the foam is seen the names of the vessels composing the American squadron. She says, "Johnny, won't you have some more Perry?" John Bull replies, while writhing in pain produced by perry, "Oh! Perry!!! Curse that Perry! One disaster after another—I have not half recovered the bloody nose I got at the Boxing-match." This last expression refers to the capture of the *Essex* by the American schooner *Enterprise*. This caricature is entitled "*Queen Charlotte and Johnny Bull got their dose of Perry*." This will be better per-

* See the next note on this page.

Hours awarded to Perry.

Congress presents a Gold Medal to both Perry and Elliott.

tributions to the popular demonstrations of joy, and public bodies testified their gratitude by appropriate acts. The Legislature of Pennsylvania voted thanks and a gold medal to Perry; also thanks and a silver medal to every man engaged in the battle.¹



THE PERRY MEDAL.

The corporate authorities of New York ordered the illumination of the City Hall in honor of the victory;² and the National Congress voted thanks and a gold medal to both Perry and Elliott, to be adorned with appropriate devices,³ and silver ones, with



THE ELLIOTT MEDAL.

the same emblems, to the nearest male relatives of Brooks, Lamb, Clarke, and Claxton, who were slain. Three months' extra pay was also voted for each of the commissioned officers of the navy and army who served in the battle, and a sword to

be received by remembering that one of the principal vessels of the British squadron was named the *Queen Charlotte*, in honor of the royal consort. In a ballad of the day occurs the following lines:

"On Erie's wave, while Barclay brave,
With *Charlotte* making merry,
He chanced to take the belly-ache,
We drenched him so with *Perry*."

² See note 1, page 634.

¹ *The War*, page 127.

² On one side of Perry's medal is a bust of the commodore, surrounded by the following words: "OLIVERUS H. PERRY PRINCEPS STAGNO ERIENSE CLASSAM TOTAM CONTENDIT." On the reverse a squadron of vessels closely engaged, and the legend "VLAM INVENIT VIRTUS AUT FACIT." Exergue: "INTER CLASS. AMERL. ET BRIT. DIE X. SEP. MDCCXIII."

On one side of Elliott's medal is a bust of the commander, and the words "JESSE D. ELLIOTT NIL ACTUM REPUTANS SE QUID SUPRESSET AGENDUM." On the reverse a squadron engaged, and the legend "VLAM INVENIT VIRTUS AUT FACIT." The exergue the same as on Perry's.

each of the midshipmen and sailing-masters "who so nobly distinguished themselves on that memorable occasion."¹ In after years, when the dead body of Perry was buried in the soil of his native state, her Legislature caused a monument to be erected to his memory,² for she claimed, with much justice, a large share of the glory of the battle of Lake Erie for her sons.³

The effect of this victory was deeply impressive on the British mind, and the newspapers in the provinces and the mother country indulged in lamentations over the want of vigor in the prosecution of the war manifested by the ministry. "We have been conquered on Lake Erie," said a Halifax paper,^a "and so we shall be on every other lake, if we take as little care to protect them. Their success is less owing to their prowess than to our neglect." A London paper consoled the people by saying,^b "It may, however, serve to diminish our vexation at the occurrence to learn that the flotilla in question was not any branch of the British Navy. . . . It was not the Royal Navy, but a local force—a kind of mercantile military." Others, conscious of the inability of the British force in Canada to cope with the Americans, urged the necessity of extending the alliance with the Indians. "We dare assert," said a writer in one of the leading British Reviews,^c "and recent events have gone far in establishing the truth of the proposition, that the Canadas can not be effectually and durably defended without the friendship of the Indians, and command of the lakes and the River St. Lawrence." He urged his countrymen to consider the interests of the Indians as their own; "for men," he said, "whose very name is so very formidable to an American, and whose friendship has recently been shown to be of such great importance to us, we can not do too much."

The name of Perry is cherished with increasing reverence by successive generations; and the vast population that now swarm along the southern borders of Lake Erie regard the battle that has made its name immortal in history as a classical possession of rare value. Only a few weeks after the victory, Washington Irving, in a chaste biographical sketch of Commodore Perry,^d said: "The last roar of cannon that died along her shores was the expiring note of British domination. Those vast internal seas will perhaps never again be the separating space between contending nations, but will be embosomed within a mighty empire;^e and this victory, which decided their fate, will stand unrivaled and alone, deriving lustre and perpetuity from its singleness. In future times, when the shores of Erie shall hum with busy population; when towns and cities shall brighten where now extend the dark and tangled forests; when ports shall spread their arms, and lofty barks shall ride where now the canoe is fastened to the stake; when the present age shall have grown into venerable antiquity, and the mists of fable begin to gather round its history, then will the inhabitants look back to this battle we record as one of the romantic achievements of the days of yore. It will stand first on the page of their local legends and in the marvelous tales of the borders."

This prophecy of the beloved Irving has been fulfilled. The archipelago that embraces Put-in-Bay has become a classic region. At Erie, and Cleveland, and Sandusky, and Toledo, where the Indian then "fastened his canoe to a stake," "ports

¹ We have observed in Note 2, page 519, that Mr. Hambleton, purser of the *Lawrence*, was chosen prize agent. A board of officers from Lake Ontario, assisted by Henry Eckford, naval constructor, prized the captured squadron at \$225,000. Commodore Chauncey, the commander-in-chief on the lakes, received one twentieth of the whole sum, or \$12,750. Perry and Elliott each drew \$7140. The Congress voted Perry \$5000 in addition. Each commander of a gun-boat, sailing-master, lieutenant, and captain of marines, received \$2295; each midshipman, \$811; each petty officer, \$447; and each marine and sailor, \$209.—Miss Laura G. Sanford's *History of Erie*, page 278.

² Perry took with him from Rhode Island, as we have seen (page 509), a large number of men and officers. It was by them chiefly that the vessels built at Erie were constructed. The commodore and three of his commanders—Champlin, Almy, and Turner, and five other officers—Taylor, Brownell, Breese, Dunham, and Alexander Perry, were from Rhode Island. In the fight forty-seven of the fifty-five guns of the squadron were commanded by Rhode Islanders.

³ *New Quarterly Review and British Colonial Register*, No. 4; S. M. Richardson, Cornhill, London.

⁴ *Analectic Magazine*, December, 1813.

⁵ He had just heard of Harrison's victorious invasion of Canada, and it was believed at that time that the upper province would assuredly become a portion of the United States.

spread their arms;" and every year the anniversary of the battle is somewhere celebrated with appropriate ceremonies. Already the corner-stone of a monumental shaft in commemoration of the battle has been laid upon Perry's Look-out on Gibraltar Island;¹ and in the beautiful city of Cleveland—an insignificant hamlet on the bleak lake shore in 1813, now [1867] a mart of commerce with about fifty thousand inhabitants—a noble statue of Perry, wrought of the purest Parian marble by a resident artist, has been erected by the city authorities.²

I was present, as an invited guest, at the inauguration of that statue of Perry on the 10th of September, 1860. Never will the impressive spectacles of that day, and the influence of the associations connected with them, be effaced from memory. The journey thither, the mementoes of history seen on the way, and the meeting of scores of veterans of the War of 1812 at the great gathering, made a deep impression on the mind. I left my home on the Hudson, with my family, on the morning of the 6th,^a with the intention of stopping at Erie (where a portion of Perry's squadron was built) on my way to Cleveland. It was a day like one in midsummer—sultry and showery; yet in the railway carriage, whose steeds never grow weary, and wherein shelter from sun and rain are ever afforded, we traversed during the day, with very little fatigue or inconvenience, more than the entire length of the State of New York, through the Hudson and Mohawk valleys and the great levels westward, to Buffalo, a distance of three hundred and seventy miles. There I left my family in charge of the veteran Captain Champlin, one of the heroes of the fight, to accompany him by water to Cleveland; and early the next morning^b I pushed on by railway to Erie, where I had the good fortune to meet Captain W. W. Dobbins, son of the gallant officer of that name already mentioned. He kindly accompanied me to the places of interest about Erie—the site of Fort Presqu' Isle³—of Wayne's block-house—of Fort Wayne, on Garrison Hill, by the light-house⁴—of the navy yard at the mouth of Cascade Creek,⁵ and the old tavern where Perry made his head-quarters before and after the battle. When, at the close of the day, we returned to the village, heavy black clouds were brooding over the lake in the direction of the great conflict, and the deep bellowing of the distant thunder gave a vivid idea of the tumult of the battle heard from that very spot almost half a century before. I had completed my sketches and observations, and I spent the evening pleasantly and profitably with Captain Dobbins and his venerable mother, to whom I am indebted for kind courtesies and valuable information.⁶ At almost two o'clock in the morning^c I left Erie in the railway cars for Cleveland, just after a heavy thunder-shower had passed over that region, making the night intensely dark, and drenching the country. ^a September 7.

We arrived at Cleveland at six o'clock in the morning. Heavy mists were scurrying over the lake upon the wings of fitful gusts, and dashes of rain came down frequently like sudden shower-baths. For almost three hours I waited at the wharf where the passengers on the boat from Buffalo were to land. She was *The Western Metropolis*—a magnificent vessel—one of the finest ever built on the lakes. All night ^b September 8.

¹ See picture on page 518. On the 4th of July, 1852, the national anniversary was celebrated on Put-in-Bay Island by five companies of Ohio volunteer militia. Their encampment was the first ever seen there since Harrison left it with his troops in the autumn of 1813. At that time it was agreed to take measures for erecting a monument in commemoration of the victory, and *The Battle of Lake Erie Monument Association* was formed. A Constitution was adopted, and General Lewis Cass, of Detroit, was appointed president of the association. J. G. Camp, E. Cooke, E. Bill, A. P. Edwards, and J. A. Harris, were appointed a provisional executive committee.

² The project of erecting a statue of Perry at Cleveland originated with the Hon. Harvey Rice, of that city, who, as member of the Common Council, brought the subject before that body in June, 1857, in a series of resolutions. A committee was appointed to take the matter in hand, composed of Harvey Rice, O. M. Oviatt, J. M. Coffinberry, J. Kirkpatrick, and C. D. Williams. They contracted with T. Jones and Sons, of Cleveland, to erect a monument surmounted by a statue of Perry, for the sum of eight thousand dollars. The designs of monument and statue were made by William Walcutt, the sculptor, of Cleveland, and the figures were executed by him.

³ See page 511.

⁴ See note 1, page 510.

⁵ See page 511.

⁶ Mrs. Dobbins is of English and Irish extraction, and was married to Mr. Dobbins at Cannonsburg, Pennsylvania, early in the year 1800, by whom she had ten children.

The Pilot of the *Ariel*.

Crowds fill Cleveland.

"Camp Perry" on Sunday.

long she had battled with the storm, yet she was so staunch that her passengers had slept securely and soundly. A fine state-room had been assigned to Captain Champ-
lin. Among the survivors of the war who accompanied him was Captain Asel Wil-
kinson, of Colden, Erie County, New York, who was the pilot of the *Ariel*—a tall,
slender man, seventy-two years of age. He stood at the helm of his vessel all through

Asel Wilkinson

the battle of the 10th of Sep-
tember. His cartridge-box
was shot from his side by a
cannon-ball, and the thunder

of the great guns brought the blood from his ears and nose, and permanently impaired his hearing. I received many reminiscences of the fight from his lips during a brief hour that I spent with him. His vigor of mind and body gave promise of years of future usefulness, but his days were nearly numbered. On the 4th of July, 1861, he was in Buffalo with his wife to participate in the celebration of the day. When they were passing the corner of Pearl and Mohawk Streets he suddenly fell to the pavement and expired.

In the midst of a furious thunder-storm we rode to the residence of a gentleman on Euclid Street, to the hospitalities of which we had been invited, and there we found a pleasant home during our brief sojourn in Cleveland. It was the last day of the week. On Monday the appointed ceremonies were to be performed, and visitors were pouring into the "Forest City" by thousands from every direction. That evening the hotels and large numbers of private houses were filled with guests. Mr. Bancroft (the historian), who was one of the chosen orators for the occasion, had arrived; also a large delegation from Rhode Island, including Governor Sprague, Mr. Bartlett, the Secretary of State, Dr. Parsons, Bishop Clarke, and Captain Thomas Brownell, who was the acting sailing-master of the *Ariel* in the battle. Members of the Perry family and scores of the survivors of the war were also there, and the bright and beautiful Sabbath found Cleveland full of strangers.

It was indeed a bright and beautiful Sabbath. The storm-clouds were gone, and



BENJAMIN FLEMING.

the first cool breath of autumn came from the lake and gave warning of the approaching season of hoar-frost. At an early hour Euclid Street—magnificent Euclid Street—was full of animation. Crowds were making their way to "Camp Perry," on the county fair-grounds, the head-quarters of the military, who were under the command of Brigadier General J. W. Fitch. In the spacious marquee of that officer we met, just before the hour for morning religious services (in which Bishop Clarke led), most of the Rhode Island delegation, Governor Dennison, of Ohio, and his staff, and Benjamin Fleming, of Erie, a lively little man, then seventy-eight years of age, who was a maintopman in the *Niagara* during the battle. He was yet living in 1863, and was one of three survivors of the battle who are

residents of Erie,¹ Fleming was a native of Delaware.² He was dressed in full sail-

¹ The other two were John Murray, a marine from Pennsylvania, aged about seventy-three, and Jesse Wall, a colored man, aged about seventy-four years, who was a fier on board the *Niagara*.

² Benjamin Fleming was born in Lewiston, Delaware, on the 20th of July, 1782. He entered the naval service on

or's costume, and on his right breast, in the form of a shield, on which was inscribed his name and the occasion, was the silver medal presented by the State of Pennsylvania.¹ There we also met Dr. Nathan Eastman, of Medina, Ohio, who, as volunteer surgeon, assisted in dressing the wounds of those injured in the battle who were taken to the marine hospital at Erie. He was afterward appointed assistant surgeon, and spent the dreary winter of 1813-14 in that capacity on board the prize-ships *Detroit* and *Queen Charlotte*, of the "Wayne Guards" of Erie, who were present.



PERRY'S LANTERN.

It was made of tin, with windows of scraped horn, and had a venerable appearance.

Monday dawned gloomily. The sky was lowering with heavy clouds, the temperature was chilling, and as the time approached for the commencement of the public ceremonies there were indications of early rain. But these hindered nothing. At an early hour I went to the City Hall, the head-quarters of the "soldiers of 1812," and assisted in the interesting task of making a register of the names and ages of those who were present, about three hundred in number.² The air was full of martial music, the streets and buildings were gay with banners, and as the appointed time for uncovering the statue drew near, the public square of ten acres, in the centre of which it stood, began to fill with people. I had made my way with difficulty through the crowd from the old soldiers' head-quarters to the stage erected for the conductors of the pageant and invited guests. Mr. Bancroft soon arrived, alone, but was followed almost immediately by the mayor of the city, the committee of arrangements, Dr. Parsons (the associate orator), the Perry family, and other invited guests. Very soon the immense military and civic procession came filing into the square in gay and sombre costumes, accompanied by a miniature brig *Lawrence*, on wheels, drawn by four horses. The inclosure was filled with the living sea, and broad Ontario and Superior Streets were crowded with people as far as the eye could reach. "All Cleveland is out!" exclaimed a gentleman at my elbow. "All creation, you had better say," responded another. It was estimated that fifty thousand strangers were present.

The ceremonies before the statue were opened by prayer from the lips of the Reverend Dr. Perry, of Natchez, Mississippi. Then Mr. Walcutt, the sculptor, unveiled the statue. There it stood, upon a green mound, surrounded by an iron railing, imposing, beautiful, and remarkable because of its extreme whiteness.³ Tens of thousands of voices sent up loud cheers as that chaste work of art was clearly revealed, for, just as the covering was removed, rays of sunlight, that had struggled through

board the frigate *Essex* in 1811, and at New York volunteered for the lake service. He was with Elliott at the capture of the *Catalonia* and *Adams*. See list of names in Note 5, page 386. He had lived in Erie ever since the war. Two of his sons were in a Pennsylvania regiment during the late Civil War, and both were wounded in the battles before Richmond. 1 See page 535.

² Among these were Benjamin Le Reaux, aged seventy-seven years. He was from La Salle City, Illinois. He was a small, lively, sparkling-faced man, and was dressed in the same military suit of gray in which, as orderly sergeant, he fought under General Scott in the battle of Niagara, or Lundy's Lane. He was in Jesup's command. A history of that gray uniform will be given hereafter. Mr. Le Reaux's father was a Frenchman, and served as captain under Lafayette.

³ The monument and statue, represented on the following page, present to the eye one of the most chaste memorials of greatness to be found in the country. Indeed, it is believed that nothing equals it. The pedestal is of Rhode Island granite, twelve feet in height, on one side of which is sculptured, in low relief, the scene of Perry's passage from the *Lawrence* to the *Niagara*. On one side of it is a small statue of a *Sailor-boy*, bareheaded, and on the other one of a *Midshipman*, with his cap on, in the attitude of listening. The statue is of Parian marble, and remarkable for its purity. It is eight feet in height, but at the altitude of the top of the pedestal or monument it appears life-size. The entire height of the monument, including the base, is twenty-five feet.

The Statue unveiled.

Orations by Bancroft and Parsons.

A remarkable Dinner Party.



PERRY'S STATUE.

twenty thousand years!

When I left the banquet-hall a spectacle of rare beauty met the eye. The high banks of the lake in front of the city were covered with men, women, and children, thousands in number, who had come out to be witnesses of a promised sham-fight on the lake, in nearly exact imitation of the real one forty-seven years before. I climbed the steep bank, up a long flight of stairs at the foot of Warren Street, to a good position for observation, and found myself by the side of Mr. Fleming, the jolly little maintop-man of the *Niagara*, with his sailor's dress and silver medal. The clouds had dispersed, and the afternoon was almost as bright and serene as when the old battle was waged. One by one the vessels representing the belligerent squadrons of Perry and Barclay went out from the mouth of the Cuyahoga, not "with a light breeze" alone, but by the more certain power of steam-tugs. Captain Champlin commanded the mock-American squadron, and Mr. Chapman¹ that of the mock-British.

the clouds, fell full upon it. Mr. Walcutt made a brief address, which was responded to by Mayor Senter. Then followed Mr. Bancroft's oration,¹ and an historical discourse by Dr. Parsons.² Oliver Hazard Perry, the only surviving son of the commodore, addressed the people briefly, when the masonic ceremonies of dedication were performed. The proceedings closed with a song, written by E. G. Knowlton, of Cleveland, and sung by Ossian E. Dodge.

I had been invited to dine with the veterans of 1812, and when the ceremonies before the statue were ended, I hastened from the crowded city to the old soldiers' banquet-hall in the railway buildings on the margin of the lake. The scene was a most interesting and remarkable one. Almost three hundred survivors of the war, who had been participants in its military events, were seated at the table, with their commander for the day (General J. M. Hughes), and Deacon Benjamin Rouse, the president of the Old Soldiers' Association, at their head. There were very few among them of feeble step. Upon every head not disfigured by a wig lay the snows that never melt. It was a dinner-party, I venture to say, that has no parallel in history. The ages of the guests (excepting a few younger men, like myself, who were permitted by courtesy to be present) ranged from *fifty-seven* to *ninety years*.³ The average was about *seventy years*; and the aggregate age of the company was about

¹ Immediately after the conclusion of Mr. Bancroft's address, he was presented with a cane, made of the timber of the *Lawrence*, by the "Wayne Guards," of Erie. The head is of gold, and the ferule a spike from the *Lawrence*.

² During the delivery of Dr. Parsons's discourse, an intelligent old man, named Quinn, from Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, came upon the stand, and reported himself as the man who made the cordage used in rigging the vessels of Perry's squadron. He had with him, in a box, the identical tools that were used in that service.

³ The oldest man among them was a colored soldier named Abraham Chase. He was ninety. Two of them (S. F. Whitney and Richard McCready) were only fifty-seven. They were boys in the service.

4 See page 521.

Sham Battle on Lake Erie.

Visit to early Residents of Cleveland.

Captain Stanton Sholes.

A singular coincidence occurred. As in the real battle, so in this, there was a light breeze at first, which freshened before the close. It was an exciting scene, and little Fleming fairly danced with exhilaration as he observed the flashes—the booming of great guns—the fleet enveloped in smoke—Champlin, like Perry, leaving the *Lacorence* and going to the *Niagara*, and the latter sweeping down, breaking the Chapman-Barclay's line and winning victory. With this extraordinary pageant closed the public ceremonies of the day.¹

On the following day, accompanied by the Rev. T. B. Fairchild, of Hudson, Ohio, I visited several persons and places in Cleveland connected with its history. Among the former were Judge Barr, to whose kind courtesy, through the medium of letters, I was under many obligations, and the widow of Dr. David Long, a daughter of John Wadsworth, one of the earliest settlers in that region. She was a resident of Cleveland at the time of the battle.² When I visited her she and Levi John-
son and his wife were the only survivors of the inhabitants of that place

*September, 1866.

At the time of Hull's surrender there was great alarm at Cleveland, and Mrs. Long was the only woman who remained. Her husband would not desert the sick there, and she would not desert her husband. At that time they had no military protection, but in the spring of 1813 Major Jesup was stationed there with two companies of Ohio militia. These were joined in May by Captain Stanton Sholes, now [1867] a resident of Columbus, Ohio,³ with a company of United States Artillery from Pennsylvania. He was cordially welcomed by Governor Meigs, and made his quarters at Major Carter's tavern. He immediately set about felling the timber on the site of the present city of Cleveland, with which to build a small stockade fort. This was erected near the present light-house, about fifty yards from the lake.



Stanton, Sholes.

¹ At the close of the public proceedings the members of the Masonic Order who were present dined together at the Weddell House. H. L. Hosmer, Deputy Grand Master of Ohio, presided. The banqueters were entertained by toasts and speeches, and the festivities closed with a song written for the occasion by William Ross Wallace, and sung by Ossian E. Dodge—a song of three stanzas, of which the following string one in the conclusion:

“Roll, roll, ye waves! eternal roll!
For ye are holy from his might!
Oh, Banner, that his valor wreathed,
Forever keep thy victor-light!
And if upon this sacred lake
Should ever come invading powers,
Like him may we exulting cry,
WE’VE MET THE FOE, AND THEY ARE Ours!”

² Dr. Long's dwelling was on the site of the present light-house at Cleveland. It still exists, but at some distance from the place where it was built. It now stands on the north side of Franklin Street, between Bank and Water Streets. It is a small building, one story, about 20 by 25 feet square.

³ Mr. Sholes is a native of Connecticut, born before the breaking out of the Revolutionary War, and is now (1867) about ninety-six years of age. His father was a British soldier at the capture of Quebec from the French, and served four years in our old war for independence. In early life Captain Sholes engaged in the business of a sailor, and visited many parts of the world. He quit the ocean in 1803, and settled in the State of New York. After a few years he took up his abode on the banks of the Ohio River, about twenty miles below Pittsburg. In May, 1812, he received from President Madison a captain's commission in the second division United States Artillery, with orders to recruit a company of one hundred men for five years. This he accomplished, and in May, 1813, arrived with them at Cleveland, as we have observed. He served faithfully in the Northwest, during the hostilities in that region, under Harrison. I am indebted to Captain Sholes for much valuable information concerning operations there. He is an honored hero of two wars, for before the close of the Revolution he ran away from home, and entered the service of his country as a boy-soldier.

Perry and his Captives.

Terrible Storm on Lake Erie.

Fate of the chief Vessels in the Battle.

He also erected a comfortable hospital. During that summer he was on active duty there, but two days before the battle on the lake he received orders from General Harrison to break up his encampment, and, with his company and all the government boats at Cleveland, move on to the mouth of the Maumee, preparatory to a speedy invasion of Canada.

I left Cleveland on the morning of the 12th of September^a for Southern Ohio, and the residence and tomb of General Harrison. Of the incidents of that journey I shall hereafter write. Let us occupy a few moments in considering the farther movements of the lake squadron so lately in battle. We left them in Put-in-

Bay on the morning of the 12th,^b after the sad task of burying the slain officers had been performed.

In the course of the day after the battle Perry visited the wounded Barclay on board the battered *Detroit*. They met there for the first time face to face, and it was the beginning of a lasting personal friendship. His kindness to Barclay and his men on this occasion elicited the praises of that officer in his official dispatch. Every thing that friend could do for friend was performed by the victor toward the captive.¹

Perry now prepared for the transportation of Harrison's army to Canada. For that purpose he placed all the wounded Americans on board the *Lawrence*, and the wounded *British* on board the *Detroit* and *Queen Charlotte*,² and arranged the *Niagara* and the lighter vessels of both squadrons as transports. He made the *Niagara* his flag-ship; and on board of her, on the 13th, while a furious gale from the southwest was sweeping over the lake, he wrote a detailed account of the battle for the Secretary of the Navy.³ The shattered British vessels were made to suffer by that storm. It drove heavy swells into the harbor, which so shook the *Detroit* that her masts fell upon her decks with a terrible crash, wrecking every thing near them. The main and mizzen masts of the *Queen Charlotte* also fell; and there lay the three vessels helpless hulks. They were converted into hospital ships. The crippled *Law-*

rence, devoted to the same uses, sailed sluggishly for Erie on the 21st,⁴ and was soon followed by the *Detroit* and *Queen Charlotte*.⁴ She arrived

^a Captain Sholes is the subject of an extraordinary physiological change. For fifty years he was bald and wore a wig. Then he was afflicted with severe headache, for the relief of which cloths dipped in warm water and wrung out were applied. The pain ceased and a new growth of hair commenced. In the summer of 1864, as I was informed by his pastor, Rev. Mr. Byers, his head was thickly covered with glossy, snowy-white hair, so long that it was combed back from the forehead and tied with a ribbon at his neck. His face, also, which was formerly much wrinkled, had become smooth, "with much of the restored fairness of youth."

¹ While Perry was on the *Detroit*, two savages, who had been concealed in the hold of the vessel, were brought to him. They were Indian chiefs, and had been taken on board clothed in sailors' suits, and, with others, were placed in the tops as sharpshooters. The noise of great guns and the dangers of the fight unnerfed them, and they had fled to the hold in terror. When brought before Perry they expected torture or scalping. Their astonishment was great when he spoke kindly to them, directed them to be fed, and sent them on shore with assurances of protection from the Indians friendly to the Americans.

² The prisoners conveyed to Erie were sent to Pittsburg, in the interior, for greater security. The wounded were well cared for.

³ In this dispatch Perry spoke in terms of praise of all his officers who were conspicuous in the battle. Captain Elliott received a bountiful share, contrary to the judgment and wishes of many of Perry's officers. They expressed their opinions freely in disparagement of Elliott. A quarrel between the two commanders and their friends ensued. The controversy was revived in after years by Mr. Cooper, the historian of the United States Navy, and old animosities were awakened to un wonted vigor. They have now slept for many years, and I do not choose to disturb them by any remarks here. The public verdict has determined the relative position of the two commanders in the history of the country. So let it be.

⁴ The *Lawrence*, *Detroit*, and *Queen Charlotte* were afterward sunk in Little Bay (see map on page 614), on the northerly side of the harbor of Erie. The *Niagara* was kept at Erie as a receiving ship for a long time. She was finally abandoned, and also sunk in Little Bay. Here her bottom, partly covered by sand, may still be seen. In 1887 the *Detroit* and *Queen Charlotte* were purchased of the government, and raised by



relies by the curious, and many cases and

Perry and Harrison at Erie.

Their Reception.

Incidents at Erie.

Execution of Bird.

at Erie on the 23d, and was greeted by a salute of seventeen guns on shore. A month later,² when Canada had been successfully invaded by Harrison, and Perry, as his volunteer aid, had shared in the honors of victory, the *Ariel* sailed into Erie with these commanders, who were accompanied by Commodore Barclay, then admitted to his parole, and Colonel E. P. Gaines. These officers took lodgings at Duncan's, Perry's old headquarters, yet standing (glorious because of its associations, though in ruins), on the corner of Third and French Streets.¹ They were received with the booming of cannon, the shouts of the people, and the kindly greeting of every loyal heart. The town was illuminated in the evening, and the streets were enlivened by a torch-light procession, bearing transparencies, made at the suggestion and under the direction of the accomplished Lieutenant Thomas Holdup.² On one of these were the words "Commodore Perry, 10th of September, 1813;" on another, "General Harrison, 5th of October, 1813;" on another, "Free Trade and Sailors' Rights;" and on a fourth, "Erie." The *Niagara* arrived the same afternoon, and other vessels soon followed.³



PERRY'S QUARTERS.



THOMAS HOLDUP STEVENS.

The succeeding winter was passed in much anxiety by the inhabitants of Erie on account of an expected attack by the British and Indians, who, it was reported, were preparing to cross the lake on the ice from the Canada shore. False alarms were frequent, and midnight packings of valuables preparatory to an exodus were quite common. The summer brought guaranties of repose, and during the last half of the year 1814 only a company of volunteers were stationed there, most of them at the block-house at Cascade Creek.⁴

other articles have been made of the wood. Captain Champlin and Dr. Parsons, survivors of the battle, both have chairs made from the oak wood of the flag-ship. Our little engraving on the opposite page shows the form of Champlin's chair. I saw the stern-post of the *Lawrence* in possession of Captain W. W. Dobbins, at Erie.

¹ This is known as the "Erie Hotel." The above picture shows its appearance when I sketched it in September, 1860. The most distant window of the second story, seen in the gable of the main building, and boarded up, was pointed out to me as the one that lighted the room occupied by Perry.

² See Note 5, page 528.

³ Doctor Parsons's Diary. Miss Laura G. Sanford's *History of Erie*.

⁴ Three men were executed at Erie for desertion in the autumn of 1814. One of them was a young man of some standing, named Bird, who had fought gallantly on the *Niagara* in the battle on Lake Erie. His offense could not be overlooked, and he was shot. It was thought by some that his pardon, under the circumstances, might not have been detrimental to the public good. A doleful ballad, called *The mournful Tragedy of James Bird*, was written, and became very popular throughout the country, drawing tears from unrefined and sensitive listeners. Older readers will doubtless remember with what pathos the singers would chant the following, which was the last of the eleven verses of the ballad:

"See, he kneels upon his coffin! sure his death can do no good.
Spare him! Hark! Oh God! they've shot him; his bosom streams with blood.
Farewell, Bird! farewell forever! Friends and home he'll see no more!
But his mangled corpse lies buried on Lake Erie's distant shore."

CHAPTER XXVI.

" 'Twas on La Tranche's fertile banks
A gallant host appeared:
But fourteen hundred formed their ranks—
No chance of war they feared.
Their country's cause had called them forth
To battle's stormy field:
They deemed the man of little worth
Whose mind but thought to yield.
There our Columbia's warrior bands
The star-stud ensign bear,
And General Harrison commands
The men to valor dear."



IF EN Perry's victory gave the sovereignty of Lake Erie to the Americans, General Harrison had completed his arrangements for invading Canada. He had called on Governor Shelby, of Kentucky, for fifteen hundred men, and, with the generosity of an unselfish patriot as he was, invited that veteran to the field and to the chief command, saying, "Why not, my dear sir, come in person? You would not object to a command that would be nominal only. I have such confidence in your wisdom, that you, in fact, should 'be the guiding head and I the hand.' The situation you would be placed in would not be without its parallel. Scipio, the conqueror of Carthage, did not disdain to act as the lieutenant of his younger and less experienced brother, Lucius."

This invitation roused the martial spirit of Shelby, and he resolved to *lead*, not to *send* his people against the foe. He called for mounted volunteers to assemble at Newport, opposite Cincinnati, at the close of July.¹ "I will meet you there in person," he said; "I will lead you to the field of battle, and share with you the dangers and honors of the campaign." His words were electrical; Kentucky instantly blazed with enthusiasm. "Come," said the young men and veterans, "let us rally round the eagle of our country, for *Old King's Mountain*² will certainly lead us to victory and conquest." Twice the required number flocked to his standard; and with Major John Adair,² and the late venerable United States senator John J. Crittenden,³ as his aids, and wearing upon his thigh a sword just presented to

¹ Governor Shelby was one of the leaders of the militia who defeated the banded Tories under Major Ferguson on King's Mountain, on the upper borders of South Carolina, on the 7th of October, 1781. Shelby's valor on that occasion was conspicuous, and he was known in later years by the familiar name of *Old King's Mountain*.

² John Adair was a North Carolinian, and emigrated to Kentucky in 1784, at the age of thirty-one years. He was an active officer in the Indian wars on the Northwestern frontier. He held the commission of major in 1792. He was popular in his adopted state until 1807, when his unfortunate connection with Burr obscured his reputation for a while. He seems not to have been aware (like other of Burr's dupes) of the traitor's real designs. In politics he was a Federalist. His conduct during the campaign of 1812 was every way praiseworthy. He was afterward appointed adjutant general of the Kentucky troops, with the brevet rank of brigadier general. In that capacity he commanded the Kentuckians in the battle of New Orleans. In 1820 he was elected Governor of Kentucky, and was often a member of the State Legislature. He had been United States senator in 1805; in 1831 he was elected a member of the lower house of Congress. He died on the 19th of May, 1840, at the age of eighty-three years.

³ John J. Crittenden was born in Woodford County, Kentucky, in September, 1786. His father was an early settler in that state. Young Crittenden studied law, and commenced its practice in Russellville, Logan County. He was among the first volunteers raised by Governor Shelby for Harrison in 1812. He accompanied General Hopkins in his expedition on the Wabash (see page 336), and the next year was with Harrison on the Northwestern frontier. He performed gallant service in the battle on the Thames, after which he resumed his profession at Russellville. He was several times a member of the State Legislature, and was elected United States senator in 1817. He afterward removed to Frankfort, where he practiced his profession until 1835, serving his constituents as legislator occasionally. That year

Sword presented to Governor Shelby.

Army of the Northwest in Motion.

Its Embarkation for Canada.

him by Henry Clay, in the name of the State of North Carolina, in testimony of appreciation of his services in the old war for independence,¹ he led thirty-five hundred mounted men, including Colonel R. M. Johnson's troop, in the direction of Lake Erie. At Urbana he organized his volunteers into eleven regiments,² and on the 12th of September reached Upper Sandusky. From that post Shelby pushed forward with his staff, and at Fort Ball (Tiffin) he heard of Perry's victory. He dispatched a courier to Major General Henry, whom he had left in command at Lower Sandusky, giving him the glorious news, and directing him to press forward with the troops as fast as possible. The intelligence of success nerved them to more vigorous action; and on the 15th and 16th^a the whole army of the Northwest, excepting the troops at Fort Meigs and minor posts, were on the borders of Lake Erie, on the pleasant peninsula between Sandusky Bay and the lake below the mouth of the Portage River, now Port Clinton.³ Shelby arrived there on the 14th, a few minutes before a part of Perry's squadron appeared bearing three hundred British prisoners. These were landed at the mouth of the Portage, placed in charge of the infantry, and a few days afterward were marched to Franklinton and Chillicothe, escorted by a guard of Kentucky militia under Quartermaster Payne.

^a September, 1813.

Preparations were now made for the embarkation of the army. Harrison had been joined at Seneca by about two hundred and sixty friendly Wyandot, Shawnoese, and Seneca Indians under chiefs Lewis, Black Hoof,⁴ and Blacksnake. General M^cArthur, Clay's successor in command of Fort Meigs, was ordered to embark artillery, provisions, and stores from that now reduced post, and to march the regulars there, with Clay's Kentuckians, to the Portage. Colonel Johnson was directed to remain at Fort Meigs with his mounted regiment until the expedition should sail, and then march toward Detroit, keeping abreast of the army on the transports, as nearly as possible.

The embarkation of the army commenced on the 20th.^b The weather was delightful. On the 24th the troops rendezvoused on Put-in-Bay Isl-

^b September.

he was elected to the United States Senate. He was called to the cabinet of President Harrison, in 1841, as attorney general. He was again elected to the Senate, and in 1848 was chosen Governor of Kentucky. President Fillmore called him to his cabinet in July, 1850, as attorney general. He entered the United States Senate again as a member in 1854, and held his seat there until 1861, when his term of office expired. He took an active part, as a Union man, in legislative measures pertaining to the Great Rebellion, and his proposition for conciliation will ever be known in history as *The Crittenden Compromise*. In 1861 he was elected a representative of the lower house of the Thirty-seventh Congress, which position he occupied until the close of the session on the 3d of March, 1863, when he was again put in nomination for the same office. But he did not live until the time for the election. His physical powers had been gradually giving way for some time, and at half past three o'clock on Sunday morning, July 26, 1863, he died at his residence at Frankfort, without a struggle, at the age of almost seventy-seven years.

¹ I have before me Mr. Clay's autograph letter to Governor Shelby on the subject. The following is a copy:

"LEXINGTON, 22d August, 1813.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I have seen by the public prints that you intend leading a detachment from this State. As you will want a sword, I have the pleasure to inform you that I am charged by Governor Turner and Mr. Macon with delivering to you that which the State of North Carolina voted you in testimony of the sense it entertained of your conduct at King's Mountain. I would take it with me to Frankfort, in order that I might personally execute the commission, and at the same time have the gratification of seeing you, if I were not excessively oppressed with fatigue. I shall not fail, however, to avail myself of the first safe conveyance, and if any should offer to you I will thank you to inform me. May it acquire additional lustre to the patriotic and hazardous enterprise in which you are embarking!

"Your friend,
H. CLAY."

The sword was placed in the hands of Mr. W. T. Barry, a mutual friend, on the day when the letter was written, who conveyed it to Governor Shelby, at Frankfort.

² The regiments were officered respectively as follows: Lieutenant Colonels Trotter, Donaldson, Poague, Mountjoy, Reinick, Davenport, Paul, Calloway, Simrall, Barbour, and Williams. They were formed into five brigades, under Brigadiers Calmes, Chiles, King, Allen, and Caldwell. The whole were formed into two divisions, under Major Generals William Henry and Joseph Desha. W. T. Barry was appointed the governor's secretary, Thomas T. Barr judge advocate general, and Doctor A. J. Mitchell hospital surgeon.

³ The Portage is a deep, sluggish stream. It rises in the Black Swamp, and flows between thirty and forty miles. There is a good harbor at Port Clinton.

⁴ Black Hoof was a famous Shawnoese chief. He was born in Florida, and remembered his tribe moving from there to Pennsylvania and Ohio. He was prominent in the fight against Braddock in 1756, and was in all the Indian wars with the Americans in the Northwest toward the close of the last century, until the treaty of Greenville in 1795. Up to that time he had been the bitter enemy of the white man; afterward he remained faithful to that treaty. Tecumtha tried to seduce him, but failed, and by his influence he kept a greater portion of his tribe from joining the British in the War of 1812. He became the ally of the United States, but bodily infirmity kept him from active service. In the instance of his friendship just mentioned, he simply brought his people to camp, and left younger chiefs to conduct them in the campaign.

The Army crosses Lake Erie. It lands without Opposition. Vengeance of the Kentuckians and Fears of Proctor.

and, and on the 25th they were upon the Middle Sister, an island containing six or seven acres. Upon that small space almost five thousand men were encamped. The Kentuckians had left their horses on the peninsula, and were acting as infantry.¹ The elements were favoring. There was a fresh breeze from the south, and General Harrison and Commodore Perry sailed in the *Ariel* to reconnoitre the enemy at Malden. They accomplished their object fully and returned at sunset. Directions were at once given for the embarkation of the troops the next morning, and in a general order issued that evening, the place and manner of landing, the arrangement of the order of march, the attack on the foe, and other particulars, were prescribed with great minuteness. It was believed that the enemy would meet them at the landing-place. This order was signed by E. P. Gaines, the adjutant general, and contained the following exhortation: "The general entreats his brave troops to remember that they are the sons of sires whose fame is immortal; that they are to fight for the rights of their insulted *country*, while their opponents combat for the unjust pretensions of a master. Kentuckians! remember the River Raisin! but remember it *only* while victory is suspended. The revenge of a soldier can not be gratified upon a fallen enemy."²

¹ September, 1813. The final embarkation took place on the morning of the 27th.² No lovelier autumnal day ever dawned upon the earth. The sky was cloudless, the atmosphere balmy, and a gentle breeze from the southwest lightly rippled the waters. In sixteen armed vessels and almost one hundred boats that little army was put afloat. All was in motion at nine o'clock, and as the great flotilla moved northward toward the hostile shore, Harrison's stirring address was read to the men on each vessel. From these went up a hearty shout of *Harrison and Victory*, and then all moved on silently into the Detroit River. The spectacle was beautiful and sublime.

Hartley's Point, three or four miles below Amherstburg (Malden), and opposite the lower end of Bois Blanc Island, had been selected by Harrison and Perry as the landing-place. The debarkation took place at about four o'clock, on a low, sandy beach there, which stretched out in front of high sand-drifts, behind which it was believed the enemy lay concealed. The army landed in perfect battle order, the Kentucky Volunteers on the right, the regulars on the left, and Ball's Legion and the friendly Indians in the centre. But no enemy was there. Proctor, who was in command at Malden, taking counsel of Prudence and Fear,³ and contrary to the solemn advice, earnest entreaties, and indignant remonstrances of his more courageous brother officer Tecumtha,⁴ had fled northward with his army, and all that he could take

¹ There were not vessels enough to transport the horses with forage, and they were left behind. A strong fence of brush and fallen timber was constructed across the isthmus from near Port Clinton, a distance of not more than two miles, making the whole peninsula an inclosure for the horses to pasture in. One of every twenty Kentuckians were drafted to form a guard for the horses, and these were placed under the command of Colonel Christopher Rife.

² The terrible massacre at the River Raisin, and the circumstances attending it, inspired the Kentuckians with almost savage desires for vengeance. One of their songs sung around camp-fires recounted the cruelties of the Indians and the inhumanity of Proctor on that occasion. The following is one of the stanzas:

"Freemen! no longer bear such slaughters;
Avenge your country's cruel woe;
Arouse, and save your wives and daughters!
Arouse, and smite the faithless foe!
Chorus.—Scalps are bought at stated prices,
Malden pays the price in gold."

³ Proctor, like the Kentuckians, remembered the River Raisin, and was afraid of falling into the hands of those whose sons and brothers had been butchered a few months before by his permission. His scouts had seen the Americans on the Sandusky Peninsula, and had reported their number at fifteen thousand, at least ten thousand of whom were Kentuckians burning with revenge. The fear of these gave fleetness to his feet.

⁴ The defeat and capture of the British squadron had been foolishly concealed from Tecumtha for fear of its demoralising effect on his savage followers. The Indian leader was therefore greatly astonished when he observed Proctor preparing to flee. He had been delighted when the British vessels went out to fight. He crossed over to Bois Blanc Island to watch the first appearance of them returning with the vanquished American squadron—an apparition which Proctor's boasting had made him believe would certainly be revealed. He was disappointed, bewildered, and perplexed: and, with great vehemence of manner, he addressed Proctor, saying,

"Father, listen! Our fleet has gone out; we know they have fought; we have heard the great guns; but we know

Tecumtha's scornful Rebuke of Proctor. The British and Indians fly toward the Thames. The Americans pursue.

with him, leaving Fort Malden, the navy buildings, and the store-houses smoking ruins. As the Americans approached the town, with Governor Shelby in advance, they met, not valiant British regulars nor painted savages, but a troop of modest, well-dressed women, who came to implore mercy and protection. The kind-hearted veteran soon calmed their fears. The army entered Amherstburg with the bands playing *Yankee Doodle*. The loyal inhabitants had fled with the army. The ruins of Fort Malden, the dock-yard, and the public stores were sending up huge volumes of smoke.

Proctor had impressed into his service all the horses of the inhabitants to facilitate his flight, yet Harrison wrote courageously to the Secretary of War, on the evening after his arrival at Amherstburg,^a saying, "I will pursue the enemy to-
morrow, although there is no probability of overtaking him, as he has
upward of a thousand horses, and we have not one in the army. I shall think myself fortunate to collect a sufficiency to mount the general officers." Only one, and that a Canadian pony, was procured, and on that the venerable Shelby was mounted.

^a September 27,
1813.

When Harrison's vanguard arrived at Amherstburg, the rear-guard of the enemy had not been gone an hour. Colonel Ball immediately sent an officer and twenty of his cavalry after them, to prevent them destroying the bridge over the Aux Canards, or Ta-ron-tee. They had just fired it when the Americans appeared. A single volley scattered the incendiaries, and the bridge was saved. The next morning Harrison's army, excepting a regiment of riflemen under Colonel Smith left at Amherstburg, crossed it, and encamped in the Petit Côte Settlement,¹ and at two o'clock on the 29th they entered Sandwich. At the same time the American flotilla reached Detroit; and on the following day, Colonel Johnson and his mounted regiment arrived there. M^rArthur, with seven hundred effective men, had already crossed over, driven off a body of Indians who were hovering around the place, and retaken the town. General Harrison had also declared the martial law enforced by Proctor at an end, and the civil government of Michigan re-established, to the great joy of the inhabitants.²

On the arrival of Johnson the general-in-chief sent on one of his aids-de-camp, Captain C. S. Todd,³ to order the colonel to cross immediately with his troops, for he

nothing of what has happened to our father with one arm [Captain Barclay]. Our ships have gone one way, and we are much astonished to see our father tying up every thing, and preparing to run the other way, without letting his red children know what his intentions are. You always told us to remain here and take care of our lands. You always told us you would never draw your foot off British ground; but now, father, we see you are drawing back, and we are sorry to see our father doing so without seeing the enemy. We must compare our father's conduct to a fat dog that carries its tail upon its back, but when affrighted it drops it between its legs and runs off.

"Father, listen! The Americans have not yet defeated us by land, neither are we sure that they have done so by water; we therefore wish to remain here and fight our enemy, should they make their appearance. If they defeat us we will then retreat with our father. . . . You have got the arms and ammunition which our great father, the king, sent for his red children. If you have an idea of going away, give them to us, and you may go and welcome for us. Our lives are in the hands of the Great Spirit. We are determined to defend our lands, and, if it be his will, we wish to leave our bones upon them."

This speech was addressed to Proctor at a council held on the 18th of September in one of the store-houses at Amherstburg. Its effect was powerful. The Indians all started to their feet, and brandished their tomahawks in a menacing manner. Proctor had resolved to flee to the Niagara frontier, but this demonstration made him hesitate. He finally quieted Tecumtha and his followers by promising to fall back only to the Moravian Towns, on the Thames, and there make a stand. These were about half way between Amherstburg and the outposts of the centre division of the British army, on the western borders of Lake Ontario. On the day of the council Proctor left Amherstburg with a large portion of his force. Major Warburton remained, charged with destroying the public property on the appearance of the Americans.

¹ See Map on page 266.

² Before the Americans landed, the joyous inhabitants ran up the United States flag. They had suffered dreadfully. For months the insolent savages had made their dwellings free quarters. When they fled the Indians fired the fort. The flames were soon extinguished.

³ Harrison's gallant aid-de-camp, Charles Scott Todd, is yet [1867] living in his native state, Kentucky, where he was born on the 22d of January, 1791. I met him in Washington City at near the close of 1861, when he was almost seventy-one years of age. His mental and physical vigor seemed equal to those of most men at fifty. He was there to offer his services in the field to his government in its war against the Great Rebellion. Colonel Todd is one of the most eminent of the public servants of this country. He was educated at the College of William and Mary, in Virginia, where he was graduated with distinction in 1809. Law became his profession, but on the breaking out of the war he entered the military service as ensign of a company of volunteers raised for Harrison at Lexington, where he was engaged in his profession. He became acting quarter-master and judge advocate of Winchester's wing of the Northwestern Army, and was exceedingly active in the wilderness. "He combined," said Harrison at that time, "the ardor of youth with

Johnson and his Horsemen cross Detroit River. Vigorous Pursuit of the British. Perry's Squadron in the Thames.



C. S. Todd

three thousand five hundred in number, left Sandwich, and pressed on toward Chatham, on the Thames,¹ near which, it was alleged, Proctor was encamped. General Marquis Calmes, and Adjutant General Gaines were compelled by illness to remain at Sandwich; and General Cass accompanied Harrison as volunteer aid.

Information had been received two days before^b that some small vessels, with the enemy's artillery and baggage, were escaping up Lake St. Clair toward the Thames, when Commodore Perry dispatched a portion of his squadron, consisting of the *Niagara*, *Lady Prevost*, *Scorpion*, and *Tigress*, under Captain Elliott, in pursuit. Perry soon followed in the *Ariel*, accompanied by the *Caledonia*; and on the day when Harrison left Sandwich^c the little squadron appeared off the mouth of the Thames, having in charge the baggage, provisions, and ammunition-wagons of the American army. The enemy's vessels, having much the start, escaped up the Thames.²

Proctor seems not to have expected pursuit by land, and the Americans found all the bridges over the streams that fall into Lake St. Clair uninjured. Harrison pressed

the maturity of age." In May, 1813, he was commissioned a captain in the United States army, and Harrison appointed him his aid. His conduct in the campaign in the autumn of that year was highly commended, especially at the battle on the Thames. He succeeded Major Rakill as deputy inspector general of the Eighth Military District, and was adjutant general of the district the following year, when he served with General M'Arthur with great acceptance. He became inspector general in March, 1815, with the rank of colonel, but left the army in June following; and after the war Harrison said that "Colonel Todd was equal to bravery and superior in intelligence to any officer of his rank in the army." He resumed his practice of the law at Frankfort, where he married a daughter of Governor Shelby. He soon became secretary of state, then a member of the Legislature, and was finally sent by President Monroe on a confidential mission to Colombia, South America. His services there were very important. In the spring of 1840 he assisted, by request, in the preparation of a Life of General Harrison, and, as editor of a Cincinnati paper, he warmly advocated the general's election to the presidency. In the summer of 1841 he was appointed United States minister to Russia, and served his country in that capacity to the perfect satisfaction of both governments. It was while he was there that the portrait from which the above likeness was taken was painted. In private, as in public life, Colonel Todd is a model of a Christian gentleman.

¹ This considerable stream was called *La Tranche* by the French. It is sometimes called the *Trent*, but now is known only by the name of *Thames*. In the poetic epigraph to this chapter it is called *La Tranche*.

² M'Afee (page 383) says that when the American army arrived at the mouth of the Thames, an eagle was seen hovering over it. "That," said Harrison, "is a presage of success." Perry, who had landed and was with the general, remarked that an eagle hovered over his squadron on the morning of the 10th of September.

was resolved to push on in pursuit of the enemy as quickly as possible. He called a council of his general officers, informed them of his intention, and consulted with them concerning the best route to pursue, only two being feasible, namely, by land in rear of the British, or by Lake Erie to Long Point, where the Americans might make a rapid march across the country, and intercept the fugitives. The land route was chosen.

Johnson and his mounted men crossed the river to Sandwich on the evening of the 1st,^a and on the following morning the pursuit was commenced. M'Arthur and his brigade were left to hold Detroit; Cass's brigade and Ball's regiment were left at Sandwich; and about one hundred and forty regulars, Johnson's mounted corps, and such of Shelby's Kentucky Volunteers as were fit for long and rapid marches, the whole

Pursuit up the Thames.

A Halt at Dolsen's.

The American Troops at Chatham.

forward rapidly along the good road by the borders of the lake for twenty miles, when seven British deserters informed him that Proctor, with seven hundred white men and twelve hundred Indians, was encamped at Dolsen's farm, about fifteen miles from the mouth of the Thames, on its right or northern bank, and fifty-six miles from Detroit by water. This information stimulated the Americans to greater exertions, and when they halted at night on the banks of the Ruscom, they had marched twenty-five miles from Sandwich. At dawn the next morning the pursuit was renewed, and near the mouth of the Thames Johnson's regiment captured a lieutenant of dragoons and eleven privates, who had just commenced the destruction of a bridge over a small tributary of the river. This was the first intimation to Harrison that Proctor was aware of the pursuit. The capture of this little party was considered a good omen. The pursuit was continued, and that night the Americans encamped on Drake's farm, on the left bank of the Thames, about four miles below Dolsen's. The *Scorpion*, commanded by the gallant Champlin, the *Tigress*, and the *Porcupine*, had followed the army up the river as convoys to the transports, and to cover the passage of the troops over the mouths of the tributaries of the Thames, or of the river itself. At this point the character of the stream and its banks changed. Below, the channel

was broad, the current sluggish, and the shores were extended flat prairies; here the country became hilly, the banks high and precipitous, the channel narrow, and the current rapid. On these accounts, and because of the exposure of the decks to Indian sharpshooters from the lofty wooded banks, it was concluded not to take the vessels higher than Dolsen's. Perry now left the vessels, offered his services as volunteer aid to General Harrison, and joined the army in the exciting pursuit of the fugitives.



DOLSEN'S.

Harrison pressed forward on the morning of the 4th. Proctor fled up the Thames from Dolsen's, cursed by Tecumtha for his cowardice, to Chatham, two and a half miles, where an impassable stream, called M'Gregor's Creek, flows into the Thames between steep banks. There Proctor promised Tecumtha he would make a final stand. "Here," he said on his arrival, "we will defeat Harrison or lay our bones." These words pleased the warrior, and he regarded the position as a most favorable one. "When I look on these two streams," he said, "I shall think of the Wabash and the Tippecanoe." A bridge at the mouth of the creek, and another at M'Gregor's mill, a mile above, had been partially destroyed, and a considerable body of Indians

¹ The above sketch is a view of Dolsen's house, made when I visited the spot in the autumn of 1860. It is a hewn log structure, and stands very near the right or north bank of the Thames. It is about two miles and a half below Chatham. The owner and resident there in 1813, Isaac Dolsen, Esq., was then living in Chatham, but was absent at the time of my visit. He was then about eighty years of age. He and his brother John were natives of the Mohawk Valley, of Dutch descent. On their return, after the battle some miles above, the American army encamped on the farm of John, half a mile below Isaac's. The Thames is here sluggish, and about three hundred yards wide.



VIEW AT JUNCTION OF THE THAMES AND M'GREGOR'S CREEK.¹

were about to push forward, when Walk-in-the-water, the Wyandot chief already mentioned, who had left the banner of Proctor with sixty warriors, came to Harrison and offered to join his army conditionally. The general had no time to treat with the savage, so he told him that if he left Tecumtha he must keep out of the way of the American army. He did so, and returned to the Detroit River.

The enemy spread destruction in their flight. Near Chatham they fired a house containing almost a thousand muskets. The flames were quenched and the arms were saved. Half a mile farther up the river they burned one of their own vessels laden with ordnance and military stores; and opposite Bowles's farm, where Harrison encamped, two more vessels and a distillery, containing ordnance, naval and military stores, and other property of great value, were in flames. The Americans secured two 24-pounders and a quantity of shot and shell. Certain intelligence was received that the enemy were only a few miles distant, and that night Harrison intrenched his camp and set a double guard. At midnight Proctor and Tecumtha reconnoitred the camp, but prudently refrained from attacking it.

were at each, to dispute the passage of the pursuers or their attempts to make repairs. Two six-pound cannons, under the direction of Major Wood, soon drove the savages from the bridge at Chatham, and a dash of Colonel Johnson and his horsemen upon the dusky foe at M'Gregor's also sent them flying after Proctor. Johnson lost two men killed and six or seven wounded. The Indians had thirteen killed and a large number wounded.

Both bridges were speedily repaired, and the troops



M'GREGOR'S MILL.²

¹ This sketch is a view of the junction of the Thames and M'Gregor's Creek, from the present bridge at Chatham, looking up the river. The Thames is seen on the left, and M'Gregor's Creek on the right. The upper termination of the bridge, mentioned in the text, was between the two clumps of trees on the bluff. In the distance is seen the courthouse and jail of Chatham. On the flat between it and the creek the British built two or three gun-boats, under the superintendance of Captain Baker, the same person who constructed the barge that bore Washington from Elizabethtown to New York in 1789, when going there to be inaugurated President of the United States. Looking beyond the point of the bluff, up the Thames, is seen the residence of Henry Jones. It is upon the site of the building, mentioned in the text, in which were a large quantity of muskets saved from the flames by the Americans. Farther up the stream lay a sunken steam-boat, that craft being in the habit of plying between Detroit and Chatham. On the opposite side of the Thames is seen a tannery. The plain on which the gun-boats were built is now a military reserve.

² This little sketch shows the appearance of the ruins of M'Gregor's mill when I visited it in the autumn of 1860. The timbers of the ends of the dam are seen on the shores. The bridge carried by Johnson crossed the stream very near the mill. In this view we are looking east from the southwest side of the creek. A beautifully shaded ravine, with a small creek, is seen here.

The fugitive British and Indians discovered.

The chosen Battle-ground.

Tecumtha's chief Lieutenant.

The Americans were in motion at dawn, the mounted regiments in front, led by General Harrison and his staff. The Kentuckians, under Shelby, followed. They soon captured two of the enemy's gun-boats and several bateaux, with army supplies and ammunition, and several prisoners. At nine o'clock they reached Arnold's Mill, at the foot of rapids, where the Thames was fordable by horses. There Harrison determined to cross the river and follow directly in the rear of Proctor. The mounted men each took one of the infantry behind him, and at meridian, by this means and the bateaux, the whole American army was on the north side of the Thames, and pressing on vigorously after the fugitives. Every where on the way evidences of the precipitation of the retreat were seen in property abandoned.

At two o'clock, when eight miles from the crossing place, the Americans discovered the smouldering embers of the recently-occupied camp of the enemy's rear-guard, under Colonel Warburton. It was evident that the fugitives were nearly overtaken. Colonel Johnson dashed forward to gain intelligence. Within about three miles of the Moravian Town¹ he captured a British wagoner, and from him learned that Proctor had halted across the pathway of the pursuers, only three hundred yards farther on. Johnson, with Major James Suggett and his spies, immediately advanced cautiously, and found the enemy awaiting the arrival of the Americans in battle order. He obtained sufficient information respecting their position to enable General Harrison and a council of officers, held on horseback, to determine the proper order for attack. His force was now little more than three thousand in number, consisting of one hundred and twenty regulars of the 27th Regiment, five brigades of Kentucky volunteers under Governor Shelby, and Colonel Johnson's regiment of mounted infantry.

The ground chosen by the enemy to make a stand was well selected. On his left was the River Thames, with a high and precipitous bank, and on his right a marsh running almost parallel with the river for about two miles. Between these, and two and three hundred yards from the river, was a small swamp, quite narrow, with a strip of solid ground between it and the large marsh. The ground over which the road lay, and indeed the whole space between the river and the great swamp, was covered with beech, sugar-maple, and oak trees, with very little undergrowth. The British regulars (a part of the Forty-first Regiment) were formed in two lines, between the small swamp and the river, their artillery being planted in the road near the bank of the stream. The Indians were posted between the two swamps, where the undergrowth was thicker, their right, commanded by the brave Oshawahnah,² a Chippewa chief, extending some distance along and just within the borders of the larger marsh, and so disposed as to easily flank Harrison's left. Their left, command-

¹ This village is in the township of Oxford, Canada West, on the right bank of the Thames. The settlers were Indians converted to Christianity by the Moravians, who fled to Canada from the Muskingum, in Ohio, in 1792. By an order of the Provincial Council in 1793, a large tract of land, comprising about fifty thousand acres, was granted for their use, on which they proceeded to build a church and village. The Rev. John Scott, of Bethlehem, ministered there for some time. At the period we are considering this Christian-Indian village had nearly one hundred houses, mostly well built. Many of the Indians spoke English. They had a school-house and a chapel, and very fine gardens. Village and crops were destroyed by the American troops, it having been alleged that some of the Indians residing there had been foremost in the massacre on the Raisin. In 1836 the Indians surrendered a large portion of their lands to the Canadian government, for an annuity of one hundred and fifty pounds sterling. The present Moravian Town is back from the Thames, about a mile and a half from the original site.

² The likeness on the next page of this chief, Tecumtha's lieutenant, or second in command, in the battle on the Thames, is from a daguerreotype taken from life at Brantford, in Canada, in September, 1863, and presented to me by G. H. M. Johnson, chief of the Six Nations on the Grand River (see page 421), in the summer of 1860. The old chief attended a grand council of all the Indians in Canada, at Brantford, and was the guest of Mr. Johnson. In the council he appeared with all his testimonials of bravery—his "stars and garters"—as seen in the picture. Around his hat was a silver band. He also displayed a silver gorget, medals, etc., a sash of bead-work, strings of wampum, and an ornamented tomahawk pipe, like the one on page 421. He was then about ninety years of age. He had been a famous warrior—the hero of fifteen battles. He was a mild-spoken, pleasant man, very vigorous in mind and body. He was yet living in 1861, the principal of seven or eight chiefs, on Walpole Island, in Lake St. Clair, opposite the town of Algoma, Michigan, fifty miles above Detroit. Walpole Island is about ten miles in length. The Indians are Chippewas, Pottawatomes, and Ottawas. They were settled here by the Indian Agent of the British government at the close of the War of 1812. They were placed in charge of a superintendent in 1839. The number now (1867) is about one thousand. Their principal business is hunting in the country around the Canadian borders of Lake St. Clair.



ISHAM WARREN.

ed in person by Tecumtha, occupied the isthmus, or narrowest point between the two swamps.

In the disposition of his army for battle, General Harrison made arrangements for the horsemen to fall back, allow the infantry to make the attack, and then charge upon the British lines. For this purpose General Calmes's brigade, five hundred strong, under Colonel Trotter,¹ was placed in the front line, which extended from the road on the right toward the greater marsh. Parallel with these, one hundred and fifty yards in the rear, was General John E. King's brigade, and in the rear of this was General David Chiles's brigade, posted as a reserve. These three brigades were under the command of Major General Henry. Two others (James Allen's and Caldwell's²) and Simrall's regiment, forming General Desha's³ division, were formed upon the left of the front line, so as to hold the Indians in check and

prevent a serious flank movement by them. At the *crochet* formed by Desha's corps and the front line of Henry's division (see map on page 554), the venerable Governor Shelby, then sixty-six years of age, took his position. In front of all these was Johnson's mounted regiment in two columns (one under the colonel, and the other commanded by his brother James, the lieutenant colonel⁴), its right extending to within fifty yards of the road, and its left resting on the smaller swamp. A small corps of regulars, under Colonel Paul, about one hundred and twenty in number, were posted between the road and the river for the purpose of advancing in concert with some Indians under the wooded bank, to attempt the capture of the enemy's cannon. These Indians, forty in number, were to stealthily gain the British rear, fire upon them, and give them the fearful impression that their own savage allies had turned upon them. The defection of Walk-in-the-water would be instantly remembered.

When every preparation for attack was completed, Major Wood, who had just been reconnoitring the enemy's position, informed General Harrison that the British lines were drawn up in open order. This information induced the general, contrary

¹ George Trotter was then lieutenant colonel. He was a captain in Simrall's regiment, and was distinguished and wounded in the action of Colonel Campbell at the Mississinewa Towns in December, 1812. He was acting brigadier general in the battle on the Thames. He was a native of Kentucky, and died at Lexington, in that state, on the 13th of October, 1815.

² Samuel Caldwell was a distinguished Kentuckian. He was a major of Kentucky levies in 1791, and distinguished himself with Wilkinson in the Wabash country in August of that year. He was lieutenant colonel commanding volunteers in the autumn of 1812, and was in General Green Clay's brigade the following year. He was made brigadier general of volunteers in August, 1813, and as such commanded in the battle on the Thames.

³ Joseph Desha was a descendant of a Huguenot family. He was born in Western Pennsylvania in December, 1768, and emigrated to Kentucky, with his father, in 1781. In 1790 he settled permanently in Mason County, Kentucky. He performed military service under Wayne in 1794 and '95, having, at the early age of fifteen, been engaged in conflicts with the Indians. He represented Mason County in the State Legislature, and in 1816 was chosen a member of Congress. His only military service in the War of 1812 was under Harrison in the campaign in Canada. In 1824 he was elected governor of Kentucky, and held the office four years. He then retired to private life. He died at Georgetown, Scott County, on the 11th of October, 1842.

⁴ The spirit of the Kentuckians who formed that corps may be inferred by the fact that Lieutenant Colonel James Johnson had with him his two sons, Edward P. and William, the one seventeen and the other only fifteen years of age. James Johnson was a representative in Congress in 1825 and '26. He died in August, 1826.

to all precedent, to incur the peril of changing the prescribed mode of attack at the last moment. Instead of having Henry's division fall upon the British front, he ordered Johnson to charge their line with his mounted riflemen.¹ That gallant officer made immediate preparations for the bold movement, but found the space between the river and the small swamp too limited for his men to act efficiently. In the exercise of discretion given him, he led his second battalion across the little swamp to attack the Indian left, leaving the first battalion, under his brother James and Major Payne, to fall upon the British regulars. The latter were immediately formed in four columns of double files, with Major Suggett and his two hundred spies in front. Colonel Johnson formed the second battalion in two columns, in front of Shelby, with a company of footmen before him, the right column being headed by himself, and the left by Major David Thompson. Harrison, accompanied by Acting Adjutant General Butler,² Commodore Perry, and General Cass, took position on the extreme right, near the bank of the river, where he could observe and direct all movements.

A bugle sounded, and the Americans immediately moved forward with coolness and precision in the prescribed order, among huge trees, some undergrowth, and over fallen timber. They were compelled to move slowly. When at some distance from the front line of the British regulars, the latter opened a severe fire. The horses of the mounted Kentuckians were frightened, recoiled, and produced some confusion at the head of the columns. Before order was restored, another volley came from the enemy. With a tremendous shout the American cavalry now boldly dashed upon the British line, broke it, and scattered it in all directions. The second line, thirty paces in the rear, was broken and confused in the same way. The horsemen now wheeled right and left, and poured a destructive fire upon the rear of the broken columns.



VIEW ON THE THAMES.

The terrified foe surrendered as fast as they could throw down their arms, and in less than five minutes after the first shot of the battle was fired, the whole British force, more than eight hundred strong, were totally vanquished, and most of them made prisoners. Only about fifty men and a single officer (Lieutenant Bullock), of the Forty-first Regiment, escaped. Proctor fled in his carriage, with his personal staff, a few dragoons, and some mounted Indians, hotly pursued by a part of Johnson's corps under Major Payne.

"When Proctor saw lost was the day,
He fled La Tranche's plain;
A carriage bore the chief away,
Who ne'er returned again."—OLD SONG.

The battle on the right was over before the advancing columns of General Henry were fairly in sight of the combatants.

When the bugle sounded for attack on the right, the notes of another on the left rang out on the clear autumn air. Colonel Johnson and the second battalion of his

¹ "The measure," said General Harrison, in his report to the Secretary of War on the 9th of October, "was not sanctioned by any thing that I had seen or heard of, but I was fully convinced that it would succeed. The American backwoodsmen ride better in the woods than any other people. A musket or rifle is no impediment, they being accustomed to carrying them on horseback from their earliest youth. I was persuaded, too, that the enemy would be quite unprepared for the shock, and that they could not resist it."

² We shall meet Adjutant Robert Butler hereafter in the battle of New Orleans.

³ This view is from the road-side, on the high river bank, at the point where the British left rested on the Thames, and a few rods from the residence occupied by Mr. Watts.

The Contest with the Indians.

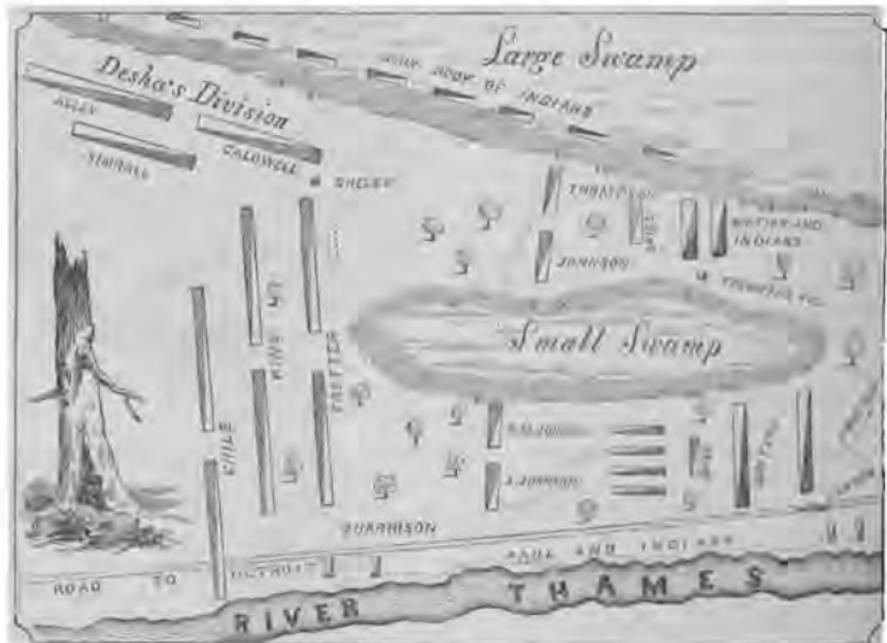
The Fight a fierce one.

The Savages defeated.

troops moved against the Indians almost simultaneously with the attack on the British line. The savages, under the immediate command of Tecumtha, reserved their fire until the Americans were within a few paces of them, when they hurled a most deadly shower of bullets upon them, prostrating a greater portion of the vanguard, or forlorn hope, and wounding Colonel Johnson very severely.

"Sudden, from tree and thicket green,
From trunk, and mound, and bushy screen,
Sharp lightning flashed with instant sheen,
A thousand death-bolts sung!
Like ripen'd fruit before the blast,
Rider and horse to earth were cast,
Its miry roots among;
Then wild, as if that earth were riven,
And, poured beneath the cope of heaven,
All hell to upper air was given,
One fearful whoop was rung;
And, bounding each from covert forth,
Burst on their front the demon birth."

The branches of the trees and the undergrowth in this part of the field were too thick to allow the mounted riflemen to do much service on horseback. Perceiving this, Johnson ordered them to dismount, and carry on the conflict on foot at close



BATTLE OF THE THAMES.

quarters. For seven or eight minutes the battle raged furiously, and there were many hand-to-hand fights between the Kentuckians and savages, while the former raised the fearful cry, at times, "Remember the River Raisin!" Victory was poised for a while. Perceiving this, Shelby ordered Lieutenant Colonel John Donaldson's regiment to the support of Johnson, and directed General King to press forward to the front with his brigade. The Indians had already recoiled from the shock of the Kentucky rifles, and only a part of Donaldson's regiment participated in the fight. The savages fled, and a scattering, running fire was kept up for some time along the swamp in front of Desha's division, and by the fugitives pursued by Major Thompson and his men. Other movements were ordered by Governor Shelby, but the Indians had given up the contest, and the battle was over before they could be effected. The

Escape of Proctor.

Death of Tecumtha.

Who killed Tecumtha?

pagan allies of the British scattered through the forest in rear of the greater swamp, while Proctor and his few followers were flying like hunted deer before Payne and his horsemen, who pursued him far beyond the Moravian Town, killing some Indians, capturing some prisoners, and securing valuable spoils. Among the latter were six brass cannon, three of which were taken from the British in the War of the Revolution, and were retaken from Hull at Detroit. Majors John Payne, E. D. Wood, C. S. Todd, John Chambers, and A. L. Langham, and Lieutenants Scroggin and Bell, with three privates, continued the pursuit of the fugitive general until dark, but could not overtake him. He abandoned his carriage, left the road, and escaped by some by-path. Within twenty-four hours he was sixty-five miles from the battle-ground! His carriage, sword, and valuable papers were captured by Major Wood,¹ and the party returned to Moravian Town, taking with them sixty-three prisoners. They found the little village deserted. So panic-stricken were some of the women that, when they left, being unable to carry their children in their flight, they threw them into the Thames to prevent their being butchered by the Americans!²

The loss in this short, sharp, and decisive battle was not large. The exact number was not ascertained. That of the Americans was probably about fifteen killed and thirty wounded. The British lost about eighteen killed, twenty-six wounded, and six hundred made prisoners; of these, twenty-five were officers. Harrison estimated the number of small-arms taken from the enemy during the pursuit and the battle, with those destroyed by them, at more than five thousand, nearly all of which had been captured from the Americans at Detroit, Frenchtown, and Dudley's defeat on the Maumee. The Indians left thirty-three of their dead on the field. How many they lost by death and wounds in the contest was never ascertained. Tecumtha, their great leader, and really great and noble man, all things considered, was among the slain. He was much superior to Proctor in manhood, military genius, and courage, and is worthy to be remembered with profound respect. He was killed early in the action, while inspiring his men by words and deeds. Tradition and History relate that he had just wounded Colonel Johnson with a rifle-bullet, and was springing forward to dispatch him with his tomahawk, when that officer drew a pistol from his belt and shot the Indian through the head.

"The moment was fearful; a mightier foe
Had ne'er swung his battle-axe o'er him;
But hope nerved his arm for a desperate blow,
And Tecumtha fell prostrate before him.
He fought in defense of his kindred and king,
With a spirit most loving and loyal,
And long shall the Indian warrior sing
The deeds of Tecumtha the royal."

The statement of tradition and history has been made in enduring marble by the sculptor on Johnson's monument in the cemetery at Frankfort, Kentucky.³ It has been questioned, and positively denied; and during the political campaign when Johnson was a candidate for the chair of Vice-President of the United States, the question caused much warm discussion. Johnson, it is said, never affirmed or denied the story. He killed an Indian under the circumstances and in the manner just related, on the spot where two red warriors, stripped naked, were found after the battle, one of whom it was believed was Tecumtha.⁴

¹ In a letter to the author, Captain Stanton Sholes (see page 541), who was in the battle of the Thames, says, "I had a very pleasant ride back to Detroit in Proctor's beautiful carriage. I found in it a hat, a sword, and a trunk. The latter contained many letters, mostly written in the handsomest writing I ever saw, by Proctor's wife to her dear Henry."

² "I had this fact," says Samuel R. Brown, in his *Views on Lake Erie*, page 68, "from an American gentleman who was at Oxford when Proctor and the Indians passed through there. The squaws were lamenting the loss of their children."

³ See page 496.

⁴ The solution of the question, "Who killed Tecumtha?" is of no historic importance, yet, it having been the subject of much discussion, a few facts bearing upon it may be appropriately introduced here. These facts have been drawn chiefly from a very interesting written communication made to me in January, 1861, by Dr. Samuel Theobald, who was Johnson's judge advocate, and with him in the battle. When Dr. Theobald (see a sketch of him in note 2, page 850)

The Gallantry of Colonel Johnson in the Battle.

His Wounds.

Samuel Theobald.



S. Theobald

Johnson behaved most gallantly in the action. He was mounted on a white pony that his servant had ridden, his own horse having been disabled. This made him a conspicuous mark for the enemy. At the sound of the bugle charge he dashed forward at the head of his Forlorn Hope, and attacked the Indian left, where Tecumtha was stationed.¹ The first volley of bullets from the foe wounded him in the hip and thigh. He almost immediately received another bullet in his hand from the Indian that he shot, which traversed his arm for some distance. He was disabled, and said to Dr. Theobald,² one of his staff, who was dismounted, and fighting near him, "I am severely wounded; where shall I go?" "Follow me," answered Theobald. He did not know where to find the surgeon of the regiment, so he led him across the smaller swamp to the road, and about three hundred rods in the rear, to the stand of Dr. Mitchell, Governor Shelby's surgeon general. The colonel, faint with the loss of blood, was taken from his horse, when

the little animal, having performed its duty to the last, fell dead, having been wounded in seven places. Theobald ran to the Thames for water, which revived the colonel. His wounds were dressed, and he was conveyed to a vessel a few miles below,

wrote to me he was residing near Greenville, Washington County, Mississippi. He says that, early in the campaign, Johnson organized a small corps, composed of the staff of his regiment, which he denominated the Forlorn Hope. It was designed to accompany him immediately in the event of a battle. One of these was the venerable Colonel William Whitely, who had been distinguished in conflicts with the Indians in the early years of settlements in Kentucky, and then over seventy years of age. He had volunteered as a private in Captain Davidson's company. The others who composed the Forlorn Hope, and charged upon the enemy at the opening of the battle, were Benjamin S. Chambers, Robert Payne (a nephew of Colonel Johnson), Joseph Taylor, William Webb, Garrett Wall, Eli Short, and Dr. S. Theobald. Whitely was killed, and was found lying near the two Indians mentioned in the text by Theobald and Wall, after the battle. They found the bodies of the two Indians lying a little way apart. On the following morning the news spread that the body of Tecumtha had been found. One of the Indians alluded to was designated as the fallen chief. Theobald felt a desire to identify the body of the chief, and took Anthony Shane, a half-breed Shawanoe, who knew Tecumtha well, to view it. The body was entirely naked, and several strips of skin had been taken from the thighs by some of the Kentuckians, who had reason to remember the *River Raisin*, and, as I was informed by a soldier who was in the battle, these strips were used for making razor-strops! Shane did not recognize the body as that of Tecumtha. The late Colonel John Johnston, of Dayton, Ohio, who, as Indian agent, often employed Shane, informed me that he told him that Tecumtha once had his thigh-bone broken, and that a sort of ridge had been formed around the fracture that might be easily felt. No such ridge was observed in the thigh of the Indian claimed to be Tecumtha, found on the ground where the charge of the Forlorn Hope was made and Johnson was wounded. Dr. Theobald further informs me that his friend, Captain Benjamin Warfield, commander of a company in Johnson's regiment, told him that he was directed to search the battle-field for wounded soldiers. He found a British soldier, named Clarke, lying there mortally wounded. He was the Indian interpreter for Proctor, and asserted positively that Tecumtha was killed, and his body was carried off by the Indians. I have since been informed by Colonel C. S. Todd, one of Harrison's aids at that time (see page 547), that he was told by the celebrated chief Black Hawk that he was present at that battle, and that Tecumtha's body was certainly carried off by his followers. These facts show that, while Colonel Johnson may have shot Tecumtha, the body supposed to be his, and so barbarously mutilated by the exasperated Kentuckians, was that of another warrior.

¹ Tecumtha, as we have seen, had reason to doubt the word and courage of Proctor. He doubtless took his position at the junction of the British and Indian lines, so as to have a near and direct communication between himself and Proctor. He knew that Proctor was flying through fear. The Canadians on the route of the retreat had told him that Proctor would not fight if he could help it. Proctor knew that Tecumtha would compel him to fight here, or feel the force of savage resentment, so he fled at the commencement of the battle; and no doubt the haste of his white troops to surrender was to secure themselves from the vengeance of Tecumtha and his followers.

² Samuel Theobald was born near Paris, Bourbon County, Kentucky, on the 23d of December, 1790. He was "graduated in medicine" at Transylvania University, at Lexington, and in that borough practiced medicine for twenty years. For the last thirty years he has been engaged in cotton-planting, most of the time residing near Greenville, Mississippi. His ancestors, paternal and maternal, were Kentucky pioneers. His younger brother, James, was with him in the battle of the Thames, and another brother, Thomas S., was in the military service on the frontier for twelve months as a lieutenant of rangers.

Johnson conveyed Homeward. Rejoicings because of the Victory. Harrison and Proctor properly rewarded.

under charge of Captain Champlin, of the *Scorpion*, which that gallant officer had captured from the British. In that vessel he was conveyed to the *Scorpion*, at Dolson's, and in her to Détroit. There he remained a short time, and then, with much suffering, he made his way homeward.¹ He reached Frankfort early in November, and in February, after kind and skillful nursing by Major C. S. Todd, although unable to walk, he resumed his seat in Congress, at Washington. His journey thither was a continued ovation, for his gallantry on the Thames was known to the nation.²

Harrison's successes, and the annihilation of the allied armies of the foe westward of Lake Ontario, produced great rejoicing throughout the United States.³ All that Hull had lost had now been recovered, and more. The hopes of the Americans were stimulated. They felt that a really able general was in the field, and all the arts of Harrison's political and personal enemies could not blind them to the fact that, by the exercise of military genius, indomitable perseverance, and unflinching courage, he had accomplished more than all the other leaders, and had fully vindicated his country's honor. His praises were on every honest lip. In the chief cities, from Maine to Georgia, bonfires and illuminations attested the public satisfaction, and in many places joint honors were paid to the heroes of Lake Erie and the Thames—Perry and Harrison.⁴ As usual, songs written for the occasion were heard in theatres and in the streets, and at every festive table Harrison was toasted as The Hero of Tippecanoe and of the Thames. The Congress of the United States, in testimony of their appreciation of his services, afterward gave him their cordial thanks, and voted him a gold medal.⁵

Proctor received his reward in the form of the censure of his superiors, the severe rebuke of his sovereign, and the scorn of all honorable men. He had the meanness to shift the disgrace of defeat from his own cowardly shoulders to those of his gallant regulars, and there it remained for more than twelve months. Upon his misrepresentations Sir George Prevost severely censured the detachment of the Forty-first Regiment that were in the battle, in a general order issued at Montreal on the 24th of November.⁶ But they were vindicated by the trial of Proctor in December the next year,⁷ when the cause of his defeat and the loss of the Western province were found to be in his own demerits as a soldier. He was found guilty of misconduct in not providing measures for a retreat, while the court, with singular inconsistency, acquitted him of any lack of personal bravery or indiscretion at the

¹ He remained several days under a surgeon's care at Urbana, in a commissary office near Doolittle's tavern, then the head-quarters of Governor Meigs.

² The authorities from which I have drawn the chief materials for the foregoing narrative in this chapter are the official reports of General Harrison to the Secretary of War; the several histories of the period already cited; written and oral statements of survivors; official reports of the British officers; the newspapers of the day, and biographies of Harrison, Johnson, Cass, and Tecumtha, etc.

³ Harrison, in his official letter to the War Department, spoke in the highest terms of his officers and troops. "I am at a loss," he said, "how to mention the conduct of Governor Shelby." After paying a well-merited compliment to the veteran, and the major generals and brigadiers, he said, "Of Governor Shelby's staff, his adjutant general, Colonel McDowell, and his quarter-master general, Colonel Walker, rendered great services; as did his aids-de-camp, General Adair, and Majors Barry and Crittenden. The military skill of the former was of great service to us, and the activity of the two latter gentlemen could not be surpassed." He highly commended Acting Adjutant General Butler, and said, "My aids-de-camp, Lieutenant O'Fallon and Captain Todd, of the line, and my volunteer aids, John S. Smith and John Chambers, Esquires, have rendered me most important service from the opening of the campaign. I have already stated that General Cass and Commodore Perry assisted me in forming the troops for action. The former is an officer of the highest merit, and the appearance of the brave commodore cheered and animated every breast." He highly complimented the officers and men of the mounted regiment, and Major Wood, of the Engineers.

⁴ On the 23d of October the new City Hall in New York was splendidly illuminated in honor of these two victories. Also Tammany, Washington, and Mechanics' Halls, the theatre, the City Hotel, and hundreds of private residences, were illuminated. In the windows of the City Hall were several transparencies. One of them represented the battle on Lake Erie, and the words "DON'T GIVE UP THE SHIP!" In front of Tammany Hall was a superb painting exhibiting a full-length portrait of Harrison, and the figures of several Indian warriors, the chief of whom was on his bended knees suing for peace, and offering at the same time a squaw, and her papoose on her back, as hostages for their fidelity. On it was also represented the naval engagement on Lake Erie.

⁵ On one side is a bust of General Harrison, and the words MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM H. HARRISON. On the reverse is seen a woman placing a wreath around two bayonets fixed on muskets, and a color-staff, stacked over a drum and cannon, bow and quiver. Her right hand rests upon the Union shield, and holds a halbert. From the point of union of the staff hangs a banner, on which is inscribed FORT MEIGS—BATTLE OF THE THAMES. Over these, in a semicircle, are the words, RESOLUTION OF CONGRESS, APRIL 4, 1813. Beneath, BATTLE OF THE THAMES, OCTOBER 5, 1813.



THE HARRISON MEDAL.

time of the battle. He was sentenced to be "publicly reprimanded, and suspended from rank and pay for six months." So notorious was the fact of his cowardly abandonment of his army at the very beginning of the battle that the Prince Regent se-



THE SHELLEY MEDAL.

verely reprimanded the court for its "mistaken leniency," expressed his "regret that any officer of the length of service and the exalted rank" attained by General Proctor "should be so extremely wanting in professional knowledge, and deficient in those active, energetic qualities which must be required of every officer," and that the charges and finding of the court should "be entered in the general order-book, and read at the head of every regiment in his majesty's service." General Proctor is represented as a stout, thick-set, fine-looking man. He died in Liverpool in 1858 or 1859.

The few British regulars and militia who escaped after the battle of the 5th of October fled in confusion through an almost unbroken wilderness toward Lake Ontario. They rendezvoused at Ancaster, seven miles westward of Hamilton and the head of the lake, on the 17th, when their numbers, inclusive of seventeen officers, amounted to two hundred and fifty-six. Their flight spread consternation over all that region.

The victory in itself and its subsequent effects was most complete. It broke up the Indian confederacy of the Northwest, and caused the disheartened warriors to

forsake their white allies, and sue humbly for peace and pardon at the feet of the Americans. Their very personal existence compelled them to endure this humiliation. The winter was approaching, and they and their families were destitute of provisions and clothing, without the means of procuring either. Their prayers were heard and heeded; and those whom they had fought against at the instigation of a professed Christian government, became their saviors from the deadly fangs of hunger and frost.¹ The base conduct of Proctor, and the kindness of Harrison, gave a fatal blow to British influence among the Indians of the Northwest.

The American troops occupied the battle-ground on the Thames, and on the 7thth General Harrison departed for Detroit, leaving Governor Shelby in ^{October,} command. The army commenced moving that day in the same direction, ^{1813.} taking with them the property they had captured and the prisoners. On the 10th they arrived at Sandwich in the midst of a furious storm of wind and snow, during which several of the vessels from the Thames were injured, and much of the captured property was lost. Harrison and Perry had planned an immediate attack on Mackinack, and Captain Elliott had volunteered to command the naval force, but the extreme cold and the blinding storm warned them of the near approach of winter and the dangers that might be encountered, and they prudently abandoned the enterprise. Rumors came that the enemy had fled from Mackinack; so, after concluding an armistice with the chiefs of several of the hostile tribes, among whom was Maipock, the fierce and implacable Pottawatomie, and receiving hostages for their faithfulness,² Harrison prepared to go down the lake with M'Arthur's brigade, a battalion of regular riflemen under Colonel Wells, and mounted men under Colonel Ball, to join the American forces on the Niagara frontier. The Kentuckians returned home, after stopping at the Raisin to bury the whitened bones of their massacred countrymen, and on the Sandusky peninsula to recover their horses,³ suffering much from fatigue, hunger, and cold on the way.

General Harrison appointed General Cass military and civil governor of Michigan, and directed him to retain his brigade (about one thousand in number) to keep the Indians in check, and hold possession of that portion of Canada lately conquered by the Americans west of Lake Ontario. Harrison arrived at Buffalo on the 24th of October, with about thirteen hundred men, only one thousand of them effective soldiers. There he joined General M'Clure in active preparations against the enemy.

I visited the battle-ground on the Thames on a cold, blustering day in October,^b 1860, accompanied by Miles Miller, Esq., of Chatham, Canada West, ^{October 11,} formerly editor of *The Western Planet* newspaper. I left Detroit in the ^{1860.} morning with my family, crossed the river, took seats in a carriage on the Great Western Railway, and, after a swift journey of an hour and a half, over a space of fifty-four miles along the borders of Lake St. Clair, through oozy swamps, broad prairies, tangled forests, and wealthy farms to the Thames, following the route of Harrison's pursuing army, we alighted at Chatham, a pleasant village of six thousand inhabitants, on the left or south bank of the Thames, and the capital of the county of Kent. It lies upon a plain in the midst of a fine agricultural country, at the head of steam-boat navigation on the Thames. It was originally laid out by

¹ An eye-witness says: "A few days after Proctor's defeat, Detroit was so full of famished savages that the issue of rations to them did not keep pace with their hunger. I have seen the women and children searching about the ground for bones and rinds of pork which had been thrown away by the soldiers. Meat in a high state of putrefaction, which had been thrown into the river, was carefully picked up and devoured. The feet, heads, and entrails of the cattle slaughtered by the public butchers were collected and sent off to the neighboring villages. I have counted twenty horses in a drove fancifully decorated with the offals of the slaughter-yard."—*Views on Lake Erie*, by Samuel R. Brown, page 95.

² We have already observed that Walk-in-the-water, and many of his followers, deserted Proctor at Chatham. While Harrison was in pursuit of the enemy up the Thames, chiefs of the Miamis, Ottawas, Pottawatomes, Chippewas, and Kickapoos proposed to General M'Arthur, at Detroit, a suspension of hostilities, and agreed to "take hold of the same tomahawk with the Americans, and to strike all who are, or may be enemies of the United States, whether British or Indians." They brought in their women and children, and offered them as hostages for their own good behavior."

³ See page 546.

Governor Simcoe, who reserved six hundred acres for a town plot. On the opposite side of the river, in the township of Dover, is the little suburban village of North Chatham, connected with the main town by a toll-bridge.

We took rooms at the *Royal Exchange* Hotel, and, as soon as a vehicle could be procured, I started with Mr. Miller for the Thames battle-ground, about eighteen miles distant. The sky was overcast by broken masses of clouds, and a biting north wind came from the great Canadian wilderness, with Winter Tales upon every blast. We followed the route of the American army, sketching the ruins of M'Gregor's mill (see page 550) on the way, and at about one o'clock in the afternoon were at the little village of Tecumseh (Thamesville Station), within a mile and a half of the historic ground. There we dined, and had the pleasure of seeing David Sherman, Esq., a life-long resident of that spot, who was a lad nine or ten years of age when the battle occurred, and had a clear recollection of the events of the day which came under his observation. He informed us that the Americans encamped on his father's farm, where the village of Tecumseh now stands, on the night before the battle. His father was a soldier with Proctor, and left home twenty-four hours before. During the forenoon of the day of the battle, young Sherman went up to within half a mile of the place where Johnson discovered the British line, and saw Tecumtha sitting on a log near where a white cow that belonged to a neighbor had been killed and was then a-roasting. Tecumtha asked him whose boy he was. He told him, when the chief, who was acquainted with his father, said, "Don't let the Americans know that your father is in the army, or they'll burn your house. Go back, and stay home, for there will be a fight here soon."

Mr. Sherman said he scanned the great chief with the wide-open eyes of wonder and curiosity of a boy of his age, and, among other things, saw two pistols in the warrior's belt, unlike the English ones he had been accustomed to. Having satisfied his curiosity, he took Tecumtha's advice, and hastened homeward. He saw the Americans passing rapidly onward toward the place where he left the chief, and heard the din of battle during the afternoon. All was quiet before sunset and during the night; and early the next morning he ventured to go upon the battle-ground,



TECUMTHA'S PISTOL.

where he saw the two Indians, one of whom was supposed to be General Tecumtha. On that spot a pistol precisely like one of those that he saw in Tecumtha's belt was found by a neighbor, and was in his possession. He has no doubt of its being one of the great leader's weapons, and cherishes it as such. It is of American manufacture, fourteen inches in length, has a flint-lock, is rifled, and bears the name of "IL Albright," maker. I made a sketch of it, and, upon the circumstantial evidence of Mr. Sherman, present it to the reader as a picture of one of the pistols of the great Shawnoese chief.

From Mr. Sherman we learned some interesting facts concerning the locality of the battle-ground, but he refused to indicate the exact place where Tecumtha fell, giving as a reason for his reticence on that point that he had been making efforts to induce the provincial government to erect a monument on the spot, and, until that should be accomplished, he should keep the secret in his own bosom. I think the place designated on the map on page 554 is the correct one.

After dinner we rode up to the dwelling of the old Watts Farm, on which most of the battle was fought, while the troops under Shelby occupied a portion of the lands

Appearance of the Battle-field of the Thames.

Moravian Town.

Return to Chatham.

owned by James Dixon at the time of our visit. We had very little trouble in finding the places sought. The forest had disappeared, and nothing remained of the grand old trees except a few ravaged and mostly dead stems, many of them blackened by fire. The smaller swamp had also disappeared, but its place was distinctly marked by deep black mould. In the rear is the great swamp still, and in front, between lofty wooded banks, flows the beautiful La Tranche or Thames, near which are graves of the slain. From a corn-field between the smaller and larger swamps, near the spot where Johnson and Tecumtha met, I made a sketch of the battle-field.



THAMES BATTLE-GROUND.¹

Around us were golden pumpkins and wealthy shocks of Indian corn, and in the recently-cleared field, where the small swamp lay, cattle were quietly grazing on the frost-nipped grass. It is an attractive spot for the historical student, and our visit was an item in the fulfillment of the poet's prophecy, that

“Oft to La Tranche's battle-field
In future times shall traveler come,
To mute reflection's power to yield,
And gaze on lowly warriors' tomb.
'Here,' shall he say, 'our soldiers stood;
There were the Indians' numerous host;
Here flowed the gallant Johnson's blood:
There died the Shawnoan boast.”

We intended to visit the Moravian town,² but, after sketching the battle-ground, and the little view of the Thames printed on page 553, the day was so far spent that we felt compelled to turn back toward Tecumseh, where we partook of refreshments, and at twilight started on our return to Chatham. We arrived at the “Royal Exchange” at nine in the evening, cold and weary, but full of satisfaction.

Before sunrise on the following morning I sketched the view at the mouth of Mc'Gregor's Creek, printed on page 550, and after an early breakfast, again accompa-

¹ In this sketch the spectator is looking southward, toward the Thames. Its line is marked by the distant trees. The fence seen along the edge of those trees indicates the position of the road that leads to Detroit, across which stood Proctor's regulars, and on which were his cannon. The line of Proctor's army was north and south, across the upper edge of the smaller swamp, near where the cattle are seen.

² I was informed that the Moravians there were all Indians except their minister, the Rev. Mr. Vogler. There were about fifty families, mostly Delawares, and descendants of the early settlers. Each family had a plank house and forty acres of land, furnished by the government. The houses appeared very much like those of the pensioners at Amherstburg, mentioned on page 220. They had a neat church. Some of the log houses of the original town, a mile and a half from the present village, not destroyed in 1812, were yet standing. The chief or military leader of the Indians was Philip Jacobs, who lived on the site of the old town. He was about sixty years of age at the time of my visit.

nied by the courteous Mr. Miller, crossed the river, and rode down to Dolsen's to procure a drawing of his residence, made famous by the events of the campaign of Harrison against Proctor. We returned in time for myself and party to take the cars for the East at half past nine o'clock. We passed through London (a flourishing town of about seven thousand inhabitants, pleasantly situated at the confluence of the north and east branches of the Thames) at noon, and arrived at Paris, forty-seven miles farther eastward, in time for dinner. There we left the railway, and traveled in a private carriage to Norwichville, twenty-five miles southward, where we were received at twilight by relatives—descendants of the first settlers of that region, who built log huts, and felled the primeval forest there only a little more than fifty years ago. Now it is a fertile, well-cultivated, and highly-picturesque country, bearing few traces of a settlement so new that many of the inhabitants remember its beginning. We tarried there a few days, and then returned to our home on the Hudson by way of the Niagara Suspension Bridge, after an absence of more than five weeks, bearing rich treasures from the historic fields of the Northwest.

As the campaign that closed on the banks of the Thames was the last in which General Harrison was engaged, we will here consider a brief outline of his career from his arrival on the Niagara frontier until he left the service in the spring of 1814.

Harrison, as we have observed, arrived at Buffalo on the 24th of October. He went immediately down to Newark, the head-quarters of General M'Clure, of the New York Militia, and soon afterward commenced active operations, by order of the Secretary of War, for an expedition against the British at Burlington Heights, at the west end of Lake Ontario, the "capture or destruction of which," the Secretary said in his letter, "would be a glorious *finale* to his campaign." While in the midst of these preparations, another letter came from the same functionary, written only four days later than the former, requiring General Harrison to send M'Arthur's brigade to Sackett's Harbor, as Montreal, not Kingston, would be the point of attack on the enemy by Wilkinson's army, by which the country eastward of Lake Ontario might be exposed to the incursions of the British from the latter place. There were valuable stores at Sackett's Harbor, and it was thought to be more important to save these than to assail the enemy farther west. Like an obedient soldier, Harrison obeyed. His troops were embarked on Chauncey's fleet at the middle of November. The programme having been changed, the Secretary of War gave General Harrison permission to visit his family near Cincinnati. The general accompanied his troops to Sackett's Harbor, and then journeyed homeward by the way of New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington, every where receiving the plaudits of his countrymen.

The campaign under the old generals (Dearborn, Hampton, and Wilkinson) on the northern frontier in 1813 having been fruitless of much good to the American cause, the eyes of the people were turned in expectation toward General Harrison, the successful leader, as the future acting commander-in-chief of the American army, or at least of that portion of it on the northern frontier. Such was the expectation of his companions in arms. "Yes, my dear friend," Perry wrote to him, "I expect to hail you as the chief who is to redeem the honor of our arms in the North." "You, sir," wrote M'Arthur to him from Albany, in New York,¹ "stand the highest with the militia of this state of *any* general in the service, and I am confident that no man can fight them to so great an advantage, and I think their extreme solicitude may be the means of calling you to this promotion."

These expectations were not realized. For reasons unexplained, the feelings of General Armstrong, the Secretary of War, appear to have been suddenly and greatly changed toward General Harrison, and his treatment of that officer deprived the country of his military services at a most critical time. He persistently interfered

¹ M'Arthur was then in attendance as a witness upon the court-martial for the trial of Brigadier General Hull. See page 294.

with Harrison's prerogatives as commander-in-chief of the Eighth Military District, and the general became convinced, by circumstances not necessary to detail here, that the secretary disliked him, and was determined to deprive him of all active command. He remembered Armstrong's unasked permission to visit his family at Cincinnati, and he now construed it as a deliberate hint that he might retire from the army a while. These suspicions were fostered and confirmed by subsequent events, and on the 11th of May, 1814, Harrison, in a letter to the Secretary of War, and another to the President of the United States, offered to resign his commission. When Governor Shelby heard of the movement he wrote an earnest letter to the President, urging him not to accept the resignation, and saying, "Having served in a campaign with General Harrison, by which I have been enabled to form some opinion of his military talents and capacity to command, I feel no hesitation to declare to you that I believe him to be one of the first military characters I ever knew, and, in addition to this, he is capable of making greater personal exertions than any officer with whom I have ever served."¹ Harrison was then forty years of age.

Unfortunately for the country, the President was absent from Washington, at his home in Virginia, when the letters of Harrison and Shelby reached the capital. They were both forwarded to Madison. Meanwhile the Secretary of War, without consulting the President, accepted the general's resignation. This was an assumption of authority never exercised before nor since. In a letter to Governor Shelby, the President expressed his sincere regret that the valuable services of General Harrison could not have been secured to the government for the approaching campaign. Harrison left the army, and during the ensuing summer he was appointed, in conjunction with Governors Shelby and Cass, to treat with the Indians of the Northwest concerning all things in dispute between the tribes and the United States.

As we shall not meet General Harrison again in active military service, nor mention his name except incidentally, I will take this occasion to notice a short journey in Ohio, in the autumn of 1860, while collecting materials for this work, in which was included a visit to the home and grave of that faithful public servant at North Bend, on the banks of the Ohio.

In a former chapter (see page 542) I have mentioned my departure from Cleveland after the inauguration of Perry's statue, for Columbus, the capital of Ohio. The railway between the two places lies, much of the distance from Cleveland to Delaware, through a flat, not very fertile, and a newly-cleared country, the latter fact being attested by a profusion of stumps of trees in most of the clearings. On the summit of the water-shed between Lake Erie and the Ohio River, the country is more rolling and fertile. We journeyed one hundred and thirty-five miles in the course of five hours and forty minutes, and reached Columbus at about two o'clock in the afternoon of a delightful September day.^a At three I left for Newark, the capital of Licking County, thirty-three miles eastward of Columbus, for the twofold purpose of visiting an old and highly-esteemed friend,² and viewing, in the neighborhood, one of the most remarkable of the tumuli, or ancient mounds, with which the Ohio country abounds. I found my friend very ill—too ill to endure more than a few minutes' conversation. During the evening, in company with his son, I visited Mr. David Wyrick, a resident of the village, an engineer by profession, and an enthusiastic antiquary, who had lately been made famous as the discoverer of a stone, with Hebrew inscriptions, in a portion of the ancient earth-works that abound in the neighborhood of Newark. I found him a plain, earnest man, and bearing, among those who know him best, a character above reproach for truth and sincerity. He showed me a large number of curious things taken from mounds in the neighbor-

^a September 12, 1860.

¹ Governor Shelby to President Madison, May 15, 1814.

² Samuel G. Arnold, Esq., editor and proprietor of the *Newark North American*, and author of a *Life of Patrick Henry*, and one or two other small volumes.

Ancient Mounds and Relics at Newark, Ohio.

Ancient Coffin and inscribed Stones.



REMAINS OF AN ANCIENT COFFIN.

hood. Among them was a portion of a coffin, made of a hollowed oak log, found beneath a truncated circular pyramid forty feet in height, with a base one hundred and eighty-two feet in diameter, evidently constructed by a people ignorant of metal-edged tools.¹ But the most curious of

all the relics was the stone upon the four sides of which are words in Hebrew letters. Mr. Wyrick found them while searching for human remains in the centre of a small depression of the earth connected with the system of ancient earth-works in that region. The stone is in the form of a truncated cone, five inches in length, with two sides broader than the other two sides, and a neck and knob, evidently formed for suspending it by a cord or chain. It has the appearance, in texture and color, of a novaculite, or "hone-stone," and is finely polished. The letters (said by those who are competent to decide to be ancient Hebrew) are neatly made in intaglio upon each of the four sides. How, and when, and for what practical or symbolical purpose that stone was deposited in the earth there, may forever remain a mystery.²



THE FOUR SIDES OF THE HOLY STONE.

¹ This coffin is quite shallow, and more like the hollowed platform of a scaffolding. It bears evidence of having been hollowed by the processes employed by the aborigines when Europeans first visited America, namely, by fire and stone axes. With these they felled trees and hollowed out logs for canoes. They first burnt the timber, and then removed the charred part with the blunt stone axe, for these could not be made sharp enough to cut, and endure. These processes were repeated until the requisite depth was obtained. Every part of the hollowed portions of the ancient coffin that I saw bore clear marks of these operations.



STONE AXES.

beautiful black hair, and ten copper rings lying near where the hands might have been folded over the breast. The whole were imbedded in clay, over which was an arch of small and large stones. Over this was a mound of clay, making the whole structure inclosing the coffin about seven feet in height. The remainder of the pyramid was composed of stone. These the State of Ohio purchased for constructing the "Licking Summit Reservoir" for the use of the Ohio Canal, and removed about fifty thousand wagon-loads. The sepulchre was found when these stones were removed, and was explored by Mr. Wyrick. The clay was brought from a distance, for there is none like it in the vicinity.

The coffin, when found, was in a concavity of earth lined with clay made impervious to water. It lay in water twelve inches in depth, resting upon seven pieces of small timber, these resting upon two larger pieces, as seen in the above sketch. These, like the coffin, were completely "water-sogged." The coffin was lined with a fabric resembling old carpeting, so fragile that it crumbled at the slightest touch. On this the body of the deceased had been laid; and thereon was found the skeleton in fragments, locks of



SECTIONAL VIEW OF THE PYRAMID.

The annexed diagram, kindly drawn for me by Mr. Wyrick, shows a sectional view of the clay mounds, the small stone arch, and the position of the coffin. A the upper part of the clay mound, and B the lower portion. In these the open dots indicate the places where it was evident timbers had been placed, and had rotted away. C the arch of stone, 1111 indicating two layers of small stones from six to ten inches in diameter, and 2 a layer of broad flat stones. D the coffin and skeleton, and E the concavity filled with water, in which they rested. The clay had evidently been formed into a kind of mortar, and was as hard as sun-dried brick. The pyramid was on an en-

fluence seven miles south of Newark, and five hundred feet above the level of any stream of water near.

² The evening in which Mr. Wyrick found this stone was about twenty feet in circumference, and about two feet in depth at the centre. When he had excavated through dark and rich alluvium about fourteen inches, he came to a lighter soil of a clayey nature, in which were pebbles. One of these, of oblong form, composed of reddish quartz, first attracted his attention. Soon afterward he found the inscribed stone imbedded in the clay. Gentlemen of learning examined it, and proved the letters to be obsolete Hebraic. The Reverend J. W. McCarty, of Newark, a Hebrew scholar, translated the words on three of the four sides as follows: "Holy of Holies;" "The Word of the Law;" and "The Word of the Lord." At a meeting of some of the leading citizens of Newark, held at the Court-house about two months after my visit there, to consider the character and the circumstances of the finding of the "Holy Stone," General Dille presided, and Mr. McCarty gave an interesting account of the whole matter. It was stated that only four or five of the

An ancient stone Box and its Contents.

An immense ancient Earth-work near Newark visited and described.

Early the following morning, accompanied by my young friend, I visited the "Old Fort," as the people there call one of the most magnificent of the ancient earth-works that abound in that section of Ohio. It is a mile and a half from Newark, in the midst of a primeval forest, and forms a pleasant resort in summer. It is composed of a continuous mound, that sweeps in a perfect circle a mile in circumference, broken only by the entrance to it, where the banks, higher than any where else, turn outward for fifty feet or more, and form a magnificent gateway. The embankment averages



GREAT EARTH-WORK NEAR NEWARK.

from fifteen to twenty feet in height, and is covered with maple, beech, and hickory trees of every size, from the huge Anak of the forest to the lithe sapling—the former indicating the origin of the structure to be far more remote than the advent of Europeans in the New World. These also cover the area inclosed by the mound. The ditch from which the earth was thrown is within the embankment, and is visible around the entire line of the work, proving it not to have been a fortification. In the centre of the area (which is perfectly level) is a slight elevation, in the form of a spread eagle, covering many yards, and is called the Eagle Mound.¹

characters correspond to those now in use in the Hebrew books, but these furnished a key to the translation. It had already been stated by a gentleman familiar with the history and practice of the Freemasons, and who was a member of the fraternity, that the stone was of the kind used by masons of a certain grade in the East soon after the building of the first temple by Solomon. It has in their system, he said, a well-known meaning, its principal use in ancient times being for deposit beneath whatever structure the master mason might superintend. This symbol, he said, was not necessarily furnished with inscriptions, but masons entitled to use it might put such sentences upon it as that one has. It would be placed in the northeastern part of the foundation, and if it stood on its point would indicate that something more was deposited beneath. If it lay on its broadest face, the point or small end would indicate the direction where other deposits would be found. These, if found, would disclose facts connected with the building. Was not the cavity in which the stone was found the foundation of a structure never erected?

A few weeks subsequent to my visit, Mr. Wyrick found, in one of the mounds in that vicinity, a stone box, nearly egg-shaped, the two halves fitting together by a joint which runs around the stone lengthwise. Within this box was a stone seven inches long and three wide, on a smooth surface of which is a figure, in *bas relief*, well cut, and surrounded by characters thus described by the Rev. Mr. M'Carty: "The words over the head of the human figure contain three letters. Two of them are Hebrew, *Sheir* and *He* (or *Beth*). The third I inferred to be *Mem*—a conjecture most readily suggested by its form, it being exactly that of the old Gaelic *Mulu* (M), and afterward fully borne out by its always answering thereto. This gave the word *Mosheh* (Moses) or *Moshiach* (Messiah)." Of the characters Mr. M'Carty said "some looked like the Hebrew coin character, some like the Phœnician alphabet, a few bore resemblance to those on the Grave Creek stone," and some I could not identify with any known alphabet." He at last found that the language was really Hebrew, much like that found in the Bibles of the German Jews, and, after great and patient labor, he discovered that the whole constituted an abridged form of the Ten Commandments.

This is not the place, nor has the writer the knowledge requisite for a discussion of the matter. I have simply stated the curious facts—facts well worthy of the earnest investigation of archaeologists, for they raise the ethnological and historical question whether the mound-builders of this continent were of Asiatic origin, or were related to the Indian tribes whose remnants still exist.

¹ Other mounds in this vicinity are in the shape of animals. One of the most curious and extensive of these is about four miles from Newark, on the road to Granville. It is in the shape of a lizard, and covers the whole summit of a hill. Its dimensions, in feet, are as follows: Length of the head and neck, 32; of the body, 73; of the tail, 100; width from the ends of the fore feet over the shoulders, 100; from the ends of the hind feet over the hips, 92; between the legs, across the body, 32; across the tail, close to the body, 18; height at the highest point, 7; whole length, 210. It appears to be mainly composed of clay, and is overgrown with grass. Visitors have made a path from the nose, along the back, to where the tail begins to curl, at which point stands a large black walnut-tree.—See *Howe's Historical Collections of Ohio*, page 298.

* A small stone tablet, found in a large mound near Grave Creek, in the vicinity of Winchester, Virginia, having an inscription in cuneiform characters like the ancient Phœnician.

The ground covered by this ancient work is owned by the Licking County Agricultural Society, and within the earth-walled inclosure their annual fairs are held, for the accommodation of which some buildings have been erected. These, with the general appearance of the work, and the trees upon the banks, as seen from the entrance, may be observed in the picture on page 565. After finishing that sketch, and exploring every part of this strange old structure by an unknown people in an unknown age, I returned to Newark, the quickened imagination filling the mind with wondrous visions of the earlier ages of our continent, while Memory recalled those suggestive lines of Bryant in his "Prairie," in which, turning to the Past, he soliloquizes concerning the mound-builders, saying, as introductory,

"And did the dust
Of these fair solitudes once stir with life
And burn with passion? Let the mighty mounds
That overlook the rivers, or that rise
In the dim forest, crowded with old oaks,
Answer. A race that long has passed away
Built them; a disciplined and populous race
Heaped with long toil the earth, while yet the Greek
Was hewing the Pentelicus to forms
Of symmetry, and rearing on its rock
The glittering Parthenon."

I returned to Columbus in time to visit the magnificent State-house, dine, and leave in the stage-coach at two o'clock for Chillicothe, forty-five miles down the Scioto Valley, toward the Ohio River. Columbus is a beautiful city, of almost twenty thousand inhabitants, standing upon a gently-rolling plain on the eastern side of the Scioto River,¹ about half a mile below its confluence with the Olentangy. The streets are broad, its public buildings are attractive, and many private mansions display great elegance. It is pleasant in every feature as the political capital of a great state. Where it now stands was a dark forest when Harrison had his head-quarters at Franklinton, on the opposite side of the Scioto, in 1812 and 1813. Then a settlement was commenced there, and in 1816 it was made the seat of the state government. The county seat of Franklin was removed to Columbus from Franklinton in 1824, and the present city was chartered in 1834.

The journey from Columbus to Chillicothe, in an old-fashioned elliptical stage-coach drawn by four horses, was a very delightful one. The day was perfect in purity of air and in temperature; the sky was unflecked by the smallest cloud, and the whole country was green with verdure. I was granted the privilege of a seat by the side of the driver, and thus I secured uninterrupted views of the country, which exhibited all the picturesque beauty possible without the charms of mountains or high hills. Our route lay along the gentle slopes on the eastern side of the Scioto until we reached Shadeville, a pleasant little embowered village, where we first struck the bottom of the Scioto Valley, nine miles from Columbus. There we changed horses, and, eight miles farther on, stopped at Bloomfield, another little village, where fresh horses were waiting our arrival. A little before sunset we rode into Circleville, a large town at the head of the great Pickaway Plains.² Our route had been through one of the most beautiful regions of Ohio, and would increase in interest, we were told, as we advanced toward Chillicothe. But the night was near. We had passed broad fields of Indian corn, plants full twelve feet in height, heavily laden with ears, beneath which droves of swine were frequently seen. The streams were fringed with heavy-foliaged trees and shrubbery, interspersed with magnificent sycamores, while the little forests

¹ According to a statement of Rev. David Jones in his Journal in 1774, Scioto, in the Shawnoese language, signifies *hairy river*, so called because that stream in the spring was filled with hairs, from the immense number of deer that came to it to drink when shedding their coats.

² Circleville is the capital of Pickaway County, situated on the Ohio Canal and Scioto River. It stands upon the site of one of the ancient earth-works that abound in that region, which was of circular form, and gave the name to the village. The court-house stood in the centre of the circle, and the town grew up around it. For an interesting account of the mounds in that vicinity, the reader is referred to Howe's *Historical Collections of Ohio*, page 410.

Circleville.

Arrival at Chillicothe.

Its Site and early Buildings.

and pleasant groves through which we rode presented to the eye timber-giants of a size seldom seen eastward of the Alleghany Mountains.

We found Circleville crowded with people of every sex, color, and condition, in attendance upon a county fair—so crowded that our most earnest endeavors to procure some supper at the tavern where the coach stopped failed. We tarried there but a short time, and at sunset resumed our journey with fresh horses. To avoid the heavy dew and chilly night air, I took a seat inside the coach, with eight other adults and two children, and enjoyed a delightful ride across the Pickaway Plains¹ during the strangely luminous twilight that lingered long at the close of that lovely September day. Just as night fell upon the landscape, we diverged from the Plains to pass through the village of Kingston, and at ten o'clock in the evening we sat down to an excellent supper, with keen appetites, at the "Valley Hotel" in Chillicothe.

Chillicothe, the capital of Ross County, and centre of the trade of the Scioto region, is delightfully situated on a perfectly level plain, at a narrow and picturesque part of the valley, with lofty and rugged hills rising around it. In ancient times it was a place of great attraction for the inhabitants, and was one of the principal rendezvous of the Shawnoese when the white man began to seat himself in the Ohio country. It was early settled, and in the year 1800 the seat of government of the Northwestern Territory was removed from Cincinnati to Chillicothe. The building of a state-house there was commenced the same year, and was completed early enough in 1801 for the Territorial Legislature to meet in it.² In the same room, the Convention that framed the Constitution for the State of Ohio met in the autumn of 1802. It was built of stone, and was the first public edifice made of that material in the Territory. That venerable and venerated structure was demolished about the year 1850, and on its site was erected the present court-house for the county, of light brown freestone, and remarkable as one of the most beautiful public buildings west of the Alleghanies. The old jail, also built in 1801, was yet standing when I visited Chillicothe. The above sketch of the state-house is copied, by permission, from Howe's *Historical Collections of Ohio*, page 436.



THE OLD STATE-HOUSE.

Chillicothe was an important rendezvous of United States soldiers during the War of 1812, as we have already incidentally observed. They were stationed at Camp Bull, about a mile north of the town, on the west side of the Scioto. There several hundred British prisoners, captured by Perry and Harrison, were confined for some time.

On the morning after my arrival I rode out to "Fruit Hill," the residence of General Duncan McArthur during a greater portion of his life, and then (1860) the property and dwelling of his son-in-law, Honorable William Allen, late member of Congress. It was about two and a half miles from the court-house in Chillicothe, upon the lofty plain between the Scioto and Paint Creek Valleys, and was so situated as to com-

¹ These plains lie south of Circleville, on the east side of the Scioto, and are said to contain the richest body of land in Ohio. They are called respectively upper and lower plains. The black soil is the result of vegetable decomposition during many ages. Beneath it is a bed of pebbles and gravel, and the surface of the Plains is from forty to fifty feet above the Scioto. These plains were the resort not only of the mound-builders, but of the Indians before the European came. There they had a general council-fire for all the associated tribes in that region; there it was that the warriors assembled to confront the army of Lord Dunmore in 1774, and there the horrid rites of torturing prisoners were frequently performed. There, on that classic Indian ground, Logan, the bereaved Mingo chief, made the famous speech preserved by Mr. Jefferson; and there was "Camp Charlotte," on Scippo Creek, seven miles southwest from Circleville, where, by treaty, Dunmore's campaign was brought to a close. For a full account of Dunmore's expedition, and Logan and his famous speech, the reader is referred to Lossing's *Pictorial Field-book of the Revolution*, ii., 281 and 284 inclusive.

² The first two sessions of the Territorial Legislature were held in a small, two-storied log house that stood on the corner of Second and Walnut Streets. This had a wing, in which were public offices. This building was used for barracks during the War of 1812.

mand a fine view of the town and the surrounding country. It was reached from the valley by a winding road among the hills. The mansion was of hewn sandstone, spacious and elegant in finish within and without. It was erected in 1802, and stood in the midst of a pleasant grassy lawn, dotted with a variety of ornamental trees and fruit-bearing Osage orange-trees. I was disappointed in not finding the proprietor at home, but this was lessened by the kind hospitalities of a young woman, a member of the family, who led me to the observatory on the top of the house, from which may be



FRUIT HILL, GENERAL M'ARTHUR'S RESIDENCE.

obtained charming views of the Scioto and Paint Creek Valleys.

Having sketched the "Fruit Hill" mansion,¹ I rode to "Adena," the fine old residence of Governor Thomas Worthington, chief magistrate of Ohio from 1814 to 1818. It is situated upon the same ridge, two hundred feet above the Scioto, and half a mile north from M'Arthur's mansion. It overlooks the same valleys, and, because of the beauty of its situation, it was called "Adena," or Paradise. The building is of hewn sandstone, and was erected in 1805, at great expense, under the supervision of the elder Latrobe, of Washington City. Its elegance and novelty were such, in its form, its large panes of glass, its papered rooms, and marble fireplaces, that persons came from long distances to see it, and considered its name appropriate. It was the finest mansion in all that region; and, so much was Worthington respected, that all agreed that man and dwelling were worthy of each other.



Worthington

He was an early settler in the vicinity. In 1768 he built the first frame house, with glazed windows, erected in Chillicothe, oiled paper being then the substitute for glass.² He erected a saw and grist mill for the accommodation of the inhabitants, and in every way was a very public-spirited man.³

¹ This view is from the lawn, looking toward Chillicothe, a glimpse of which is seen on the extreme left of the picture.
² The first dwelling for a white man on the site of Chillicothe was a bark cabin erected by General M'Arthur.
³ Thomas Worthington was born in Jefferson County (then Berkeley), Virginia, about the year 1769. He took with him to the Ohio country quite a number of slaves, whom he emancipated. He was one of the most energetic of the pioneers to that region, and soon became a leading man among the settlers. He was a member of the Convention that formed the Constitution of the State of Ohio in 1803. Soon after that he was chosen to represent the new state in the

Description of "Adena."

M'Arthur's Portrait.

A Visit to Cincinnati and its Vicinity.

Adena was then owned by Governor Worthington's son, General James Worthington. The court in front of the mansion was filled with trees, shrubbery, and flowers. On the right was an enormous cherry-tree, planted in 1798 by the side of the log cabin in which Governor Worthington and his family lived until the house in Chillicothe was completed. There was a fine garden attached to the mansion, and from various points in the vicinity most charming views of the Scioto Valley may be obtained. The proprietor was not at home at the time of my visit, but I have very pleasant recollections of the kind courtesy I received from his family in showing me works of art and curiosities, and imparting information. Among the relics of the past which I saw there was a hatchet-pipe, almost precisely like the one shown me at Brantford, in Canada, and delineated on page 421. It was presented to Governor Worthington by Tecumtha, and is highly valued by the family.



ADENA, GOVERNOR WORTHINGTON'S RESIDENCE.

Leaving "Adena," I passed down the winding road through the hills to the plain, by a beautiful little lake at the foot of the wooded acclivity, and, on reaching Chillicothe, called at the residence of the Honorable C. A. Trimble, member of Congress, and son-in-law of M'Arthur, who owns the fine portrait of the general from which the engraving on page 267 was copied. He, too, was absent, but, through the kind offices of his brother, I was permitted to have a daguerreotype of the painting made. This was completed just in time to allow me to take the cars on the Marietta and Cincinnati Railway for the latter place at about three o'clock in the afternoon. We reached the "Queen City" at seven in the evening, having journeyed ninety-six miles through an interesting country from the Valley of the Scioto to that of the Little Miami.

During the three succeeding days I visited men and places of interest in and about Cincinnati. I crossed the Ohio to Covington and Newport, cities on the Kentucky shore, flanking the mouth of the Licking River. I also rode out to Batavia, the capital of Clermont County, about twenty miles distant, one hot afternoon, fortunately occupying a portion of the driver's seat on a stage-coach. Our route lay along the Ohio through Columbia, a suburban village (settled before the seed of Cincinnati was planted), to the mouth of the Little Miami, the eye every where delighted with the picturesque beauty of the shores of the great river, covered with vineyards then wealthy with immense stores of grapes, on the Ohio side.

"There grows no vine
By the haunted Rhine,
By Danube or Guadalquivir,
Nor on island or cape,
That bears such grape
As grows by the Beautiful River."¹

We crossed the Miami, and made our way along the level country on its eastern side a few miles, when our course bent more eastward among lofty cultivated hills. Toward sunset we looked down from a rugged eminence into the fertile vale of the east branch of the Little Miami, then flooded with the evening sunlight, which

¹ Senate of the United States, and was an active supporter in Congress of Jefferson's administration. He was elected Governor of the state in 1814, and held the office four years. After his retirement from the chief magistracy he was appointed a member of the first board of Canal Commissioners, and held that office until his death in the year 1827, having been in public station about thirty years.

² Ohio is the Shawnoese word for Beautiful River. The French called it *La Belle Riviere*.

brought out, in luminous relief, against the green verdure back of it, the quiet village of Batavia, that lay nestled in the lap of the hills at the head of the valley. There, at the houses of relatives and friends, I passed the Sabbath, and met three surviving soldiers of the War of 1812, namely, John Jamieson, Abraham Miley, and James Carter. Mr. Jamieson was from Kentucky, and belonged to a company of spies in Porter's regiment. He was active on the frontier in the vicinity of Detroit during a greater portion of the war. In 1814 he saw the infamous Simon Girty on the rack of severe rheumatism at his house a few miles below Malden. The villain's cabin was decorated with scalps. Mr. Miley was a rifleman in Fort Meigs at the time of the siege in May, 1813. Mr. Jamieson and Mr. Carter confirmed the horrid story of the conversion of some of the skin of Tecumtha into razor-strops. One of them had seen pieces of the skin in the hands of a Kentuckian who took it from Tecumtha's thigh!

^a September 18, 1860. On the evening after my return to Cincinnati from Batavia^a I departed for North Bend, fourteen miles westward, on the Ohio and Mississippi Railway, where General Harrison was wedded while yet a subaltern in the army of the United States, where he lived when he bore the honors of a gallant general of that army, and where he was buried while the laurels which composed the most precious civic crown in the power of a people to bestow were yet fresh upon his brow.

The annual fair of the United States Agricultural Society was about to close in Cincinnati, and thousands of visitors were making their way homeward. The cars were densely packed, and, because of some detention in the lower part of the city, we did not reach North Bend until after dark. The nearest public house was at the little village of Cleves, a mile distant over the hills, and thitherward I made my way on foot, accompanied by a grandson of General Harrison, son of W. W. H. Taylor, Esq., at whose house I supped and spent the evening. Their dwelling is pleasantly situated on a slope overlooking the village of Cleves and the Great Miami Valley at that point, and is only half a mile from the tomb of Harrison. Mrs. Taylor is a daughter of the general. She kindly invited me to pass the night under their roof, but circumstances made it proper for me to take lodgings at the tavern in Cleves. In the possession of Mrs. Taylor were portraits of her father and mother, the former painted in the winter of 1840-'41 by J. G. H. Beard, of Cincinnati, and pronounced a faithful likeness by the family. The latter, an equally faithful likeness, was painted in 1828 by a young artist named Corwin, who died in New York when about to embark for Italy. It is the portrait of a small and beautiful woman at the age of fifty-three years. Mrs. Taylor kindly furnished me with photographic copies of the portraits.

When I visited North Bend, Mrs. Harrison, who had just passed the eighty-fifth year of her age, was residing with her son, Scott Harrison, Esq.,¹ at Lawrenceburg, five miles farther down the Ohio. I was informed that she had not received visits from strangers for a long time, her sensitive nature instinctively shrinking from the notoriety which her husband's exalted position had given her. It was said that she retained much of the rare beauty of her earlier years, and that the portrait of her given on the opposite page is a fair likeness of her in her extreme old age.² She was Anna Symmes, daughter of the Honorable John Cleves Symmes, of New Jersey, who, as we have observed (page 36), purchased an immense tract of land between

¹ Mr. Harrison had in his possession the telescope used by Commodore Perry in the engagement on Lake Erie, which that gallant commander presented to General Harrison as a token of his regard.

² Mrs. Harrison died on the 25th of February, 1864, when lacking exactly five months of being eighty-nine years of age. She was born in Sussex County, New Jersey, on the 25th of July, 1775. Her remains were taken to the house of her daughter, Mrs. Taylor, at Cleves, and at the Presbyterian Church in that village the Reverend Mr. Bushnell preached a funeral sermon, from the text which she had selected for the occasion a year before—"Be still, and know that I am God." Her remains were then laid in the vault overlooking the North Bend, by the side of those of her husband. Mrs. Harrison was distinguished for personal courage, good sense, modesty, and sincere piety. Her life was made up of alternate excitement and repose. She was loved most dearly by all who knew her.

Settlement at North Bend.

Symmes's City to be the future Capital of Ohio.

A successful River.

the Great and Little Miami Rivers, and who, early in February, 1790, landed with some settlers at the most northerly bend of the Ohio River in its course below Wheeling, and proceeded to found a settlement by laying out a village upon the elevated plateau through which the White-water Canal courses at the present North Bend Station. He commenced the construction of hewn-log huts, with substantial stone chimneys, and the town was named "Symmes's City." The first house erected is yet [1867] standing on the bank of the canal, a few rods from the Ohio, and about eighty rods from the



PIONEER HOUSE, NORTH BEND.

North Bend Station. The chimneys of two others might be seen at the time of my visit nearer the station and the river.



Anna Harrison

Settlers on the "Miami Purchase" had already built huts at Columbia and on the site of Cincinnati, but at North Bend Judge Symmes designed to plant the fruitful seed of a commercial city; but the choice of the site of

Cincinnati for a block-house to protect the Miami settlers deranged all the judge's plans and destroyed his hopes. The settlers that came preferred to place their families under the immediate wing of military protection, and Cincinnati, instead of "Symmes's City," or North Bend, became the great emporium of the Ohio region.¹ There Fort Washington was built and a garrison stationed,² and there, after the treaty of Greenville³ in 1795, Captain Harrison was stationed as commander. Meanwhile a block-house had been erected at North Bend, and about a quarter of a mile above the present railway station, on the bank of



BLOCK-HOUSE AT NORTH BEND.⁴

¹ We have observed in Note 4, page 46, that Ensign Luce, of the United States Army, in the exercise of his discretion, chose the site of Cincinnati for the block-house in opposition to the powerful influence of Judge Symmes. According to common tradition, it was passion, not judgment, that fashioned the ensign's decision. He had formed an acquaintance with the beautiful young wife of one of the settlers at the Bend. When the husband discovered the gallant officer's too great attention to his black-eyed spouse, he removed to Cincinnati, that she might be beyond the power of the tempter. This movement suddenly changed the mind of the ensign. He had resolved to build the block-house at the Bend; now he discovered that Cincinnati was a much more eligible site. He accordingly marched his troops to that little settlement. Judge Symmes warmly remonstrated, but in vain. The ensign was fairly captivated by the sparkling eyes, and they decided the question. "Thus we see," says Judge Burnet, from whose "Notes" these facts have been gleaned, "the incomparable beauty of a Spartan dame produced a ten years' war which terminated in the destruction of Troy, and the irresistible charms of another female transferred the commercial emporium of Ohio from the place where it had been commenced to the place where it now is. If this captivating American Helen had remained at the Bend the block-house would have been erected there, population, capital, and business would have centred there, and there would have been the Queen City of the West." ² See page 40. ³ See page 57.

⁴ This is copied, by permission, from a sketch in Howe's *Historical Collections of Ohio*, page 256.

Captain Harrison and Anna Symmes as Lovers.

Their Marriage opposed.

Its Consummation and Result.

the river, Judge Symmes had erected quite a commodious house for himself, the ruins of whose chimney and fire-place might yet be seen in 1860. To that dwelling came his family in January, 1795, one of whom was the beautiful Anna, then a girl twenty years of age. The block-house was a dependency of the post at Cincinnati, and it received the early personal attention of Captain Harrison, then a young man twenty-two years of age. He was the son of a leading citizen of Virginia, and bearing the highest praises of his commander, General Wayne, as a gallant soldier. He was a welcome guest in the hospitable house of Judge Symmes; and his visits, which became more and more frequent, were especially pleasing to the gentle Anna, who had first met him at the house of her sister, Mrs. Major Short, near Lexington, Kentucky. The young friends soon became lovers, and the judge gave his consent to their marriage. Hearing some slanderous stories concerning Captain Harrison, he withdrew that consent, but the loving Anna, like a true woman, had implicit confidence in her affianced. She resolved to marry him, and her faithfulness verified the saying that

"Love will find its way
Through paths where wolves would fear to prey."

On the morning of the day fixed for the marriage, Judge Symmes, without any suspicion of such an event then, mounted his horse and rode to Cincinnati. The lovers
* November 22, were united at his house,^a in the presence of Anna's step-mother and
1795. many friends, by Dr. Stephen Wood, then a magistrate. The judge did not see his son-in-law until a few weeks afterward, when he met him at a dinner-party given by General Wilkinson, then in command of Fort Washington, to General Wayne. "Well, sir," the judge said, somewhat sternly, "I understand you have married Anna." "Yes, sir," responded Captain Harrison. "How do you expect to support her?" the father inquired. "By my sword and my own right arm," quickly answered the young officer. Judge Symmes was pleased with the reply, and, like a sensible man, was reconciled, and gave them his blessing. He lived to be proud of that son-in-law as governor of the Indiana Territory, and the hero of Tippecanoe, Fort Meigs, and the Thames; and the devoted wife, after sharing his joys and sorrows for five-and-forty years, laid him in the grave within sight of the place of their nuptials, while the nation mingled its tears with hers, for he was crowned with the unsurpassable honor of being the chief magistrate of this republic.¹

¹ William Henry Harrison, the youngest of fifteen children, was born at Berkeley, on the James River, in Virginia, on the 9th of February, 1773. He was descended from a celebrated leader of the same name in Cromwell's army. He was educated at Hampden-Sydney College, in Virginia. On the death of his father, Robert Morris, of Philadelphia, became his guardian. Contrary to the advice of that gentleman, he entered the army. He hastened to the Northwest, but too late to share in the horrors of St. Clair's defeat. His services with Wayne have already (page 58) been noticed. Soon after his marriage he resigned his commission, and entered upon the duties of civil life, at the age of twenty-four, as Secretary of the Northwestern Territory. In 1799 he was elected the first delegate in Congress for that extensive region. Soon afterward, when Indiana was erected into a separate Territory, he was appointed governor, and clothed with extraordinary powers. He entered upon the duties of his office at the old military post of Vincennes in 1801, and discharged his duties for several years with great wisdom and fidelity. His troubles with the Indians, and his military movements in the Wabash Valley, are recorded in Chapter X. of this work. In subsequent chapters may be found a detailed account of his conduct as a military commander. His services in the field ended with the battle on the Thames, in October, 1813, and in the following spring he retired to his farm at North Bend. He was frequently called to serve his adopted state in public capacities. He was a member of the Ohio Legislature and of the United States House of Representatives. In 1824 he was elected to a seat in the United States Senate, and in 1828 was appointed minister to Colombia. Differing with President Jackson in some views respecting Panama, he was recalled. In 1840, after living in retirement many years, he was nominated by the party then called Whig for the chief magistracy of the United States, and was elected by an overwhelming vote. He was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1841, being then a little past sixty-eight years of age. Precisely a month afterward he died, leaving behind him a clean record of almost fifty years of public service.

"Calm was the life he led, till, near and far,
The breath of millions bore his name along,
Through praise, and censure, and continuous jar—"

But long as on Ohio's coursing wave
Is borne one freeman toward the glowing West,
His eye and tongue above the chieftain's grave
Shall hail the marble honors of his rest!
And, long as Dian lifts her waning crest
Where Liberty yet holds what she hath won,
A pensive thought shall haunt the patriot's breast

An early Settler in Ohio.

A Visit to the Tomb of General Harrison.

Captain Symmes and his Theory.

I passed the night, as I have intimated, at the tavern in Cleves, and in the morning had the good fortune to meet the venerable Daniel G. Howell, who was the first man-child born on "Symmes's Purchase." That event occurred at North Bend, on the 23d of August, 1790. A child of the opposite sex, the first in the settlement, was born nine days earlier. Mr. Howell's family were from New Jersey, and came West with Judge Symmes. He gave me some interesting particulars concerning the hardships of the early settlers, and his adventures as one of the volunteers for the relief of Fort Meigs. At first the settlers could not spare land enough for raising flax, but they fortunately found a useful substitute in a species of nettle that grew on the open glades in the Miami Valley to the height of about three feet. The autumn winds would prostrate it, beneath the winter snows it would rot, and in the spring all the boys of the settlement would be engaged in carrying the crop to North Bend, where it was treated like flax, spun by the women, and woven into cloth for summer wear. This was all the *linen* in use there for some time. It was very dark at first, but was susceptible of bleaching. They used dressed deer-skin for external clothing, and wild turkeys came over from Kentucky in abundance, like the quails to the Hebrews, and supplied them with much food.

After breakfast I called at Mr. Taylor's, and his son accompanied me to the tomb of Harrison. On an adjacent hill, about thirty rods westward from it, is a family burial-ground, in which is the grave of Judge Symmes, covered by a marble slab, resting a little above the ground, on brick-work.¹ From this little cemetery we crossed a grassy hollow and ascended to the tomb of Harrison, on a beautiful knoll about two hundred feet above the Ohio River. It was built of brick,



HARRISON'S GRAVE.

Of him, whose reign in her brief year was done,
And from his heart shall rise the name of HARRISON."—GEORGE H. COLTON.

¹ The following is the inscription on the slab: "Here rest the remains of John Cleves Symmes, who, at the foot of these hills, made the first settlement between the Miami Rivers. Born on Long Island, New York, July 21, A.D. 1742. Died at Cincinnati, February 26, A.D. 1814."

John Cleves Symmes was born at Riverhead, Long Island, and in early life was a surveyor and school-teacher. He married a daughter of Governor William Livingston, of New Jersey, and sister of the wife of John Jay. He was active during the Revolution, and in 1777 was made an associate judge of the Supreme Court of the State of New Jersey. On his removal to the Northwestern Territory he was appointed one of the United States district judges. Near the present village of Cleves he built a fine house, at a cost of \$12,000, the brick for which was hauled on the spot. A political enemy, named Hart, set it on fire on the 1st of March, 1811, and it was entirely consumed. Judge Symmes died, as his monument says, in 1814, at the age of about seventy-four years.

A nephew and namesake of Judge Symmes attracted much public attention and considerable ridicule, about forty years ago, by the promulgation of his belief that the earth was open at the poles, and that its interior was accessible and habitable. He had held the office of captain in the army in the War of 1812, and performed gallant service at Fort Erie. He petitioned Congress in 1822 for aid in performing a voyage of discovery to the inner earth, setting forth the honor and wealth that would accrue to his country from a discovery which he deemed certain. His memorial was presented by Colonel Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky, but was laid on the table. He found very little encouragement or support from any quarter. His arguments were ingenious, and he had a few believers. He died at Hamilton, Butler County, Ohio (the site of old Fort Hamilton), on the 28th of May, 1828, and some admirer of his caused a monument to his memory, having as a part of it a globe open at both ends, to be constructed. The picture of it here given is from Howe's *Historical Collections of Ohio*, page 77.



SYMME'S MONUMENT.

Site of General Harrison's Residence.

Destruction of his House by Fire.

Mementoes.

was ten by twelve feet in size, and was surrounded by trees, shrubbery, and green sward. At its foot was a noble mulberry-tree, and at its head was the entrance, with doors slightly inclined. The only tenants when I was there were the remains of General Harrison and his second daughter, Mrs. Doctor Thornton. The engraving shows the appearance of the spot, and a view of the great North Bend of the Ohio, as we look eastward from the grave. On the right, near the bank of the river, is seen one of the stone chimneys already mentioned, a few rods from the North Bend Station.

Descending from Harrison's tomb, we crossed the Whitewater Canal, and, after sketching the old house seen on page 571, visited the site of General Harrison's residence, on a level spot at the foot of gentle hills, about three hundred yards from the



HARRISON'S RESIDENCE AT NORTH BEND.

Ohio, and in full view of the North Bend Railway Station. Nothing of it remained but the ruins of cellar and fire-places, and these were covered with brambles. The house was set on fire by a dismissed servant-girl, it was believed, a few years ago, and entirely consumed. All of General Harrison's military and other valuable papers were burned; also many presents that were sent to him by political friends during the presidential canvass in 1840. The family portraits and a few other things were saved.¹ I sketched the locality from the railway station. Placing a drawing of the mansion, from one in Howe's *Historical Collections of Ohio*, in the proper position, I give to the reader a correct view of the residence and its surroundings before the fire. The water seen in the foreground is that of the Whitewater Canal. I returned to Cincinnati toward noon, and left the same evening for Dayton and the shores of Lake Erie.

¹ Among these was a beautiful black cane with a silver head, on which was engraved a log cabin, a cider-barrel, a sheaf of wheat, a steam-boat, and other devices; also his name, and presentation "by a gentleman of Louisiana." The log cabin and cider-barrel refer to a peculiarity in the features of that campaign. The eastern end of Harrison's mansion was one of the original log houses built by the settlers at North Bend, and clap-boarded over. His partisans, when he was nominated, started the story that he lived in a log cabin, whose latch-string was always on the outside, so that the traveler might enter, and that a mug of cider was always ready there for the wayfarer. The story was popular with the masses. Log cabins were erected all over the country, in which Harrison meetings were held, and a barrel of cider was always ready for free distribution at these meetings. The canvass was known as "the Hard Cider Campaign," and the demoralization produced by it was very great. Many a song was composed in his praise and sung at these meetings, in one of the most popular of which occurs the following verse, that may be appropriately quoted in this connection:

"Hurrah for the log cabin chief of our choice!
For the old Indian fighter, hurrah!
Hurrah! and from mountain to valley the voice
Of the people re-echoes hurrah!
Then come to the ballot-box—boys, come along,
He never lost battle for you;
Let us down with oppression and tyranny's throng,
And up with Old Tippecanoe!"

CHAPTER XXVII.

"Once this soft turf, this riv'let's sands,
Were trampled by a hurrying crowd,
And fiery hearts and armed hands
Encounter'd in the battle-cloud,
Ah! never shall the land forget
How gush'd the life-blood of her brave—
Gush'd, warm with hope and courage yet,
Upon the soil they fought to save."—WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT.



WHILE the army of the Northwest, under Harrison, was slowly recovering what Hull had lost, and more, stirring and important events were occurring on the frontiers of Niagara, Lake Ontario, and the St. Lawrence River.

England was then putting forth her mightiest efforts to crush Napoleon, and her display of energy and resources was marvellous. It required the most vigilant exercise of these on the Continent, yet she withheld nothing that seemed necessary to secure success in America. The naval victories of the Americans during 1812 were very mortifying to the "Mistress of the Seas," and it was resolved by the British cabinet to prosecute the war on the ocean with the greatest vigor. A most profound and wholesome respect for the skill and valor of American seamen had been suddenly created in the British mind, and, to prevent farther disasters on that theatre of action, it was determined that no more conflicts with American ships should be hazarded but with such superior force as would seem to insure success. The American coast was to be practically blockaded, and with so much rigor as to prevent the egress of privateers and the return of them with prizes; and the fiat went forth from the British court that every thing American found afloat should be captured or destroyed, while all of her maritime towns should be menaced and annoyed by the presence and movements of British cruisers.

The success of the allied powers against Napoleon during 1812 greatly relieved England for the moment, and enabled her to give more force to her conflict in the Western world. During the winter of 1812-'13 a body of troops were sent to Halifax, to re-enforce those in Canada in the spring, the principal object to be accomplished in that quarter being the defense of the provinces against invasion, while the war should be carried on vigorously along the coast and on the ocean.

The Americans were disheartened by the results of their campaigns on land during 1812, and it was difficult to increase the army either by volunteers or militia. The government had determined to renew the efforts for the conquest of Canada, in which service nearly all of the regulars were to be employed. The remainder, to consist of militia and volunteers, were to compose, with the regulars, an army of fifty thousand men. By an arrangement for an exchange of prisoners, many valuable officers were restored to command. The states were divided into nine military districts,¹ to each of which a general officer of the United States army was assigned, whose

¹ The districts were composed as follows: 1. Massachusetts and New Hampshire. 2. Rhode Island and Connecticut. 3. New York from the sea to the Highlands, and the State of New Jersey. 4. Pennsylvania from its eastern limit to the Alleghany Mountains, and Delaware. 5. Maryland and Virginia. 6. The two Carolinas. 7. The States of Tennessee, Louisiana, and the Mississippi Territory. 8. Kentucky, Ohio, and the Territorial governments of Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri. 9. Pennsylvania from the Alleghany Mountains westward, New York north of the Highlands, and Vermont.

duty it was to superintend and direct all the means of defense within his military district. Detachments of troops were stationed at the most exposed places on the sea-board to form rallying points for the militia in the event of invasion; and the commandant of each district was authorized to call upon the governors of the respective states for such portion of the militia most convenient to the menaced point as he should deem necessary, the operations of such troops to be combined with those of the regular force, and the whole to be under the direction of the commandant of the district, and while in service to be paid and supported by the United States. By this arrangement, designed to prevent any serious interference on the part of the governors of states who were opposed to the war, there was in each district a regular officer of rank equal with any militia officer who might be ordered out, and, under the Articles of War, entitled to chief command. Strict orders were also issued to receive no militia major general into the service of the United States except at the head of four thousand men, or a brigadier general without half as many. Eight new brigadiers were commissioned;¹ and each district, besides its commissary general, was to have an adjutant, a quartermaster, and an inspector of its own. Meanwhile vigorous preparations had been making by the *Northern Army* on the St. Lawrence and its vicinity, and the *Army of the Centre* on the Niagara frontier, for an invasion of Canada.

Early in February, 1813, some important movements were made on the St. Lawrence at Ogdensburg and its vicinity. In a former chapter we have observed some interesting occurrences between the hostile parties in that region during the preceding autumn and early winter. Both were vigilant, and both had committed "invasions" and made prisoners. British deserters had fled to the American lines, and parties of troops from Canada had crossed the river, captured some of these, and made prisoners of American soldiers and civilians. A number of these captives were confined in the jail at Elizabethtown, now Brockville, in Canada, eleven or twelve miles above Ogdensburg, some of whom expected to be shot by order of a court-martial.

An expedition to rescue the prisoners in Elizabethtown jail was planned by Major (late Captain) Forsyth, then stationed at Ogdensburg. With his riflemen, Lyttle's company of volunteers, and some citizens, about two hundred in all, Forsyth left the village in sleighs at about nine o'clock in the evening of the 6th of February,² rode along the southern shore of the St. Lawrence to Morristown, and there engaged Arnold Smith,² a tavern-keeper, to pilot them across the river, which is about two miles and a half wide there. It was a perilous passage, for the ice was not very strong. They crossed safely by keeping open order. The party was divided; Forsyth led one division, and Colonel Benedict, of the New York State Militia, the other. Flanking parties were thrown out under the respective command of Lieutenants Wells and Johnson. In this order they approached Elizabethtown, on the bank of the river, where the flanking parties took post at opposite ends of the village, to check any attempts at retreat or approaching re-enforcements.

The summer tourist on the St. Lawrence must remember with pleasure the appearance of Brockville (Elizabethtown), and the beautiful green ridges around it, rising, one above another, from and parallel to the river. It is at the foot of the group of the Thousand Islands, in the St. Lawrence; and in front of it, upon a bare rock a short distance from the shore, there still remained, when I visited the place in 1860, a small

¹ These were Thomas H. Cushing, Thomas Parker, George Izard, and Zebulon M. Pike, of the old army; William H. Winder, Duncan M'Arthur, Lewis Cass, and Benjamin Howard. Robert Swartwout, of New York, appointed quartermaster as successor of Morgan Lewis, bore the rank of brigadier.

² Mr. Smith was one of the earlier settlers there. Morristown was laid out in 1799 by Jacob (afterward General) Brown. Colonel David Ford made an actual settlement there in 1808, and Arnold Smith and Thomas Hill took up their residence, at about the same time, on the site of the village. Smith's was the first public house kept there. He also erected the first tavern at the present village of Edwardsville. Morristown now (1867) contains about 400 inhabitants.

A general jail Delivery at Elizabethtown.

The British determine to retaliate.

Ogdensburg to be attacked.

block-house erected there during the "Rebellion" in Canada in 1837. On the first of those ridges was the principal business part of Brockville, while on the one above stood a court-house and jail, of blue limestone, and churches and other fine buildings. On the site of that court-house and jail stood the building used for the same purpose in 1813, described as an "elegant brick edifice." Toward this building Major Forsyth moved through the town, after detaching small parties to secure the different streets in the village. On reaching it, he demanded the keys of the jailer. They were immediately surrendered, and the major proceeded to release every prisoner but one, who was confined for murder. He begged piteously to share the fate of his fellow-prisoners; but he was a criminal, and could not be taken from the hands of justice. Some of the prominent citizens were also seized and taken to Ogdensburg. A captured physician was paroled at Morristown and sent back. The only show of resistance was a shot from a window, which slightly wounded one man. Major Carley, the commander of the post, three captains, two lieutenants, with forty-six other prisoners, were taken in triumph to Ogdensburg, where the expedition arrived before daylight on the 7th, without the loss of a man. The spoils were one hundred and twenty muskets, twenty rifles, two casks of fixed ammunition, and a quantity of other stores. For this gallant enterprise, which called forth universal applause, Forsyth was made lieutenant colonel by brevet, his commission being dated the 6th of February, by which it was made to himself and family a memorial of the event.



BLOCK-HOUSE AT BROCKVILLE.

This exploit led to early retaliation on the part of the British. At about that time Sir George Prevost, the Governor General of Canada, arrived at Prescott on his way to the capital of the upper province. Lieutenant Colonel Pierson, commanding at Prescott, proposed an attack upon Ogdensburg. The governor was willing to have the attempt made; but on learning that some deserters had crossed the St. Lawrence, and would probably inform the Americans of the proximity of a prize so precious as his excellency, he became alarmed for his personal safety, and ordered Pierson to accompany him on an immediate journey to Kingston with an escort. Lieutenant Colonel McDonnell was charged with the business of assailing Ogdensburg, and was directed by the governor to first make a demonstration on the ice in front of the village, to engage the attention of the American troops, while his excellency should put much space between himself and his enemies.

British spies informed Forsyth of the intended attack, and he immediately dispatched a courier to General Dearborn at Plattsburg, on Lake Champlain, for reinforcements. "I can afford you no help," replied Dearborn. "You must do as well as you are able, and if you can not hold the place you are at liberty to abandon it." He intimated that the sacrifice of Ogdensburg might be of public benefit in arousing the flagging energies of the Americans. On the receipt of this reply, Forsyth called a council of officers, when it was resolved to hold the place as long as possible. Its defenses were few and feeble, yet stout hearts were there. Near the intersection of Ford and Euphemia (now State) Streets stood a trophy-cannon taken from Burgoyne at Saratoga—an iron six-pounder, on a wheel-carriage, commanded by Captain Kellogg, of the Albany Volunteers. On the west side of Ford Street, between State and Isabella Streets, was a store used as an arsenal, in front of which, likewise on a wheel-carriage, was a brass six-pounder, manned by some volunteers and citizens, under Joseph York, Esq., then sheriff of the county and captain of a small company of volunteers. On the river bank, a short distance from Parish's huge stone store-house,¹

¹ This was built by David Parish, a wealthy banker, who early in this century bought an extensive lauded estate on



PARKIN'S STORE-HOUSE.

a sled-carriage, in charge of one of Captain Kellogg's sergeants. Back of the old fort, and mounted on sleds, were two old-fashioned iron six-pounders, one of them commanded by Adjutant Daniel W. Church,¹ and the other by Lieutenant Baird, of Major Forsyth's company. In front of the huge gateway between the two buildings then remaining of the old fort² was another brass six-pounder on a sled, and about twenty feet to the left of this was a six-pounder iron cannon on a sled. Several others were lying on the edge of the Oswegatchie fast bound in ice. Below the town, on the square bounded by Washington and Water, Elizabeth and Franklin Streets, was an unfinished redoubt, which was commenced the previous autumn by M. Ramee, a French engineer, by order of General Brown, and named Fort Oswegatchie. All the troops then available for the defense of the place were Forsyth's riflemen, a few volunteers, and about a dozen raw recruits.

On the morning of the 22d of February, about eight hundred men, under Lieutenant Colonel McDonell, appeared on the ice, and approached Ogdensburg in two columns. It was a singular spectacle, for only once or twice before had the river been closed between Prescott and Ogdensburg. The right column, three hundred strong, composed of a detachment from the Glengary Light Infantry Fencibles³ and a body of Canadian militia, was commanded by Captain Jenkins. The left column, five hundred strong, composed of detachments of the King's Regiment and the Royal Newfoundland Corps, a body of Canadian local militia and some Indians, was commanded by Lieutenant Colonel McDonell. These troops moved steadily toward the village, while some of the inhabitants were yet in bed, and others were at breakfast. The right column proceeded to attack Forsyth and his command at the old fort, or "stone garrison," as it was called,⁴ Forsyth formed his men behind the stone build-

yet (1867) standing, near the International Ferry, was a rude wooden breastwork, on which was mounted, on a sled-carriage, an iron twelve-pounder, also taken from Burgoyne. This battery was commanded by Captain Joshua Conkey. On the point where the light-house now stands, near the site of old Fort Presentation, was a brass nine-pounder on



D. W. Church

the St. Lawrence frontier. He caused the large stone store on Water Street, Ogdensburg, to be erected in 1810, and in 1813 he constructed a blast-furnace at Roselle. He is regarded as the early benefactor of St. Lawrence County, and is always spoken of with affection.

¹ Daniel W. Church was born at Brattleboro', Vermont, in 1772, and emigrated to Northern New York in 1801, where, at Canton, St. Lawrence County, he commenced the business of millwright by erecting the first saw-mill built there. He was one of the pioneer settlers in that county, and acted a conspicuous part in its early history. He assisted in organizing the first court in that county, and was sitting on the bench as associate justice, with Judge Raymond presiding, in the court-house at Ogdensburg when the shot from Prescott passed through the building, as mentioned in note 1, page 589. He volunteered in the military service at the beginning of the War of 1812, and was appointed adjutant of Colonel Benedict's regiment. His particular services at Ogdensburg and vicinity are mentioned in the text. Twice during the war he received the special thanks of General Brown. He was a man of fine personal appearance, fond of history and science, and charming in society. He died at Morris-ton, on the St. Lawrence, on the 7th of January, 1857, in the 85th year of his age, universally esteemed and deeply regretted by the whole community.

² These were Scotch Roman Catholics, of the families of refugee Loyalists from the domain of the Johnsons in the Mohawk Valley, the most of whom inhabit the County of Glengary.

³ Father Francis Picquet was a priest of the Sulpician order, and was active, after his arrival in Canada in 1783, in the establishment of the Catholic religion and French political dominion in the New World. For the purpose of attack-

⁴ See picture on page 583.

The British driven back upon the Ice.

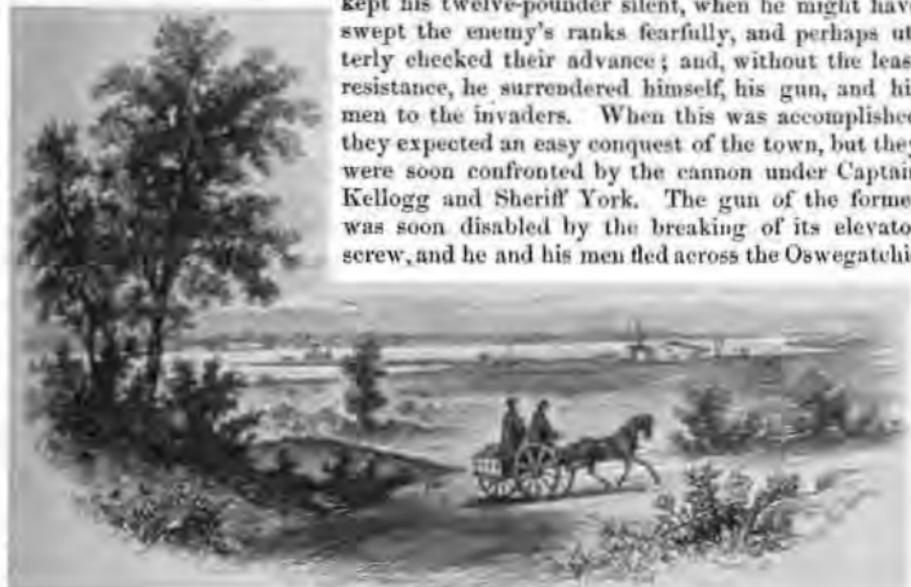
Surrender of a Part of the Americans.

Historical Localities.

ings, and directed them to reserve their fire until he should give the word of command. Baird, with the brass six-pounder, was on the right of his line, and Church, with the iron six-pounder, was near the centre. Just as the enemy reached the flat, snow-drifted shore, they fired, but without effect. Forsyth then gave the word, and a full volley of musketry and a discharge of artillery swept down eight of the foe, and threw their line into utter confusion. They attempted to rally and charge upon the Americans, but the frightened militia failing to support the light infantry, the movement was not executed, and the assailing party, after losing, besides the killed and wounded, a number of prisoners, fled out upon the frozen river, seriously annoyed by the nine-pounder on the point where the light-house now stands.

While these events were in progress on the upper side of the village beyond the Oswegatchie, Lieutenant Colonel M'Donnell had marched up into the town, from a point below the battery, near the barracks, without resistance.¹ Captain Conkey

kept his twelve-pounder silent, when he might have swept the enemy's ranks fearfully, and perhaps utterly checked their advance; and, without the least resistance, he surrendered himself, his gun, and his men to the invaders. When this was accomplished they expected an easy conquest of the town, but they were soon confronted by the cannon under Captain Kellogg and Sheriff York. The gun of the former was soon disabled by the breaking of its elevator screw, and he and his men fled across the Oswegatchie



SITE OF FORT PRESENTATION.

ing as many of the Iroquois confederacy of Indians to the French and the Church as possible, he founded a mission at the mouth of the Oswegatchie in 1748, and recommended the erection of a fort there. The river was called La Presentation by the French. There he erected a substantial stone building, on the corner-stone of which, found among the ruins many years ago, was the following inscription: "IN NOMINE DEI OMNIPOTENTIS HIC HABITATIONE INITIA DEBET PLANS RICQUET, 1749." Translation: "Francis Picquet laid the foundations of this habitation, in the name of the Almighty God, in 1749." Another stone building of the same size was erected about sixteen feet from the first one; and when a stockade fort was built there soon afterward, covering about an acre of ground, these edifices, standing on the bank of the Oswegatchie, formed part of the fort, which was called Presentation. Between the two buildings massive gates of oak, fifteen feet in height, were erected. "The remainder of the eastern or southeastern portions," says Mr. Guet, in his "Recollections of Ogdensburg and its Vicinity," "was heavy stone wall; indeed, this may be said to have inclosed the whole. Here was held the first court in St. Lawrence County, and here, also, they had preaching when they were fortunate enough to obtain a clergyman." Nothing now remains of these old works but a few traces of the foundation. The inscribed corner-stone occupies a conspicuous position in the State Armory, erected in Ogdensburg in 1836. I saw it in 1835 in a wall of the Hasbrouck estate on Ford Street. In the above sketch of the site of Fort Presentation, taken from its front of Judge Ford's mansion, the position of the stone buildings above mentioned is indicated by the two little figures seen between the low one-story building toward the right of the picture and the more distant landing-place at Ogdensburg. Toward the left of the picture, on the point projecting into the St. Lawrence, is seen the light-house, and across the river a glimpse of Prescott and Fort Wellington. Toward the extreme right, on the distant shore, are seen the ruined buildings on Windmill Point, desolated during the "Rebellion" of 1857. The landing-place of the British, on the marshy shore, to attack Forsyth, was directly beyond the clump of trees on the extreme left of the picture.

¹ The British struck the shore at the foot of Caroline (now Franklin) Street, and marched up that street to Washington, along Washington, past Parish's house, to State Street, and halted; then to the Arsenal in Ford Street, between State and Isabella Streets.

Retreat of the Americans from Ogdensburg.

Plunder of the Village.

Prisoners carried to Canada.

complete the conquest by dislodging Forsyth and his party. He paraded his troops on the northern shore of the Oswegatchie, and sent a flag to Forsyth summoning him to surrender instantly. "If you surrender, it shall be well; if not, every man shall be put to the bayonet," was a message sent with the summons. "Tell Colonel M'Donell," replied Forsyth, "there must be more fighting done first." The bearers of the flag had just reached their line on Ford Street, near Hasbrouck's, when Church and Baird fired the two six-pounders that stood before the gate of the fort, both charged with grape and canister. The effect was severe, but less frightful than it might have been had not Forsyth peremptorily ordered Church to elevate his piece a little higher. The discharge frightened the enemy, and they took shelter behind Parish's store-house and other buildings, and began picking off the Americans in detail, while another party, overwhelming in numbers, were preparing to storm the old fort. Forsyth's quick eye and judgment comprehended the impending peril. It was heightened by the wounding of Church and Baird, and he gave orders for a retreat to Thurber's Tavern, on Black Lake, eight or nine miles distant, where, on the same day, he wrote a dispatch to the Secretary of War, in which he gave a brief account of the affairs of the morning, and said, "If you can send me three hundred men, all shall be retaken, and Prescott too, or I will lose my life in the attempt."

Lieutenant Baird was too severely wounded to be taken away, and he was left at the mansion of Judge Ford,¹ where he was made a prisoner. The town now being in full possession of the enemy, the work of plunder commenced. Indians and camp-followers of both sexes came over from Canada, and these, with resident miscreants, defying the earnest efforts of the British officers to prevent plunder, carried off or destroyed a great amount of private property. Every house in the village except three was entered. The public property was carried over to Canada. Two armed schooners and two gun-boats fast in the ice were burned, the barracks near the river were laid in ashes, and an attempt was made to fire the bridge over the Oswegatchie.² Fifty-two prisoners were taken to Prescott, where those who were not found in arms were paroled and sent back.³ Some of the prisoners were confined in the jail at Johnstown, three miles below Prescott,⁴ and others were sent to Montreal. Fourteen of the latter escaped from prison at Montreal, and the remainder were sent to Halifax.

The Americans lost in this affair, besides the prisoners, five killed and fifteen wounded. The British lost six killed and forty-eight wounded. As the enemy immediately evacuated the place, the citizens soon returned. From that time until the close of the war Ogdensburg remained in an entirely defenseless state, which exposed the inhabitants to occasional insults from their belligerent neighbors over the river.⁵ A little east of Prescott, on the bank of the St. Lawrence, the British erected a small fortification during the war, which commanded Ogdensburg. It was called Fort Wellington. The present fort of that name was built upon an eminence back of the other, in 1838, at the time of the "Rebellion" in Canada."

¹ This mansion stood on a pleasant spot not far from the left bank of the Oswegatchie River. Nathan Ford, its owner, was among the earliest settlers of Ogdensburg. He was born in Morristown, New Jersey, on the 8th of December, 1768. He served in the Continental army, and in 1794 and 1795 he was employed by Ogden and others, who had purchased lands in Northern New York, to look after their affairs in that quarter. He was a man of indomitable energy, and early foresaw prosperity for the little settlement at the mouth of the Oswegatchie. He died in April, 1829, at the age of sixty-six years.

² The plunder of public property consisted of 1400 stand of arms, with accoutrements, 12 pieces of artillery, 2 stands of colors, 300 tents, a large quantity of ammunition and camp equipage, with some beef, pork, flour, and other stores.

³ The prisoners in the jail at Ogdensburg represented to the British that they were only political offenders, and then were all released. Most of them accompanied the invaders back to Prescott, when it was ascertained that they had deceived the British officers. Some were given up at once, and Sheriff York finally recovered the most of them.

⁴ This jail was used as a place of public worship for a long time, to which the inhabitants of Ogdensburg frequently resorted before the year 1812. Previous to that time there was no regular place of worship in Ogdensburg.

⁵ In May, 1813, an officer came over from Prescott for deserters, and insolently threatened to burn Ogdensburg if they were not given up. "You will do no such thing," said Judge Ford. "No sooner will I see the incendiaries landing than I will set fire to my own house with my own hands, rally my neighbors, cross the river with torches, and burn every house from Prescott to Brockville." The British officer, perceiving the consequences that might ensue, afterward apologized for his conduct.—Hough's *History of St. Lawrence County*, page 685.

I visited the theatre of scenes just described, and places of interest in their neighborhood, in July, 1860, after spending a day or two among the Thousand Islands in the vicinity of Cape Vincent. At dawn on a beautiful morning^a I embarked on the steam-boat *New York* at that point for Ogdensburg, and had the pleasure of meeting an old acquaintance (Captain Van Cleve), a veteran commander of steam-boats on Lake Erie and the St. Lawrence, and who was an involuntary actor in the stirring scenes in the neighborhood of the Oswegatchie in 1838, which will be noted presently. Familiar with every island, rock, and bush on the route, I found him a most instructive companion during that delightful voyage among the Thousand Islands. Another passenger was Mr. Pierpont, of Pierpont Manor, Jefferson County, New York, who was one of the United States commissioners that fixed the boundary-line between the former and Canada soon after the close of the War of 1812-'15. With these two gentlemen as companions willing to impart information, I lacked nothing.

Just above Brockville, as we emerged from the Thousand Islands, a settlement of Tories of the Revolution was pointed out to me, and the house in which a grandson of Benedict Arnold lived, and where he died a few years ago.

We arrived at Ogdensburg early in the day, and I went out immediately to visit places of historic interest there, accompanied by Messrs. Westbrook and Guest, to whom I am indebted for kind attentions while there. The landing-places of the British from the ice; the sites of the "stone garrison" and other military works; the arsenal, court-house, and old burial-ground, on an eminence south of the Oswegatchie, were all visited before dinner.¹ Afterward I went alone over to Prescott, and, in company with a citizen of that village, rode to Wind-mill Point, a mile below, to visit the scene of a serious tragedy, late in the autumn of 1838.

Allusion has already been made several times to the "Rebellion" in Canada in 1837 and 1838. It was a violent effort on the part of leaders and followers in both provinces to cast off the rule of an oligarchy and establish constitutional government, whose administrators should be responsible to the people. The most conspicuous leader in the upper province was the late William Lyon M'Kenzie, a Scotchman, and in the lower province the late Louis Joseph Papineau, a wealthy French Canadian. These, with many followers, assumed the position of open insurrection against the provincial authorities. They were joined by many sympathizers from the United States frontier, and in the autumn of 1838 the affair had grown to alarming proportions—so alarming that, on account of the active sympathy of the Americans with the Canadian "Patriots," it threatened to disturb the friendly relations between the United States and Great Britain. All the frontier towns on both sides of the line were kept in continual excitement, and none more so for a time than Ogdensburg and Prescott. Matters were brought to a crisis there in this wise. One of the most active of the "Patriots" on the American side was William Johnson, of Frenchtown (now Clayton), commonly known as "Bill Johnson," and sometimes called the "Patriot," and sometimes the "Pirate" of the Thousand Islands. Of him we shall have occasion to speak more in detail hereafter, for he was an active partisan in the War of 1812. Johnson's knowledge of the St. Lawrence from Cape Vincent to Ogdensburg made him a valuable auxiliary to the Canadian insurgents, and he engaged with them in co-operative movements for seizing Fort Wellington, which had just been completed at Prescott. For this purpose a large number of "Patriots" went down the St. Lawrence early in November, 1838. On the 12th, the steam-boat *United States*, Captain Van Cleve, just mentioned, took as passengers for Ogdensburg about two hundred

¹ I visited the fine mansion and beautiful grounds of Mr. Parish, son of the early proprietor of vast landed estates in that region. There for many years was the residence of Elena Vespucci, a lineal descendant of the Florentine American Vespucci, in whose honor our continent was named. She visited this country with the expectation of receiving a grant of land or money from Congress. She was a brilliant, fascinating woman. She left for Europe in 1830. Many evidences of her taste were seen about the mansion.

An American Steamer pressed into the Service of the "Patriots."

Siege of a garrisoned Wind-mill.

and fifty "Patriots" from Sackett's Harbor. On the way down the St. Lawrence, Van Cleve discovered two schooners becalmed. One of his passengers, a stranger of genteel appearance, asked him to take them in tow, as they were laden with goods for Ogdensburg, and he should be glad to have them reach port the next morning. The decks were covered with boxes and barrels, and only men enough to navigate the vessels were visible. The schooners were taken in tow, when Van Cleve was speedily undeceived. Full two hundred armed men came from them on board of his vessel. The schooners were a sort of Trojan horses. Van Cleve was perplexed. He resolved to "lay to" at Morristown, and send word to the authorities at Ogdensburg. This becoming known to the "Patriots," about one hundred of those on the *United States* who took passage at Sackett's Harbor, and all who had come from the schooners, went on board of the latter, when they cast off from the steam-boat and sailed down the St. Lawrence. On the following morning they were at anchor in the river between Ogdensburg and Prescott, and created the greatest excitement in both towns.

The British armed steamer *Experiment* was lying at Prescott, and made immediate arrangements to attack the schooners. One of them meanwhile had run aground, and the other had gone down to Wind-mill Point and landed her armed men. At about the same time the *United States* arrived at Ogdensburg. The "Patriots" pressed her into their service, and, with the assistance of the American steam ferry-boat *Paul Pry*, rescued the stranded schooner, and conveyed the other to a place of safety near Ogdensburg. She was also employed in carrying over some "Patriots" whom Johnson had persuaded to accompany him to Wind-mill Point, in which service she lost her pilot, Solomon Foster, an excellent young man, who was instantly killed by a ball from the *Experiment* that passed through the wheel-house of the *United States*. That evening Colonel Worth arrived at Ogdensburg with United States troops, accompanied by a marshal, who seized all vessels in the "Patriot" service, including the *United States*, and effectually cut off supplies of men, arms, and provisions from Wind-mill Point.

The "Patriots" at the Point made a citadel of the strong stone wind-mill there, took possession of some stone dwellings, and cast up breast-works. They were under the command of a brave young Polander named Von Schoultz. On the morning of the
* November, 1813. 13th^a they were attacked with shot and shell by the *Experiment* and two other armed steamers that had arrived. These were replied to by the battery that had been constructed on the shore near the wind-mill during the night. There were cowards among the "Patriots." So many had fled that when the cannonade commenced only one hundred and eighty were left. When, soon afterward, British regulars and volunteers to the number of more than six hundred went out from Fort Wellington and attacked the "Patriots" in the rear, only one hundred and twenty-eight were left; and yet these fought so desperately that, according to Dr. Theller's account,¹ they drove the British back to the fort, killing one hundred of them and wounding many, after a conflict of an hour.



THE BATTERED WIND-MILL.

Little but burying the dead occupied the next day.^b That night, four hundred British regulars, sixteen hundred volunteers, cannon, and gun-boats arrived from Kingston. The "Patriots" were doomed. Food, ammunition, and physical strength were exhausted, and they surrendered. They had lost thirty-six killed; ninety were made prisoners. Von Schoultz, only thirty-one years of age, and several Americans, were hanged in less than a month afterward. Some were re-

^a November 14.

¹ Theller's *Canada in 1817-38*.

Fate of the captured "Patriots."

Fort Wellington.

Return to Ogdensburg and Departure eastward.



WIND-MILL AND RUINS NEAR PRESCOTT.

about three acres of ground. It was not neglected. The citadel, in the form of a block-house, seen in the engraving, is a strong work, the lower part of stone, the upper of hewn timbers. The barracks are in good condition. A few cannon were on the ramparts, and on the river side of the fort lay a brass one, on which was inscribed the words and characters "S. N. Y., 1834. Taken from the rebels in 1837." It was a trophy.

When I recrossed the St. Lawrence at near sunset, heavy clouds were floating down from the region of the Thousand Islands, and low thunder-peals were heard in the far southwest. I stopped on the International Ferry wharf just long enough to sketch the Parish store-house, and arrived at the Seymour House a few minutes before a heavy shower of rain began to fall. I passed part of the short summer evening with Mrs. York, already mentioned, at the house of Mr. Chapin, her son-in-law, and at four o'clock the next morning, when the clouds, after a night of tempest, were breaking, departed in the cars for the eastward, to visit French Mills (now Covington), Malone, Odelltown, Champlain, Chazy, and Plattsburg. Of those visits I shall hereafter write.

A second invasion of Canada, as we have observed, was a principal feature in the programme of the campaign of 1813. Quebec, on account of its military strength and accessibility to large vessels from the sea, was held to be unassailable; but Montreal, the emporium of the vast Indian trade in the immense country westward of it, seemed to promise an easy conquest. The possession of that city, and of the entire Upper Province, was the prize for which the Army of the North was expected to contend. But the same lack of sagacity on the part of the cabinet, to which much of the disasters of 1812 were chargeable, now reappeared. Instead of sending a competent force for the capture of Montreal before the ice in the St. Lawrence should move and permit British transports to bring re-enforcements from Halifax, it was determined first to reduce Kingston and York (now Toronto), on Lake Ontario, and

leased, and twenty-three were sent to England, and from thence to the British penal colony in Van Diemen's Land. Eleven years later they were all released by a declaration of amnesty by the crown.

The British burned the wood-work of the wind-mill and stone houses. In that desolated condition they yet remained when I visited the spot in 1860, and made the sketch from which our little engraving was copied. The wind-mill still exhibits many indentations made by the cannon-balls during the siege.

It was toward evening when I returned to Prescott, stopping on the way to visit Fort Wellington, a strong work covering garrisoned, and every thing within seemed



FORT WELLINGTON IN 1860.¹

¹ In this view, looking toward the St. Lawrence, the village of Ogdensburg is seen in the extreme distance, on the height.

Dearborn and Chauncey on Lake Ontario.

Plans for invading Canada.

Preparations for active Movements.

Forts George and Erie, on the Niagara River, recapture Detroit, and recover the Michigan Territory. The latter enterprise was successful, as we have seen in the last chapter; it now remains for us to consider the events connected with the prosecution of the former, namely, the capture of York, Forts George and Erie, and Kingston, in the order here named.

Early in the winter of 1813, Dearborn, who was in the immediate command of the Army of the North, had about six thousand troops under his control, and was empowered to call out as many of the local militia as might be needed to supply any deficiencies in the regular army. Commodore Chauncey, by operations described in a former chapter,¹ had acquired such complete control of Lake Ontario that he could confine all the British vessels of war to the harbor of Kingston.

Orders were given for the concentration of four thousand troops at Sackett's Harbor, and three thousand at Buffalo. The former were to cross the ice to Kingston, capture that place, destroy all the shipping that might be wintering there, and then, as soon as practicable, either by land or water, proceed to York, seize the army stores collected there, and two frigates said to be on the stocks.

Dearborn received a general outline of this plan from the War Department on the 10th of February. He was then at Plattsburg with two brigades wintering there, amounting in the aggregate to about twenty-five hundred effective men. "Nothing shall be omitted on my part," he wrote on the 18th,^a "in endeavoring to carry into effect the expedition proposed."² Major Forsyth, who returned to Ogdensburg after the British left it, was ordered to Sackett's Harbor. General Brown was directed to call out several hundred militia; and Colonel Zebulon M. Pike (who was made a brigadier general a month later) was ordered to proceed from Plattsburg to the Harbor with four hundred of his best men in sleighs. But Chauncey was detained in New York, and the expedition against Kingston was abandoned, partly on that account, and partly because the arrival at that place of Sir George Prevost with Pierson's escort³ from Prescott gave foundation for a report that the British there had received large re-enforcements.⁴ When, about the 1st of March, Dearborn arrived at Sackett's Harbor, the story was current there, and generally believed, that Sir George, with six or eight thousand men, collected from Quebec, Montreal, and Upper Canada, was at Kingston, engaged in active preparations for offensive measures.

Dearborn found only about three thousand troops at the Harbor, and he sent expresses to hasten forward those on the way. On the 9th of March he wrote to the Secretary of War, saying, "I have not yet had the honor of a visit from Sir George Prevost," and expressed some doubts whether the knight would make his appearance at all. A week afterward all causes for apprehensions of an attack from Kingston had disappeared, and at a council of officers^b the expedition against that place was formally abandoned until the lake should be open and the co-operation of the fleet should be secured. To the strengthening of that arm of the service on the lake, the genius and industry of Henry Eckford, the naval constructor, were now earnestly directed, the President having, on the 3d of March, directed six sloops of war to be built on Lakes Ontario and Erie, and as many purchased as the exigencies of the service might require. The pay of seamen was advanced twenty-five per cent., and many of them were sent to the lakes for active service there. Early in April the brig *Jefferson* was launched^c at Sackett's Harbor, and the keel of the *General Pike* was laid.^d On the 14th the British launched two large vessels at Kingston, and at about the same time received for the service on the

¹ See Chapter XVIII.

² General Dearborn to the Secretary of War.

³ See page 577.

⁴ "Chauncey has not returned," Dearborn wrote to the Secretary of War on the 26th of February. "I am satisfied that if he had arrived as soon as I had expected him, we might have made a stroke at Kingston on the ice; but his presence was necessary for having the aid of the seamen and marines."

water large numbers of seamen from the Royal Navy. On the 15th the ice in the lake disappeared, and two days afterward Chauncey sent out the *Grouler* to reconnoitre. Brigadier General Chandler had lately arrived. The effective force at Sackett's Harbor at this time consisted of about five thousand regulars and twelve months' volunteers, two thousand militia, and thirteen hundred sailors.

At the middle of April Dearborn and Chauncey matured a plan of operations. A joint land and naval expedition was proposed, to first capture York, and then to cross Lake Ontario and reduce Fort George. At the same time, troops were to cross the Niagara from Buffalo and Black Rock, capture Forts Erie and Chippewa, join the fleet and army at Fort George, and all proceed to attack Kingston. Every thing being arranged, Dearborn embarked about seventeen hundred men on Chauncey's fleet at Sackett's Harbor on the 22d of April, and on the 25th the fleet, crowded with soldiers, sailed for York.¹ After a boisterous passage, it appeared before the little town early in the morning of the 27th, when General Dearborn, suffering from ill health, placed the land forces under charge of General Pike,² and resolved to remain on board the commodore's flag-ship during the attack.

The little village of York³ was then chiefly at the bottom of the bay, near a marshy flat through which the Don, coming down from beautiful fertile valleys, flowed sluggishly into Lake Ontario, and, because of the softness of the earth there, it was often called "Muddy Little



Z. M. Pike

York." It gradually grew to the westward, and, while deserting the Don, it wooed the Humber, once a famous salton stream, that flows into a broad bay two or three miles west of Toronto. In that direction stood the remains of old Fort Toronto, erected by the French, and now (1867) an almost shapeless heap. On the shore eastward of it, between the present new barracks and the city, were two batteries, the most easterly one being in the form of a crescent. A little farther east, on the borders of

¹ Chauncey's fleet consisted of the flag-ship *Madison*, commanded by Commander Elliott; the *Onesida*, Lieutenant Commanding Woolsey; the *Pair American*, Lieutenant Chauncey; the *Hamilton*, Lieutenant M'Pherson; the *Governor Tompkins*, Lieutenant Brown; the *Conquest*, Lieutenant Pettigrew; the *Asp*, Lieutenant Smith; the *Fert*, Lieutenant Adams; the *Julia*, Mr. Trant; the *Grouler*, Mr. Mix; the *Ontario*, Mr. Stevens; the *Sourp*, Mr. Osgood; the *Lady of the Lake*, Mr. Flinn; and *Haven*, transport.

² Zebulon Montgomery Pike was one of the earlier explorers of the wilderness around the head-waters of the Mississippi River. He was born in Lambertton, New Jersey. His father was an army officer, and young Pike entered the army while yet a boy. His whole life was devoted to the military profession. Soon after the purchase of Louisiana, in 1803, President Jefferson decided to have the vast unknown territory explored, and sent Captains Lewis and Clarke to accomplish a portion of it. At the same time, young Pike (who was born on the 5th of January, 1779) was commissioned to explore the present Minnesota region. That was in 1806. In the following year he made a perilous but successful reconnaissance of the wilderness in the direction of Northern Mexico, and, returning in the summer of 1807, he received the thanks of Congress. He reached the rank of colonel of infantry in 1810, and in March, 1812, he was commissioned a brigadier. He lost his life in the attack on York (Toronto), in April, 1812, when he was little more than thirty-four years of age. His name and memory are perpetuated, not only on the pages of History, but in the titles of ten counties, and twenty-eight townships and villages in the United States, chiefly in the Western country.

On the day before he left Sackett's Harbor, General Pike wrote as follows to his father: "I embark to-morrow in the fleet, at Sackett's Harbor, at the head of a column of 1500 choice troops, on a secret expedition. Should I be the happy mortal destined to turn the scale of war, will you not rejoice, oh my father? May heaven be propitious, and smile on the cause of my country. But if we are destined to fall, may my fall be like Wolfe's—to sleep in the arms of victory." His wish was gratified.

³ York, or "Little York," as it was generally called, was a village of about nine hundred inhabitants, situated on the north shore of Lake Ontario, a little west of the meridian of the Niagara River. It was founded by Governor Simcoe, was made by him the seat of government in 1797, and designed to be, what it has since become, a large and flourishing city. In front of it is a beautiful bay, nearly circular, a mile and a half in diameter, formed by the main and a curlew-

Neglect of Defenses.

General Pike's Instructions.

His Troops confronted at their Landing-place.

a deep ravine and small stream, was a picketed block-house, some intrenchments with cannon, and a garrison of about eight hundred men, under Major General Sheaffe. On Gibraltar Point, the extreme western end of the peninsula, that embraced the Harbor with its protecting arm, was a small block-house; and another, seen in the engraving, stood on the high east bank of the Don, just beyond the present bridge at the eastern



YORK IN 1813, FROM THE BLOCK-HOUSE EAST OF THE DON.

termination of King and Queen Streets. These defenses had been strangely neglected. Some of the cannon were without trunnions; others, destined for the war vessel then on the stocks, were in frozen mud and half covered with snow. Fortunately for the garrison, the *Duke of Gloucester* was then in port undergoing some repairs, and her guns furnished some armament for the batteries. These, however, amounted to only a few six-pounders. The whole country around, excepting a few spots on the lake shore, was covered with a dense forest.

On the day when the expedition sailed from Sackett's Harbor General Pike issued minute instructions concerning the manner of landing and attack. "It is expected," he said, "that every corps will be mindful of the honor of the American arms, and the disgraces which have recently tarnished our arms, and endeavor, by a cool and determined discharge of their duty, to support the one and wipe off the other." "The unoffending citizens of Canada," he continued, "are many of them our own countrymen, and the poor Canadians have been forced into this war. Their property, therefore, must be held sacred; and any soldier who shall so far neglect the honor of his profession as to be guilty of plundering the inhabitants, shall, if convicted, be punished with death. But the commanding general assures the troops that, should they capture a large quantity of public stores, he will use his best endeavors to procure them a reward from his government." With such instructions the Americans proceeded to invade the British soil at about eight o'clock on the morning of the 27th of April, 1813.

It was intended to land at a clearing near old Fort Toronto. An easterly wind, blowing with violence, drove the small boats in which the troops left the fleet full half a mile farther westward, and beyond an effectual covering by the guns of the navy. Major Forsyth and his riflemen, in two bateaux, led the van, and when within rifle-shot of the shore they were assailed by a deadly volley of bullets by a company of Glengary Fencibles and a party of Indians under Major Givens, who were concealed in the woods that fringe the shore. "Rest on your oars! prime!" said Forsyth, in a low tone. Pike, standing on the deck of the *Madison*, saw this halting, and impatiently exclaimed, with an expletive, "I can not stay here any longer! Come," he said, addressing his staff, "jump into the boat." He was instantly obeyed,

shaped peninsula, which, within a few years, has become an island. It was only a few rods wide, where, in 1809, a storm cut a channel and made most of the peninsula an island, while at its western extremity it was very broad, and embraced several ponds. See map on page 590. It is low and sandy—so low that, from the moderate elevation of the town (fifteen or twenty feet above the water), the dark line of the lake may be seen over it. Upon it were, and still are, some trees, which, at first glance, seem to be standing on the water. This gave the name of *Trees on Water*, an Indian word signifying "trees on the water," to the place. When the French built a fort there, westward of the extreme western end of the peninsula (which was called "Gibraltar Point"), they named it Fort Tarontah, or Toronto. In pursuance of his plan of Anglicizing the Upper Province, Simcoe named it York. The people, at a later day, with singular good taste, resumed the Indian name of Tarontah, or Toronto.

and very soon they and their gallant commander were in the midst of a fight, for Forsyth's men had opened fire, and the enemy on the shore were returning it briskly. The vanguard soon landed, and were immediately followed, in support, by Major King and a battalion of infantry. Pike and the main body soon followed, and the whole column, consisting of the Sixth, Fifteenth, Sixteenth, and Twenty-first Regiments of Infantry, and detachments of light and heavy artillery, with Major Forsyth's riflemen and Lieutenant Colonel M'Clure's volunteers as flankers, pressed forward into the woods. The British skirmishers meanwhile had been re-enforced by two companies of the Eighth, or King's Regiment of Regulars, two hundred strong, a company of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment, a large body of militia, and some Indians. They took position in the woods, and were soon encountered by the advancing Americans, whose artillery it was difficult to move. Perceiving this, the British, led by General Sheaffe in person, attacked the American flanks with a six-pounder and howitzer. A very sharp conflict ensued, and both parties suffered much. Captain McNeil, of the King's Regiment, was killed. The British were overpowered, and fell back, when General Pike, at the head of the American column, ordered his bugler to sound, and at the same time dashed gallantly forward. That bugle blast thrilled like electric fire along the nerves of the Indians. They gave one horrid yell, then fled like frightened deer to cover, deep into the forest. That bugle blast was heard in the fleet, in the face of the wind, and high above the voices of the gale, and evoked long and loud responsive cheers. At the same time Chauncey was sending to the shore, under the direction of Commander Elliott, something more effective than huzzas, for he was hurling deadly grape-shot upon the foe, which added to the consternation of the savages, and gave fleetness to their feet. They also hastened the retreat of Sheaffe's white troops to their defenses in the direction of the village, while the drum and fife of the pursuers were briskly playing *Yankee Doodle*.

The Americans now pressed forward as rapidly as possible along the lake shore in platoons by sections. They were not allowed to load their muskets, and were compelled to rely upon the bayonet. Because of many ravines and little streams, the artillery was moved with difficulty, for the enemy had destroyed the bridges. It was a strong right arm, and essential in the service at hand; and by great exertions a field-piece and a howitzer, under Lieutenant Fanning, of the Third Artillery, was moved steadily with the column. As that column emerged from thick woods, flanked by M'Clure's volunteers, divided equally as light troops, under Colonel Ripley, it was confronted by twenty-four pounders on the Western Battery, the remains of



REMAINS OF THE WESTERN BATTERY, 1

which are now (1867) plainly visible between the present New Barracks and the city on the lake shore. Upon that battery the guns of some of Chauncey's vessels,

¹ In this sketch the appearance of the mounds in 1860 is given. On the left, in the distance, is seen a glimpse of a wharf and part of Toronto. On the right a portion of the peninsula, now an island. In the centre of the picture is the opening between the island and the remainder of the peninsula, looking out upon the lake. The steam-boat indicates the present channel, which is narrow and not very deep.

Battle at York.

Explosion of the British Powder-magazine.

Death of General Pike and others.

which had beat up against the wind in range of the enemy's works, were pouring heavy shot. Captain Walworth was ordered to storm it with his grenadiers, of the Sixteenth. They immediately trailed their arms, quickened their pace, and were about to charge, when the wooden magazine of the battery, that had been carelessly left open, blew up, killing some of the men, and seriously damaging the defenses. The dismayed enemy spiked their cannon, and fled to the next, or Half-moon Battery. Walworth pressed forward, when that, too, was abandoned, and he found nothing within but spiked cannon. Sheaffe and his little army, deserted by the Indians, fled to the garrison near the governor's house, and there opened a fire of round and grape shot upon the Americans. Pike ordered his troops to halt, and lie flat upon the grass, while Major Eustis, with his artillery battery, moved to the front, and soon silenced the great guns of the enemy.

The firing from the garrison ceased, and the Americans expected every moment to see a white flag displayed from the block-house in token of surrender. Lieutenant Riddle, whose corps had brought up the prisoners taken in the woods, was sent forward with a small party to reconnoitre. General Pike, who had just assisted, with his own hands, in removing a wounded soldier to a comfortable place, was sitting upon a stump conversing with a huge British sergeant who had been taken prisoner, his staff standing around him. At that moment was felt a sudden tremor of the ground, followed by a tremendous explosion near the British garrison. The enemy, despairing of holding the place, had blown up their powder-magazine, situated upon the edge of the water, at the mouth of a ravine, near where the buildings of the Great Western Railway stand. The effect was terrible. Fragments of timber, and huge stones of



POWDER-MAGAZINE AT TORONTO.

walls were built, were scattered in every direction over a space of several hundred yards.¹ When the smoke floated away the scene was appalling. Fifty-two Americans lay dead, and one hundred and eighty others were wounded.² So badly had the affair been managed that forty of the British also lost their lives by the explosion. General Pike, two of his aids, and the British sergeant were mortally hurt,³ while Riddle and his party were unhurt, the missiles passing entirely over them. The terrified Americans scattered in dismay, but they were soon rallied by Brigade Major Hunt and Lieutenant Colonel Mitchell. The column was reformed, and the general command was assumed by the gallant Pennsylvanian, Colonel Cromwell

¹ The magazine was about twenty feet square. It contained five hundred barrels of gunpowder, and an immense quantity of shot and shells. It was built of heavy stone, close by the lake shore, with a heavy stone wall on its water front. Its roof was nearly level with the surface of the ground. The descent to its walls was by stone steps outside of the wall. It was so situated that the Americans did not suspect its existence there. The picture of it above given, as it appeared before the explosion, is from a pencil sketch by an English officer. It is said that some of the fragments of the magazine were thrown by the explosion as far as the decks of Chancery's vessels, and, says Ingersoll, "the water was shocked as with an earthquake."

² A late provincial writer, whose pages exhibit the most bitter spirit, says, in speaking of this destruction of life, "We heartily agree with James (the most malignant and mendacious of the British writers on the War) 'that, even had the whole column been destroyed, the Americans would but have met their deserts' and if disposed to commiserate the poor soldiers, at least, we wish, with him, 'that their places had been filled by the American President and the ninety-eight members of the Legislature who voted for the war.'"—*A History of the Late War between Great Britain and the United States of America*, by G. Auchincloss, Toronto, 1855.

³ One of General Pike's officers afterward wrote: "I was so much injured in the general crash that it is surprising how I survived. Probably I owe my escape to the competency of the British sergeant, whose body was thrown upon mine by the concussion."—Letter in *The Aurora*, quoted by Hough in his *History of Jefferson County*, page 482.

Surrender of York. Escape of General Sheaffe and his Regulars. The Americans in Possession of the Post.

Pearce, of the Sixteenth, the senior officer.¹ After giving three cheers, the troops pressed forward toward the village, and were met by the civil authorities and militia officers with propositions for a capitulation, in response to a peremptory demand for surrender made by Colonel Pearce. An arrangement was concluded for an absolute surrender, with no other prescribed conditions than that all papers belonging to the civil officers should be retained by them, that private property of all kinds should be respected, and that the surgeons in attendance upon the British regulars and Canadian militia should not be considered prisoners of war.² General Sheaffe's baggage and papers were captured. Among the former was a musical snuff-box that attracted much attention.

Taking advantage of the confusion that succeeded the explosion, and the time intentionally consumed in the capitulation, General Sheaffe and a large portion of his regulars, after destroying the vessel on the stocks and some store-houses and their contents, stole across the Don, and fled along Dundas Street toward Kingston. When several miles from York they met a portion of the King's Regiment on their way to Fort George. These turned back, covered Sheaffe's retreat, and all reached Kingston in safety. Sheaffe (who was the military successor of Brock) was severely censured for the loss of York, and was soon afterward superseded in command in Upper Canada by Major General De Rottenburg. He retired to Montreal, and took command of the troops there.



On hearing of the death of General Pike, General Dearborn went on shore, and assumed command after the capitulation. At sunset the work was finished; and at the same hour (eight o'clock in the evening), both Chauncey and Dearborn wrote brief dispatches to the government at Washington, the former saying, "We are in

¹ Cromwell Pearce was born in Willistown, Chester County, Pennsylvania, on the 13th of August, 1772, on the farm where the celebrated "Paoli massacre" occurred in the autumn of 1777. His father was a native of Ireland. Cromwell was brought up a farmer. At the age of twenty-one years Governor Mifflin commissioned him a captain of militia, and in 1799 he entered the regular army of the United States as first lieutenant in the Tenth Regiment of Light Infantry. He was commissioned a colonel of the Sixteenth Infantry in July, 1812, and marched to the Northern frontier. He bore a distinguished part in the capture of York, and yet his name was not mentioned in General Dearborn's report of the affair. Only Chauncey, in his official report, speaks of him. Pearce was brave, modest, and unassuming, and performed his duties nobly throughout the war. In the autumn of 1813 he was in the battle of Chrysler's Field, on the St. Lawrence, when, on the fall of the commander, he again became the leader of the contending forces. At the close of the war he retired to private life. In 1816 he was elected sheriff of his native county. In 1824 he was chosen a presidential elector, and was deputed to carry to Washington City the electoral vote of the state. In 1828 he was appointed an associate judge of the County Court, which office he held until 1839. He died suddenly on the 2d of April, 1852, in the eightieth year of his age.—*Notes Centennialis*, by William Darlington, M.D., LL.D.

² The following were the commissioners who arranged the terms of capitulation: Americans: Lieutenant Colonel E. G. Mitchell; Major Samuel S. Conner, aid-de camp to General Dearborn; and Commander Elliott, of the Navy. British: Lieutenant Colonel W. Chewett, of the York Militia; Major W. Allen, of the same corps; and Lieutenant F. Gaurreau.

York abandoned by the Americans.

General Pike's last Moments.

A Scalp adorning the Parliament-house.

full possession of this place," and the latter, "I have the satisfaction to inform you that the American flag is flying upon the fort at York." The post, with about two hundred and ninety prisoners besides the militia, the war-vessel *Duke of Gloucester*, and a large quantity of naval and military stores, passed into the possession of the Americans. Such of the latter as could not be carried away by the squadron were destroyed; and before the victors left, the public buildings were fired by some unknown hand, and consumed.¹ Four days after the capitulation the troops were re-embarked, preparatory to a descent upon Fort George. The post and village of York, possessing little value to the Americans, were abandoned.² The British re-
May 8,
1813.

possessed themselves of the spot, built another block-house, and on the site of the garrison constructed a regular fortification.

The loss of the Americans in the capture of York was sixty-six killed and two hundred and three wounded on land, and seventeen killed and wounded on the vessels. The British lost, besides the prisoners, sixty killed and eighty-nine wounded. General Pike was crushed beneath a heavy mass of stone that struck him in the back. He was carried immediately after discovery to the water's edge, placed in a boat, and conveyed, first on board the *Pert*, and then to the commodore's flag-ship. Just as the surgeons and attendants, with the wounded general, reached the little boat, the huzzas of the troops fell upon his benumbed ears. "What does it mean?" he feebly asked. "Victory," said a sergeant in attendance. "The British union-jack is coming down from the block-house, and the stars and stripes are going up." The dying hero's face was illuminated by a smile of great joy. His spirit lingered several hours, and then departed. Just before his breath ceased the captured British flag was brought to him. He made a sign for them to place it under his head, and thus he expired. His body was taken to Sackett's Harbor, and with that of his pupil and aid, Captain Nicholson, was buried with military honors within Fort Tompkins there. Of his final resting-place I shall hereafter write.²

When I visited the site of York and the theatre of events there in 1813, in August, 1860, I found on the borders of that harbor the beautiful—really beautiful city of Toronto, containing between fifty and sixty thousand souls. I arrived there by the Toronto branch of the Great Western Railway at eight o'clock in the evening, having left Paris, on the Grand River, at about five in the afternoon. We reached Burlington Station at six, and occupied about an hour and a half in traveling the remaining

¹ The Parliament-houses stood on the site of the present jail in Toronto. It is said that the incendiary was instigated by the indignation of the Americans, who found hanging upon the walls of the legislative chamber a *human scalp*! British writers, ever ready to charge the Americans with all manner of crimes, have not only affected to disbelieve this story, but have charged American writers who have stated the fact with deliberate falsehood. It is not pleasant to relate facts so shameful to the boasted civilization of that country as this incident furnishes; but as one of the latest of British historians has, without the shadow of an excuse, intimated that the scalp in question had been taken by Commodore Chauncey from the head of a British Indian, "shot while in a tree," during the advance of the Americans on the town (see Auchinleck's *History of the War of 1812*, published in Toronto in 1856), I feel compelled, by a sense of justice, to submit the proofs of this evidence of the barbarism of the British authorities in Canada at that time.

On the 4th of June, 1813, Commodore Chauncey wrote from Sackett's Harbor to the Secretary of the Navy, saying, "I have the honor to present to you, by the hands of Lieutenant Dudley, the British standard taken at York on the 27th of April last, accompanied by the mace, over which hung a human scalp. These articles were taken from the Parliament-houses by one of my officers and presented to me. The scalp I caused to be presented to General Dearborn."—Autograph Letter, Navy Department, Washington City. Armstrong, who was Secretary of War at that time, writing in 1836, says, "One regimental standard was (by some strange confusion of ideas) sent to the Navy Department, and one *human scalp*, a prize made, as we have understood, by the commodore, was offered, but not accepted, as a decoration to the walls of the War Department."—*Notices of the War of 1812*, l., 132. General Dearborn wrote, "A scalp was found in the executive and legislative council-chamber, suspended near the speaker's chair, accompanied by the mace."—*Niles's Register*, iv., 190. Commenting on this, Niles says, "The mace is the emblem of authority, and the *scalp's* position near it is truly symbolical of the British power in Canada." The Canadian people had no part nor lot in the matter, and should not bear any of the odium. If British writers would fairly condemn the wrong-doings of their rulers, they would be more just to their fellow-subjects.

² The chief authorities consulted in the preparation of the foregoing narrative in this chapter are the official reports of the commanders on both sides; the histories of the events by Thompson, Perkins, James, Auchinleck, Armstrong, Christy, Ingersoll, and minor writers; Whiting's Biography of General Pike; Hough's Histories of Jefferson, Franklin, and St. Lawrence Counties; Rogers's History of Canada; Smith's Canada, Past and Present; Cooper's Naval History of the United States; The War; Niles's Register; the Port Folio; Analectic Magazine; manuscript notes of Dr. Amasa Trowbridge; autograph letters of actors in the scenes, and notes from the lips of survivors.

thirty-nine miles. Lieutenant Francis Hall, who traveled the same route in 1816, more than ten years before the first railway was built for the conveyance of passengers, says, "It took us three hours to accomplish the five miles of road betwixt the head of the lake and the main road, called Dundas Street, which runs from York toward Lake Erie and Amherstburg. . . . The face of the country from the head of the lake to York is less varied than that of the Niagara frontier. The thread of settlements is slender, and frequently interrupted by long tracts of hemlock swamp and pine barrens." Cultivation has somewhat changed the features of the country since then, but, after leaving the glimpses of Lake Ontario on our right, we found the route rather uninteresting, the country being generally flat.

We crossed the rocky bed of the Humber at twilight, and before nine o'clock, having supped, I was settled as a guest at the "Ross House" for two days. During the night a fearful thunder-storm burst over the city, and the lightning fired two buildings. Amid the din of the tempest came the doleful pealing of the fire-bells. At the midnight hour,

"Oh, the bells, bells, bells!
What a tale their terror tells
Of despair!
How they clang, and clash, and roar;
What a horror they outpour
On the bosom of the palpitating air!"—EDGAR A. POE.

For more than two hours I lay wondering when the tumult would cease. All things have an end, and so did this unwelcome disturbance—unwelcome, because I was worn and weary, and needed full rest for another hard day's work on the morrow.

The sun, at rising, peered longitudinally through a veil of mist that hung over the land and the lake. There was great sultriness in the air. I went out early to find the venerable John Ross, one of the oldest inhabitants of Toronto, then in his seven-

tieth year. He settled there in the year after it was made the seat of the provincial government, and for sixty-two years he had watched its growth from a few scattered huts to a stately city. He was born at "Butler's Barracks," just back of Newark, now Niagara. Some of Butler's Rangers, those bitter Tory marauders in Central New York during the Revolution, who in cruelty often shamed Brant and his braves, settled in Toronto, and were mostly men of savage character, who met death by violence.¹ In the War of 1812 Mr. Ross belonged to a company of York Volunteers. He was with Brock at Hull's surrender, and in the battle of Queenstown, two months later, where his loved commander fell. He assisted in the burial of the hero in Fort George, and he gave me many interesting incidents connected with the event.

Mr. Ross gave me such minute and clear directions concerning the interesting places in and around Toronto that I experienced no difficulty in finding them. I hired a horse and light wagon, and a young man for driver, and spent a greater portion of the day in the hot sun. We first rode out to the plain westward of the city, to visit the landing-place of the Americans and the remains of old Fort Toronto. The latter, delineated on the next page, were on the margin of the lake, where the bank is only about eight feet above the water. The spot is about sixty rods westward of the present military post called the New Barracks. The principal remains of the fort (in which may be seen some timber-work placed there when the fort was partially repaired in the winter of 1812-'13) are seen in the foreground. They presented abrupt heaps covered with sod. On the right, in the distance, is seen Gibraltar Point, with the trees springing from its low, sandy surface. On the left are the New Barracks. A few rods westward of the fort were the remains of a battery, the

¹ Mr. Ross knew a Mr. D—, one of these Rangers, who, when intoxicated, once told him that "the sweetest steak he ever ate was the breast of a woman, which he cut off and broiled!"

Remains of Old Fort Toronto. An Adventure among the Fortifications at Toronto Displeasure of a British Official.



REMAINS OF OLD FORT TORONTO.

mounds of which were four or five feet in height. Passing on toward the city, near the lake shore, we came to the remains of the Western Battery (see map on page 590), delineated on page 588, ten or fifteen rods eastward of the New Barracks; and, still nearer to the town, the mounds of the Half-moon Battery.

Riding into the city, we passed through the old garrison, where a few of the One Hundredth Regiment occupied a portion of the barracks. The gates were away, and the public road passed directly through the fort. For the purpose of obtaining a sketch of the old block-house of 1813, I mounted the half-ruined parapet on the north side, when I was accosted by the fort adjutant just as I had set my pencil at work. With great discourtesy of manner he informed me that it was a violation of law to



OLD FORT AT TORONTO IN 1800.

make sketches of British fortifications, and that I ought to think myself fortunate in being allowed to escape without a penitential day in the guard-house. I assured him that had I for a moment dreamed that a few old mounds of earth, two deserted block-houses, and some tumble-down barracks, with a public road crossing the very centre of the group, constituted a fortification in the sense of British military law, I should not have been a trespasser. This intimation that a man with his eyes open could not, in the chaos around him, discover a British fort, did not increase the amiability of the adjutant, and, with the supercilious hauteur of offended dignity, he gave me to understand that he wished no farther conversation with me. This was the only instance

A courteous Sergeant.

Visit to the Don.

Chief Justice Robinson and William Lyon M'Kenzie.

of incivility that I received during all my travels in Canada. I closed my portfolio, passed out at the eastern gateway, and from the causeway that crosses the ravine at the foot of Bathurst Street, a short distance from the site of the powder magazine that exploded, I obtained a much more interesting sketch than I should have done from the parapet.¹ This was full compensation for the fort adjutant's incivility. When I had finished my sketch I started into and through the fort, and fell in with Sergeant Barlow, a most courteous young man, who invited me to his quarters to see his bride. There he showed me a number of relics of the War of 1812, lately thrown up by the excavators in the employ of the railway company. Among them was a military button marked "P. R."—Pennsylvania Rangers—some silver and copper coins found with a skeleton, and the remains of an epaulette. There I also met Sergeant Robertson, a veteran Scotch soldier, who was one of the Glengary Regiment during the War of 1812. He had served in the British army twenty years previous to that war. He was tall and vigorous, but somewhat lame, and about ninety years of age. He gave me some curious details of the operations of the famous Glengary men during the strife.

From the old fort we rode out to the River Don, at the eastern extremity of the city. It is there about seventy feet wide, and was spanned by a bridge at the junction of King and Queen Streets, made of heavy open timber-work. There General Sheaffe crossed in his flight, burning the bridge behind him. Looking up the Don from it about three fourths of a mile, where its wooded banks are high, may be seen St. James's Cemetery, in the northeast corner of which is the site of the first palace or dwelling of the governor, which was built of logs and called Castle Frank. The spot still retains that name. I intended to visit it, but when we were at the bridge the day was waning, and a thunder-shower was gathering in the west; so we turned our faces cityward, and arrived at the hotel in time for a late dinner and a stroll around the city to view its very beautiful public buildings before dark.

On the following morning I called upon Sir John Beverly Robinson, chief justice of Upper Canada, at his pleasant residence on the southeast corner of John and Queen Streets. He was an aged man, small in stature, and elegant and affable in manners. His father was a member of Simcoe's corps of Queen's Rangers during our old War for Independence, and, with other Loyalists, fled to Nova Scotia at its close. He afterward settled in Upper Canada, where the chief justice was born. The son was destined for the legal profession, and finished his education in England, where he was admitted to the bar. When the War of 1812 broke out he abandoned his profession temporarily, joined the army in Canada, and was with Brock, in gallant service, at Detroit and Queenston. He was rewarded with the office of solicitor general, and was afterward made attorney general and chief justice of the province. He died at Toronto early in 1863, at the age of seventy-one years.

In the course of the morning I met the famous leader of the revolt in Upper Canada in 1837, William Lyon M'Kenzie, with whom I had been acquainted several years. He was still engaged in his favorite profession of editing and publishing a newspaper, and, though at near the end of the allotted age of man, he seemed as vigorous as ever, and was conducting his paper with that boldness that ever characterized his career. He, too, has since been laid in the grave. Mr. M'Kenzie accompanied me to the residence of the governor general, the Parliament-house, and the wharf, where great preparations were making for the reception of the Prince of Wales, who was then at Montreal on his way to the Upper Province. Workmen were engaged in the construction of an immense amphitheatre and triumphal arch, not far from the Parlia-

¹ In this view is seen the causeway and bridge over the ravine, and the general appearance of the fort in 1800. In the embankment is seen a *fraise*, or pickets placed horizontally. On the left is the old block-house of 1813. In the centre, to the right of the open gateway, is another block-house with a flag on it, built after the Americans left York. On the right is the governor's house, built after the war, with a poplar-tree near it. In the ravine, a little to the left of the cannon and horses, was situated the magazine that exploded.

Passage across Lake Ontario.

The Railway to Lewiston.

Arrival at Niagara Falls.

ment-house, at the foot of wide Brook Street, I think. The veteran agitator was to leave for Montreal that afternoon for the purpose of meeting the prince, and so we soon parted, he to dash off some spicy editorials—to hurl a shot at some political or social evil—and I to dine and prepare for a voyage across the lake to the Niagara River.

We left Toronto toward evening,^a hoping to reach Lewiston in time to take the train that would connect with one leaving Niagara Falls early for the East, but in this we were disappointed. The voyage was a delightful one in a stanch steamer. We passed out of the harbor through the channel across the former neck of the peninsula,¹ and in a short time we were out of sight of land. All along the western and northern horizons heavy clouds were drifting, and the watery expanse back of us was as black as the Styx. Before us, as we approached the mouth of the Niagara River, the white mist, which is eternally rising from the Great Cataract, was seen above Queenston Heights, at least twenty miles distant. When we entered the river a heavy thunder-shower was rapidly rising in the direction of Burlington Bay. It burst upon us at Lewiston, where we entered the railway cars. It was short and severe. As we moved along the fearful shelf in the rocks forming the perpendicular banks of the Niagara River—rocks a hundred feet above and a hundred feet below the railway that overlooks the rushing waters—the setting sun beamed out in splendor, and revealed clearly the whole country from Queenston Heights to Lake Ontario. Just as we had passed a small rocky tunnel, we were detained for a few minutes by some obstruction, when, from the back window of the last car in the train at which I was standing, I made the accompanying sketch. It will convey to the reader an idea of the nature of the road. Below is seen the waters of the Niagara, spanned by the suspension bridge at Lewiston, and, by a somewhat winding way, flowing into Lake Ontario in the far distance. We ran into Niagara Falls village at dark in the midst of another heavy thunder-shower, and late in the evening departed in the cars for the East. I rested at Rochester that night, and on the following day reached my home on the Hudson, after a wearisome but most interesting tour of a fortnight in Canada and along the Niagara frontier.

^a August 22,
1860.



VIEW ON THE NIAGARA, NEAR LEWISTON.

We have observed on page 591 that the victors at York abandoned that post preparatory to an attack upon Fort George, at the mouth of the Niagara River. On ac-

¹ See note 3, page 588.

count of adverse winds, the expedition did not leave York Harbor until the 8th of May, when the whole fleet crossed the lake and anchored off the mouth of Four-mile Creek, four miles eastward of Fort Niagara. Dearborn and Chauncey, and other army and naval commanders, had preceded the fleet in the pilot schooner *Lady of the Lake*, and selected the place for an encampment near the mouth of the creek. There the troops were debarked, and Chauncey sailed for Sackett's Harbor with most of his fleet, to obtain supplies and re-enforcements for the army. He arrived there on the 11th.^a The smaller vessels were continually employed in conveying stores and troops to Dearborn's camp; and on the 22d the *Madison*, with the commodore's pennant flying in her, sailed for the same point with three hundred and fifty troops, including Macomb's artillery corps. She arrived at Four-mile Creek on the 25th, and on the evening of the same day Commander Perry, who had come down hastily from Erie, joined Chauncey, to the great delight of that officer. At the moment of his arrival, all the officers of the squadron were assembled on board the flagship to receive orders. "No person on earth," Chauncey said to Perry, "as he cordially grasped his hand, "could be more welcome at this time than yourself." On the following morning the commodore and Perry, in the *Lady of the Lake*, reconnoitred the enemy's batteries with care, planted buoys for the government of the smaller vessels which it was intended to send close in shore, and arranged other preliminaries for the attack. They then called upon General Dearborn, who was quite ill at his quarters, when Chauncey urged the importance of making the attack the next morning. The general assented, and issued an order to that effect, which was signed by Winfield Scott, adjutant general and chief of staff. The last clause of the order placed the landing of the troops in charge of Commodore Chauncey, and that specific duty was intrusted to Commander Perry. Information of this arrangement was communicated to the commanding general, who, it appears, had no definite plan of attack.¹

Fort Niagara and the troops there were under the command of Major General Morgan Lewis, of New York. During the occupancy of the camp at Four-mile Creek re-enforcements had come in from various points, and on the return of Chauncey, prepared for attacking the British post. The American land force fit for duty was over four thousand in number, under the general command of Dearborn. He was too ill to take the field, and issued his orders part of the time from his bed. He was supported by Generals Lewis, Boyd, Winder, and Chandler, and eminently so by Colonel Scott, whose skill and industry in disciplining the troops during their detention in camp was of the greatest service.

The British force in the vicinity was composed of about eighteen hundred regulars, consisting of the Forty-ninth Regiment, and detachments from the Eighth, Forty-first, Glengary, and Newfoundland Corps, under the command of Brigadier General John Vincent. Eight companies of the Forty-ninth, five companies of the Eighth or King's, three companies of the Glengary, and two of the Newfoundland Regiment, and a portion of the artillery, were stationed at Fort George and its immediate vicinity, with three hundred and fifty militia and fifty Indians. The right, from Fort George to Brown's Point (the first below Vrooman's, near Queenston), was commanded by Colonel Harvey; the left, from the fort to Four-mile Creek, on the Canada side of the Niagara River, was commanded by Colonel Myers, the deputy quarter-master general; and the centre, at the fort, by General Vincent. In the rear of Fort George, in the several ravines, companies were stationed so as to support each other when required.²

Besides Fort George, the British had several smaller works along the shores of the Niagara River and Lake Ontario, in the vicinity. Five of the twenty-four-pounders

¹ Letter of Commodore Perry, supposed to be to his parents, cited by M'Kenzie in his *Life of Perry*, II., 188.

² Merritt's MS. Narrative.

Cannonade between Forts George and Niagara.

The American Squadron off the Niagara River.

taken from Hull had been brought to that frontier, four of which had been mounted in Fort George, and the fifth had been placed *en barbette*,¹ about half a mile from Newark, on or near the site of the present Fort Mississauga. They had another battery at the mouth of the Two-mile Creek. The Americans had quite a powerful work, called the Salt Battery, in the lower part of Youngstown, opposite Fort George. There were two other batteries above it, and two between it and Fort Niagara.

Arrangements were made for the attack on Fort George on the morning of the 27th of May. A large number of boats had been built at Five-mile Meadow, on the Niagara River, and orders were sent for them to be brought round to Four-mile Creek. When they were launched, toward evening on the 26th, a small battery opposite the Meadows opened upon the workmen. This brought on a general cannonading between the two forts and their dependent batteries, during which the Salt Battery at Youngstown inflicted severe injury upon every wooden building in and near Fort George, while the return fire from the fort was slow and feeble, owing, it is said, to a scarcity of powder. Meanwhile night came on, and under its cover the boats went down the river and reached the American encampment in safety. During the night, all the heavy artillery, and as many troops as possible, were placed on the *Madison*, *Oneida*, and *Lady of the Lake*, and instructions given for the remainder to follow in the smaller war vessels and boats, according to a prescribed plan.

Generals Dearborn and Lewis went on board the *Madison*, and between three and four o'clock in the morning the squadron weighed anchor. The troops were all embarked at a little past four, and the whole flotilla moved toward the Niagara with a very gentle breeze. The wind soon failed, and the smaller vessels were compelled to employ their sweeps. A heavy fog hovered over land and water from early dawn until the sun broke forth in splendor, when a magnificent sight was opened to view on the lake. The large vessels, filled with troops, were all under way, and the bosom of the water was covered with scores of boats, filled with soldiers, light artillery, and horses, grandly advancing upon the enemy, who had been greatly perplexed by the fog. The breeze had now freshened a little, and all the vessels took their designated positions without difficulty.

The *Julia*, Sailing-master Trant, and the *Growler*, Sailing-master Mix, took a position at the mouth of the Niagara River, to keep in check or silence a battery near the light-house (on or near the site of Fort Mississauga), in the vicinity of which it was

ENTRANCE TO THE NIAGARA RIVER.²

intended to land some of the troops. The *Ontario*, commanded by Mr. Stevens, took a position north from the light-house, so as to enfilade the same battery and cross the

¹ That is, on the top of an embankment, without embrasures or openings in the banks by which the cannon is sheltered and concealed.

² This view is from a drawing made in 1813, previous to the attack on Fort George, and published in the *Port Folio* in July, 1817. On the extreme left is seen Fort Niagara, and at a greater distance, across the river, Fort George and the village of Newark. To the right of the light-house, over which is a flag, is seen the battery which the *Julia* and *Growler* controlled.

fire of the other two. The *Governor Tompkins*, Lieutenant Brown, and the *Conquest*, commanded by another lieutenant of the same name, took position near Two-mile Creek, so as to command a battery which the enemy had erected there. Near this was the designated place for the debarkation of most of the troops. For the purpose of covering them in that movement, the *Hamilton*, Lieutenant M'Pherson, the *Asp*, Lieutenant Smith, and the *Scourge*, Sailing-master Osgood, took stations near the other two, but closer to the shore.

While the vessels were taking their positions, and the troops were preparing to land, the batteries upon both sides were playing briskly. Colonel Scott, on accepting the position of adjutant general, had stipulated that he should be allowed to command his regiment (Second Artillery) on extraordinary occasions. This he considered an extraordinary occasion, and he was placed in the command of the vanguard or forlorn hope of five hundred men destined to make the first attack. The troops were to land in three brigades, from six divisions of boats. Scott's advance was composed of his own corps acting as infantry, Forsyth's riflemen, and detachments from infantry regiments. These were to be followed by General Lewis's division and Colonel Moses Porter with his light artillery, and these, in turn, by the commands of Generals Boyd (who had succeeded General Pike), Winder, and Chandler. The reserve consisted of Colonel Alexander Macomb's regiment of artillery, in which the marines of the squadron, under Captain Smith, had been incorporated. Four hundred seamen were also held in reserve, to land, if necessary, under the immediate command of Commodore Chauncey.

Before the expedition reached the place of intended debarkation the wind had increased, and a rather heavy sea rolling shoreward made the landing difficult. The *Tompkins* swept gracefully into her designated position. Lieutenant Brown coolly prepared for action, and then opened a fire upon the British battery with so much precision that it was silenced, and its people driven away in less than ten minutes. The boats now dashed in under the skillful management of Perry; and so eager were the troops of the van, under Scott, to meet the foe, that they leaped into the water and waded to the shore, Captain Hindman, of the Second Artillery, being the first man who touched the beach. They had already been under fire; for, as the first brigade, under Boyd, with Scott in the van, approached the shore, they were unexpectedly assailed by volleys of musketry from more than two hundred of the Glengary and Newfoundland regiments under Captain Winter, and about forty Indians under Norton, who was conspicuous at Queenston the year before. These had been concealed in a ravine and wood not far from the battery that had been silenced. The shot passed over the heads of the Americans; and, a few minutes afterward, Scott and his party were on the beach, sheltered by an irregular bank, varying from six to twelve feet in height, where they formed for immediate action. The enemy, from apprehension of the fire from the schooners, did not approach the shore again immediately, but kept back, with the intention of assailing the invaders when they should ascend the bank to the plain above.

The conduct of Perry on this occasion was remarkable. Unmindful of personal danger, he went from vessel to vessel in an open boat, giving directions personally concerning the landing. With Scott he leaped into the water, and rushed ashore through the surf, and soon had the satisfaction of seeing the whole first brigade, under Boyd, landed in perfect order on the beach, flanked by M'Clure's Baltimore and Albany Volunteers. Meanwhile the schooners were not firing briskly enough to suit the young hero. He pushed off to the *Hamilton*, of nine guns, and while Scott and his party were attempting to ascend to the plain, he opened a tremendous discharge of grape and canister shot on the British, who were now advancing to repel the Americans, full one thousand strong, infantry and artillery, under Colonel Myers.

The struggle of the Americans in ascending the bank was most severe. Three

A severe Contest on the Shore.

Retreat of the British.

Capture of Fort George.

times they were compelled to fall back, hard pushed by the bayonets of the foe. In the first attempt, Scott, at the head of his men, was hurled backward to the beach. Dearborn, who was anxiously watching the movement with his glass from the *Madison*, and who placed more reliance on Scott than any other man, seeing him fall, exclaimed in agony, "He is lost! he is killed!" Scott soon recovered himself, rallied his men, rushed up the bank, knocked up the bayonets of the enemy, and took and held a position at a ravine near by. He was supported by Porter's field train and a part of Boyd's brigade, in which service the Sixth Regiment, three hundred strong, under Colonel James Miller, performed a conspicuous part. A severe and gallant action ensued—gallant on both sides—which was chiefly sustained by Scott's corps, and the Eighth (King's) British regiment, under Major Ogilvie. The contest lasted only about twenty minutes, when the severe cannonade from the *Hamilton* and the well-applied fire of the American troops caused the British to break and flee in much confusion. The whole body of the enemy, including the Forty-ninth Regiment, which had been brought forward by Colonel Harvey as a re-enforcement, fled toward Queenston, closely pursued by Colonel Scott. Colonel Myers, their commander, was wounded and taken from the field; and the whole corps, officers and men, who fought bravely, suffered severely.

General Vincent was satisfied that the victory of the Americans was complete, and that Fort George was untenable, so he ordered its guns to be spiked, the ammunition to be destroyed, the fort to be abandoned, and the whole force under his command to retreat westward, by the way of Vrooman's and St. David's, to a strong position among the hills, at a place called the Beaver Dams, about eighteen miles distant, and rendezvous there.

Information of the impending destruction of the fort was communicated to Scott while passing it with his pursuing column by some prisoners who came running out. He immediately detached two companies, under Captains Hindman and Stockton,¹ and, wheeling to the left, dashed on at their head toward the fort to save the guns and ammunition, if possible. When he was about eighty paces from the works one of the magazines exploded, and a piece of



PLAN OF OPERATIONS AT THE MOUTH OF THE NIAGARA RIVER.

flying timber threw the impetuous leader from his horse, and hurt him severely. He soon recovered from the shock, and pressed forward. The gate was forced, the lighted trains for firing two smaller magazines were extinguished, and, with his own hands, Scott hauled down the British flag. The whole manœuvre occupied but a few minutes, and Scott was soon again at the head of his column, in hot pursuit of the

¹ Thomas Stockton was a native of Delaware, and was appointed captain of artillery in 1812. In 1814 he became major of the Forty-second Infantry, and at the close of the war was retained as captain, with the brevet rank of major. He afterward served in the artillery. He resigned in 1825. In 1844 he was governor of Delaware, and died at Newcastle in March, 1846.

Pursuit of the British checked.

Their Flight to the Beaver Dams and Burlington Heights.

flying enemy, satisfied that he would overtake and capture them. Twice he disregarded an order from General Lewis to give up the pursuit, saying to Lieutenants Worth and Vandeventer, the messengers, "Your general does not know that I have the enemy within my power; in seventy minutes I shall capture his whole force." Just then Colonel Burn,¹ his senior, was crossing the Niagara River from the Five-mile Meadows with precisely the troops which Scott deemed necessary to make his successful pursuit of the enemy secure. While waiting for these he was overtaken by General Boyd, who gave him peremptory orders to relinquish the chase and return to Fort George. He obeyed with regret. He had followed the enemy five miles, and was then so near them that he was in the midst of the British stragglers. Lieutenant Riddle, who was not aware of the order, pursued the fugitives almost to Queenston, and captured and brought back several prisoners.

At meridian, Fort George and its dependencies, with the village of Newark, were in the quiet possession of the Americans, the attack and conquest having occupied only three hours. The Americans had been eleven hours on duty since embarking at Four-mile Creek. Only a small portion of them had been actually engaged in the conflict.² Their loss was about forty killed and one hundred wounded. The only officer slain was Lieutenant Henry A. Hobart, of the Light Artillery. The loss of the British regulars was fifty-one killed, and three hundred and five wounded, missing, and prisoners. The number of British militia made prisoners was five hundred and seven, making the entire loss of the enemy eight hundred and sixty-three, with quite a large quantity of munitions and stores saved from destruction at Fort George and the batteries.

General Vincent and most of his troops reached the Beaver Dams toward sunset, and during the evening he was joined by a "battalion company" of the Eighth, and a "detachment of the royal navy" under Captain Barclay, who had been escorted by the gallant Captain Merritt, of the mounted militia, from the Twenty-mile Creek.³ Between midnight and dawn, the troops from Fort Erie, under Lieutenant Colonel Bishopp, and from Fort Chippewa, under Major Ormsby, reached the camp, orders having been sent to those commanders to abandon the entire Niagara frontier. Early in the morning Vincent resumed his march toward the head of Lake Ontario, his whole force being about sixteen hundred men. From Forty-mile Creek (now Grimsby) he wrote an official dispatch to Sir George Prevost that evening, giving an account of his disasters, and suggesting the propriety of establishing a communication with the army on Burlington Heights (whither he was marching) "through the medium of the fleet." On the 29th he took post on the heights, and was soon joined by troops from Kingston.

^a ^{May,} On the morning of the 28th,^a when it was known that Vincent had fallen back to his deposit of provisions and stores at the Beaver Dams, General Lewis was sent in pursuit of him with the brigades of Chandler and Winder. They accomplished nothing. Ascertaining that Vincent had fled westward, they made a circuit

¹ James Burn was a native of South Carolina. He was a captain of cavalry in 1799. He settled in Pennsylvania, and in the spring of 1812 was appointed colonel of the Second Light Dragoons. He left the service on the disbanding of the army in 1815. He died at Frankfort, near Philadelphia, in 1828.

² General Dearborn, in a second dispatch to the Secretary of War, written on the 8th of June, spoke in the highest terms of *all* the officers and men engaged in the affair, especially of the "animating examples" of Scott and Boyd, and the services of Colonel Porter, Major Armistead, and Lieutenant Totten, in their "judicious and skillful execution in demolishing the enemy's batteries." Lieutenant Totten finally became a brigadier general, and was the Chief Engineer of the United States Army for several years before his death.

³ "We formed again at the Council-house" [see plan on page 599], says Captain Merritt, "when I was sent up to order down the light company of the King's, who, we understood, were at the Eight-mile Creek. I rode through the woods, around the American regiments, followed up the lake to the Twenty-mile Creek (was two hours on the road), where I met Commodore Barclay with his sailors, and the King's. We hurried on to Shipman's, where I learned the army had retreated to De Cou's (the Beaver Dams). I took the party through the woods, and arrived there at nine o'clock in the evening. Next morning the militia were allowed to remain or follow the army. This was a bad day for many as well as myself. I went home, prepared my 'kit,' and with a heavy heart bid adieu, as I thought, to the place of my nativity for a long time. I was determined to share the fate of the army."—MS. Narrative.

British Property destroyed by themselves. Injurious Delay. Expedition sent toward Burlington Heights.

of many miles to assure themselves of the British evacuation of the frontier, and then returned to camp.

Fort Erie and Chippewa, and all public property from the former down to Niagara Falls, were doomed to destruction by an order received from General Vincent on the afternoon of the 27th. In pursuance of that order, Major Warren, in command of the batteries opposite Black Rock, was ordered to open fire upon that place, and keep it up all night, until the troops should move off. He did so; and in the morning the magazine at Fort Erie was blown up, and magazines, barracks, and store-houses all along the frontier were fired. In the evening of Friday the 28th, Lieutenant Colonel James P. Preston, the commandant at Black Rock (who was Governor of Virginia in 1816), crossed over with the Twelfth Regiment and took possession of Fort Erie. He at once issued an admirable proclamation to the people of Canada, by which he allayed their apprehensions and disarmed all resentment.¹

Two or three days were now consumed in apathy at Newark, Dearborn and Chauncey not having been able to agree respecting future movements. The latter, who had anchored his fleet in Niagara River, sailed for Sackett's Harbor on the 31st. Meanwhile a rumor came that Proctor was marching from the Detroit frontier to assist Vincent in recovering that of the Niagara. This determined the American commander to send troops in pursuit of Vincent immediately, for the purpose of attacking him among the hills or arresting his flight westward. For this purpose he detached General Winder, at his own request, on the 1st of June, with about eight hundred men, including Burn's dragoons, and Archer's and Towson's artillery. He took the Lake Road, and marched rapidly to Twenty-mile Creek, where he was informed of Vincent's position at Burlington Heights and his re-enforcements from Kingston. Winder prudently halted, sent to Dearborn for re-enforcements, and waited for their arrival. He was joined on the 5th by General Chandler and about five hundred men. Chandler, being the senior officer, took the chief command, and the whole body moved

¹ "The Albany steam-boat which arrived yesterday (Sunday) brings intelligence that Fort Erie had surrendered to the troops of the United States, under Generals Dearborn and Lewis, with little or no resistance on the part of the enemy." This announcement appeared in a New York paper on Monday morning, the 7th of June, 1813. "This form of announcement of war news from the North and West at that time was very common. Expresses from the army at different points were sent to Governor Tompkins, the chief magistrate of the State of New York, living at Albany, and the steam-boat was the most rapid method for conveying intelligence then known. Every few days the New York papers would say, "The Albany steam-boat brings intelligence," et cetera. It must be remembered that steam navigation was then in its infancy. It was not six years since Fulton's first successful experiment had been made. There were only three steam-boats on the Hudson at that time, whose owners had, by legislative grant, the monopoly of that kind of navigation. These were the *Paragon*, *Car of Neptune*, and *North River*. The average length of the passage from New York to Albany was then about thirty-six hours."

* The following advertisement, taken from the *New York Evening Post* of the date under consideration, with a facsimile of a cut of "the steam-boat" at its head, will seem very curious to the traveler now, at the distance of sixty years:

HUDSON RIVER STEAM-BOATS.

For the Information of the Public.

The *Paragon*, Captain Wiswall, will leave New York every Saturday afternoon, at 5 o'clock. The *Car of Neptune*, Captain Roorback, do., every Tuesday afternoon, at 5 o'clock. The *North River*, Captain Bartholomew, do., every Thursday afternoon, at 5 o'clock.

The *Paragon* will leave Albany every Thursday morning, at 9 o'clock. The *Car of Neptune*, do., every Saturday morning, at 9 o'clock. The *North River*, do., every Tuesday morning, at 9 o'clock.

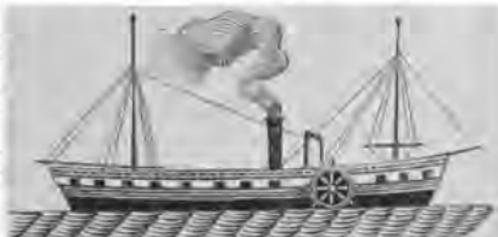
PRICES OF PASSAGE.

From New York to Verplanck's Point, \$2; West Point, \$1.50; Newburg, \$3; Wappinger's Creek, \$3.25; Poughkeepsie, \$3.50; Hyde Park, \$4; Esopus, \$4.25; Red Hook, \$4.50; Catskill, \$5; Hudson, \$5; Coxsackie, \$5.50; Kinderhook, \$5.75; Albany, \$7.

From Albany to Kinderhook, \$1.50; Coxsackie, \$2; Hudson, \$2; Catskill, \$2.25; Red Hook, \$2.75; Esopus, \$3; Hyde Park, \$3.25; Poughkeepsie, \$3.50; Wappinger's Creek, \$4; Newburg, \$4.25; West Point, \$4.75; Verplanck's Point, \$5.25; New York, \$7.

All other way passengers to pay at the rate of one dollar for every twenty miles. No one can be taken on board and put on shore, however short the distance, for less than one dollar.

Young persons from two to ten years of age to pay half price. Children under two years, one fourth price. Servants who use a berth, two thirds' price; half price of none.



Encounter at Forty-mile Creek.

Americans at Stony Creek.

Preparations to surprise their Camp.



Henry Merritt

forward briskly to Forty-mile Creek, where they rested, after driving off a patrol of mounted militia under Captain Merritt. They then moved forward to Stony Creek, ten miles farther westward and within about seven miles of Vincent's camp, where they encountered a British picket-guard. These were dispersed, and hotly pursued by the American advance-guard, consisting of light infantry under Captains Hindman, Biddle, and Nicholas, part of a rifle corps under Captain Lyttle, and a detachment of dragoons under Captain Selden. Near the present toll-gate, a little eastward of Hamilton, they encountered another picket. These, too, were driven in, and the victors pushed on in pursuit until they saw Vincent's camp on the great gravelly hill at the head of Burlington Bay. Then they wheeled, and made their way leisurely back to camp at Stony Creek.

The main body of the army encamped upon ground rising slightly above a meadow, through which flows a branch of Stony Creek, and occu-

piated the space from the main stream north of the village to the house of Mr. Gage, at the foot of the hills, on the site of which, when I visited the spot in 1860, stood the residence of Nelson Miller. The Thirteenth and Fourteenth Regiments, and a company of artillery under Captain Archer,¹ took post on the lake shore, near the mouth of the creek, about three miles from the main body. The troops in both camps, expecting a night attack, slept on their arms, and every precaution was taken by Chandler in the posting of pickets, throwing out patrols, etc., to prevent a surprise. Explicit directions were given by him where and how to form the line of battle in the event of an attack. The cannon were properly planted, and the horses that drew them were unharnessed.

There was equal vigilance in the British camp. The audacity of the American vanguard in pursuing the pickets amazed and alarmed Vincent. He was anxious to obtain immediate knowledge of the numerical strength and the disposition of his foe, and sent out Lieutenant Colonel Harvey, with the light companies of the Eighth and Forty-ninth Regiments, to reconnoitre the American camp. The duty was well performed, notwithstanding the night was very dark, and Harvey reported, before midnight, that "the enemy's camp-guards were few and negligent; that his line of encampment was long and broken; that his artillery was feebly supported; and that several of the corps were placed too far in the rear to aid in repelling a blow which might be rapidly and vigorously struck at the front." He advised a night attack, and Vincent, heeding it, made immediate preparations to execute the movement.

At midnight the British commander left his camp with about six hundred men, composed of five companies of the King's (Eighth) Regiment and the whole of the Forty-ninth, and marched for Stony Creek. Harvey's scout joined them, and at about two o'clock in the morning they all halted within a mile of the American camp. Harvey had discovered the centre to be the weakest point in Chandler's line. By one of the inhabitants of the neighborhood, who had treacherously joined the Amer-

¹ Samuel B. Archer was a native of Virginia. He was a captain in Scott's Second Regiment of artillery, and was breveted major for his gallant conduct at Fort George on the 27th of May, 1813. He was retained in the service in 1814, and in 1821 became inspector general, with the rank of colonel. He died on the 11th of December, 1823.



BATTLE-GROUND OF STONY CREEK.¹

icans and deserted, Vincent had obtained the countersign for that night, and through it he was enabled to secure the sentinels without giving alarm.

It was now two o'clock in the morning^a—a warm Sabbath morning—and the little army of Americans were sleeping soundly, unconscious of impending danger. Clouds covering a moonless sky made the gloom deep, but not impenetrable. Five hundred British regulars loaded their muskets, fixed their bayonets, and, led by General Vincent in person, rushed upon the American centre at double-quick, with the appalling Indian war-whoop, and plied the bayonet so fearfully that the line was cut, and that portion of it scattered to the winds. This furious charge was immediately followed by Major Plenderleath at the head of forty men of the Forty-ninth, who fell upon the artillery, bayoneted the men at the guns, captured two six-pounders, and turned them with fearful effect upon the camp. The greatest confusion prevailed, Chandler's centre and the assailants becoming almost inextricably mixed in the dark, and each was unable to distinguish friends from foes.

In the mean time Major Ogilvie, with a part of the King's Regiment, had fallen upon the American left, composed of the Fifth, Sixteenth, and Twenty-third Regulars, and some riflemen under General Winder, to which was attached Burn's dragoons, who were too far in the rear to render immediate assistance. This attack was at first gallantly resisted, the Twenty-fifth, of the centre, lending their aid; but a fire in the rear, from a detachment of the assailing party that broke through the line, threw them into great confusion.

While Chandler² was making preparations to meet this unexpected assault, a heavy

¹ This view, sketched in the morning sunlight, is from the residence of Daniel Lewis, Esq., lieutenant colonel of the Wentworth Militia, who was in the battle. In the foreground is seen the meadow through which flows a branch of Stony Creek. Beyond it, on the left, is a gentle elevation, the estate of Mr. Thomas Waddle, of Hamilton, and near the village, on which lay the encampment. Miller's (Gage's) house is seen on the extreme right, with a veranda and grove of trees in front. In the distance is the range of hills which extend westward from Queenston, and are called "the Mountain" by the Canadians.

² John Chandler was born within the bounds of the present State of Maine (Kennebec County), then a part of Massachusetts, in the year 1760. His parents were very humble, and he became an itinerant blacksmith. His residence was in General Dearborn's settlement of Monmouth, about fifteen miles west from Augusta. It is recorded, in a late *History and Description of New England*, by Coolidge and Mansfield, that "he was the poorest man in the settlement." By industry and perseverance he became wealthy. His talents were of a high order. He was a representative in Congress from 1806 to 1808, and when the war broke out and he was commissioned a brigadier general, he was major general of militia. His military career ended at Stony Creek, and he was disbanded in 1816. He represented Maine in the Senate of the United States from 1820 to 1829. He died at Augusta, Maine, September 25, 1841, at the age of eighty-one years.

Capture of Generals Chandler and Winder. Narrow Escape of General Vincent. Retreat of the Americans.

fire was opened on the right flank of the Americans. Perceiving this, he hastened in that direction to prevent its being turned, when, in the darkness, his horse stumbled and fell, and the general was severely hurt. He soon recovered his feet, succeeded in providing for the safety of his right, and was returning to the centre, moving with difficulty on foot, when he was attracted to the artillery, where there was much confusion. He was not aware that the two cannon were in possession of the enemy; and, under the impression that those in confusion around the pieces were some of his own command, he gave orders for them to rally. To his utter astonishment he found himself among the enemy, and in a moment he was disarmed and made a prisoner of war. At about the same time General Winder and Major Van De Venter¹ fell into the same trap and were made prisoners.²

At this moment there was the wildest confusion every where. Towson's artillery had poured a destructive fire upon the assailants and had broken their ranks. Colonel Burn, with his cavalry, had cut his way through the British Forty-ninth, and was performing the same feat with the American Sixteenth, when he discovered that he was fighting his own friends. They had combated severely for several minutes before the fatal mistake was discovered. Meanwhile General Vincent, the British commander, had been thrown from his horse in the darkness; and being unable to find either his animal or his troops, had wandered off in the woods. His friends supposed him to be killed or a prisoner. The command devolved upon Colonel Harvey, who, finding it impossible to drive the Americans from their position, collected his scattered forces as quickly as possible, and while it was yet dark hastened back toward Burlington Heights with his notable prisoners. He sent Captain Merritt back to look for General Vincent. He was unsuccessful, but captured two Americans, and ^a June 6, 1813, took them into camp as trophies.³ During the ensuing day^b Vincent was found by his friends in the woods, four miles from the place of conflict, without hat or sword, and almost famished. His horse and accoutrements had fallen into the hands of the Americans.

In this confused and terrible night-battle the Americans lost seventeen men killed, thirty-eight wounded, and ninety-nine missing. The British lost twenty-three killed, one hundred wounded, and fifty-five missing. Notwithstanding the Americans held the ground, it was a substantial victory for the British, and the loss of the two generals a severe one for the former. Through the gallantry of Lieutenant M'Chesney one piece of artillery was immediately recovered, and the other the enemy was not able to take away for the want of horses.⁴ They were endeavoring to do so when they were overtaken by Lieutenant Macdonough, and the piece was seized by him.

The Americans, fearing a renewal of the attack, retreated so precipitately that they left their dead unburied. Under the command of Colonel Burn they fled to Forty-mile Creek, near which they were met by Colonel James Miller and four hundred men sent to re-enforce them. "I can assure you," Colonel Miller wrote to his wife, "I can scarce believe that you would have been more glad to see me than that army was."⁵ On the following day,^b in the afternoon, they were joined by Generals ^b June 7. Lewis and Boyd, with their staffs, and the little army encamped there, on a

¹ Christopher Van De Venter was a native of New York. He was appointed lieutenant in Scott's regiment of artillery in 1809. In 1812 he was assistant military agent at Fort Columbus, in New York Harbor. He was afterward deputy quarter-master, with the rank of major, and in that capacity served on the Niagara frontier. He was taken a prisoner to Quebec. At the close of the war he was retained in the service, and in 1816 was aid-de-camp to Brigadier General Joseph G. Swift. He resigned in August that year, and from 1817 until 1827 he was chief clerk in the War Department. He died at Georgetown, D. C., on the 22d of April, 1838.

² Colonel William Fraser (then a sergeant), who was living at Perth, back of Brockville, in Canada, in 1860, took both the generals prisoners. He advanced upon the artillery, he said, with forty-six men, but when they drew near it they had only twenty-five men. The American cannon in their front was loaded with all sorts of missiles. The priming flashed, and the gun was not discharged. They then rushed forward, shouting "Come on, Brant!" The cannon were taken. Plenderleath was wounded. Fraser was binding up his wounds, when Chandler and Winder fell into the snare and were captured.

³ Merritt's MS. Narrative.

⁴ The same.

⁵ Autograph letter to his wife, dated Fort George, June 13, 1813.

A British Fleet in Sight.

Pursuit of the Americans.

The British at Sodus Bay.

plain, its right flank on the lake, and its left on a creek which skirts the base of a very steep but not lofty mountain.

At six o'clock that evening a British squadron under Sir James L. Yeo appeared in the distance. The Americans lay on their arms all night, and in the morning the hostile vessels were near. There was a dead calm. At six in the morning an armed schooner was towed in, and opened a fire upon the American boats in which most of their baggage and camp equipage was transported, which lay on the shore. Meanwhile the artillery companies under Archer and Towson had placed four cannon in defensive position, and Lieutenant Totten had constructed a temporary furnace for heating shot. The hostile vessel was soon driven off. At about the same time some savage allies of the British appeared on the bald brow of the mountain, and fired ineffectually into the camp, and intelligence came that the British were moving eastward from Burlington Heights. Sir James sent an officer, with a flag, to demand from General Lewis an immediate surrender of his force, reminding him that a British fleet was on his front, a savage foe in his rear, and an approaching British army on his flank. Lewis answered that the summons was too ridiculous to merit a serious reply. He had not lost a man in the whole affair of the morning. The schooner had been driven away, and he was prepared to send off the boats with baggage and camp equipage, accompanied by a guard of two hundred men under Colonel Miller. The boats started prematurely—before the troops were ready. They were chased by an armed schooner. A dozen of them were captured, and the remainder were run ashore and abandoned by the crews. At ten o'clock in the morning the whole army commenced a retrograde movement, the savages and local militia constantly hovering on their flank and rear. They reached Fort George after losing several prisoners captured by pursuers, and General Vincent came forward and occupied their camp at Forty-mile Creek. Lieutenant Colonel Bishopp, who was placed in command of the right division of the British force, pushed forward with detachments, and took positions which commanded the cross-roads from a little west of the present Port Dalhousie, on the lake shore, to the mountain passes at the Beaver Dams.¹

The British squadron in the mean time hovered along the lake coast, and interfered greatly with the supplies for the American camp. On the evening of the 12th^a * June, 1813. they captured two vessels laden with valuable hospital stores in the mouth of Eighteen-mile Creek, eastward of the Niagara River; and on Tuesday evening, the 15th, they made a descent upon the village of Charlotte, at the head of the navigation of the Genesee River, and carried off a large quantity of stores. Sailing eastward, they appeared off Sodus Bay on Friday, the 18th, and on the following evening a party of about one hundred, fully armed, landed at Sodus Point (now in Wayne County) for the purpose of destroying the American stores known to be deposited there. These had been removed to a place of concealment a little back of the village. The enemy were exasperated on finding the store-houses empty, and threatened to destroy the village if the place of the concealment of their contents should not be revealed. The women and children fled in alarm. A negro, compelled by threats, gave the enemy the desired information, and they were marching in the direction of the stores, when they were confronted at a bridge over a ravine by forty men under Captain Turner, of Lyons. A sharp skirmish ensued, in which each party lost two men.² Both parties fell back, and the foiled British, as they returned to their vessels,

¹ The chief authorities consulted are the official dispatches of commanders on both sides, and the several histories of the war already mentioned; Mansfield's Life of General Scott; autograph letters of Colonel James Miller; MS. statement of Captain William H. Merritt; Armstrong's Notices of the War of 1812; Niles's Weekly Register; The War, and oral statements of survivors.

An account of my visit to the battle-grounds of Stony Creek and the Beaver Dams will be given in the next chapter.

² Statement of Captain Luther Redfield, of Clyde, Wayne County, New York, in a letter to the author in February, 1860, when the old soldier was about eighty-six years of age. He says that in a log house a few rods north of the present Presbyterian church, in the village of Junius, public worship was held. The attack of the British at Sodus was on Saturday evening. The next day, just as the afternoon service was about to commence at the house above mentioned,

Destruction of Property at Sodus.

British Fleet off Oswego.

burned the public store-houses, five dwellings, and the old Williamson Hotel. They laid waste by fire property valued at about twenty-five thousand dollars.

^{June 20,}
^{1813.} From Sodus the British squadron sailed eastward, and appeared off Oswego,^a with a wish to enter the harbor and seize or destroy stores there; but Sir James, who was a cautious commander, did not venture in, and on the morning of the 21st his squadron turned westward, and for several days lay off the Niagara River.

a horseman came dashing up at full speed with the news of the British invasion. Redfield was a captain in the regiment of Colonel Philetus Swift. There were several non-commissioned officers in the church. These were sent to arouse the military of the neighborhood, and by five o'clock Captain Redfield was on the march with about one hundred men. They halted most of the night a few miles north of Lyons, and resumed their march by moonlight toward morning. They arrived at Sodus at a little after sunrise on Monday morning, when they met a funeral procession with the body of Turner's slain soldier. The British had gone, but the fleet was in sight. The company remained about a week at Sodus, and were then discharged.



CHAPTER XXVIII.

"To Sackett's Harbor Yeo steered, with Prevost's chosen blood-hounds,
But Brown his dogs of valor cheered, militia blood, but good hounds.
He chased them from the bloody track, and Yeo's bull-dogs slighting,
Though Chauncey was not there, he show'd Sir James the art of fighting,
Bow, wow, wow!
Fresh-water dogs can tutor them with bow, wow, wow!"

OLD SONG—A NEW BOW WOW.



WHEN the military and naval authorities at Kingston were informed of the weakening of the important post at Sackett's Harbor by the withdrawal of troops and vessels for the expedition against York, they resolved to attempt the capture of the place, or to destroy the new ship-of-war then on the stocks,¹ and other public property there. The capture of York made them circumspect, for the flushed victors might turn their faces toward Kingston; but when it was known that Dearborn and Chauncey were about to attack Fort George and its dependencies, it was resolved to assail Sackett's Harbor immediately. The prize was more attractive now than ever before. Besides being the principal place of deposit on the lake for military and naval stores, and a fine vessel was there nearly completed, all the property captured at York² was deposited there. The possession or destruction of these by the British would have given them the command of Lake Ontario, and a decided advantage during the whole campaign. With singular remissness of duty on the part of the commanding general, these had been left exposed. The guard detailed for their protection, under Colonel Barker, was utterly inadequate for the task. It consisted of parts of the First and Second Regiments of Dragoons, numbering about two hundred and fifty men, fifty or sixty artillerymen, and from eighty to one hundred infantry, composed chiefly of invalids, recruits, and fragments of companies left behind when the expedition sailed for York. The dragoons, dismounted, manned Fort Tompkins, a considerable work on the bluff, on the west side of the Harbor,³ and covering the site of the present residence and garden of the naval commandant of the station. The artillerymen, under Lieutenant Ketchum, were also there. A little north of the village, on the east side of the Harbor, opposite Fort Tompkins, was a small work, erected principally by the labor of a company of exempts, called Fort Volunteer. General Jacob Brown,⁴

¹ After the death of the gallant leader in the attack on York, this vessel was named *General Pike*.

² See page 591.

³ This consisted of a strong block-house and surrounding intrenchments, and occupied the place of the battery on which the iron thirty-two-pounder that drove off the British in 1812 was mounted. See page 368. The single cannon with which it was armed at the time we are now considering was the same iron thirty-two-pounder. The fort was named Tompkins in honor of Daniel D. Tompkins, then governor of the State of New York. The bluff on which it stood overlooks Navy Point, within which is the Harbor, where the ship-yard was. The place was named in honor of Augustus Sackett, the first settler. Its Indian name was a long one, and signified "fort at the mouth of Great River."

⁴ Jacob Brown was born of Quaker parents, in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, on the 9th of May, 1775. He was well educated early. When he was sixteen years of age his father lost his property, and the right-minded youth resolved to earn his own livelihood. He taught school in the Quaker settlement of Crosswicks, in New Jersey, from his eighteenth to his twenty-first birth-day. For a while he was a surveyor in the vicinity of Cincinnati, and in 1798 was a school-teacher in the city of New York. He commenced the study of law, but it was distasteful to him, and he abandoned it. He then purchased some land on the Black River, in Jefferson County, and adopted the pursuit of a farmer. In 1809 he was appointed colonel of a regiment of militia in that section, and on his estate a settlement was formed and named Brownsville. In 1811 the Governor of New York commissioned him a brigadier general of militia, and, as we have seen (see page 366), he was intrusted with important command. From that time until the close of the war General Brown's public career formed an important part of the history of the times, and the record may be found in these pages. He

Brown's Position.

Approach of the British.

Brown assumes Command at Sackett's Harbor.



Jac: Brown

of the New York Militia, who, having finished the six months' service for which he was called to the field at the beginning of the war, as we have seen, was residing at his home in Brownsville, on the Black River, a few miles from Sackett's Harbor, had been requested by General Dearborn, and urged by Colonel Macomb, to assume chief command in that region. He was unwilling to interfere with his esteemed friend, Colonel Backus, and agreed to take command only in the event of actual invasion. He went to head-quarters frequently to advise with Backus concerning preparations for defense, and it was understood between them that if the enemy should threaten the post, Brown was to call the neighboring militia to the Harbor and take chief command.

On the evening of the 27th of May, the *Lady of the Lake*, which had been cruising off Kingston to watch the movements of the enemy, came into Sackett's Harbor with the startling information that a strong British squadron, under Sir James L. Yeo,

had just put to sea. Colonel Backus sent an express to General Brown with the intelligence. That vigilant officer immediately dispatched messengers to the militia officers of his district with orders to hasten, with as many men as possible, to the Harbor. This accomplished, he mounted his horse, and before the dawn of the 28th he entered Backus's camp, took command, ordered alarm guns to be fired to arouse the country, and sent off expresses in various directions to militia officers, and to

was retained in the army at the close of the war, and was appointed to the command of the Northern Division. He became a general-in-chief of the armies of the United States in 1821, and held that office until his death, at his headquarters in the City of Washington, on the 24th of February, 1828, at the age of fifty-three years. His widow, yet (1867) living, resided, until recently, in the fine mansion erected at Brownsville by the general in 1814.

General Brown's remains were interred with imposing ceremonies in the Congressional Burial-ground, and over them stands a beautiful white marble monument, composed of a truncated fluted column and tableted base, on which are the following inscriptions:

East Side.—"Sacred to the memory of Major General Jacob Brown, by Birth, by Education, by Principle, devoted to Peace. In defense of his country, and in vindication of her rights, a Warrior. To her he dedicated his life—wounds received in her cause abridged his days."

South Side.—"He was born in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, on the 9th of May, 1775, and died at the City of Washington, commanding general of the army, on the 24th of February, 1828."

"Let him whoe'er in after days
Shall view this monument of praise,
For Honor heave the Patriot sigh,
And for his country learn to die."

West Side.—"In both by the thanks of the Nation and a golden medal from the hands of their chief magistrate—and by this marble erected to honor him, at the command of the Congress of the United States."

North Side.—"In War his services are attested by the fields of Chippewa, Niagara, Erie; in Peace by the improved organization and discipline of the army."

The monument stands very near that of General Macomb, his successor in the chief command of the armies of the United States.



GENERAL BROWN'S MONUMENT.

Assembling of the Militia.

The British Force approaches Sackett's Harbor.

AN ALARM.

Colonel Tuttle, who was advancing with regulars. During the day the people of the surrounding country continually arrived at head-quarters. Some were armed, and some were not, and all were entirely without discipline, and almost without organization. As fast as they appeared they were armed and sent to Horse Island, a mile distant, where Colonel Mills and about two hundred and fifty Albany Volunteers had been stationed for a week. The island (on which the light-house stands¹)



LIGHT-HOUSE ON HORSE ISLAND.

commands the entrance to the Harbor, and there it was believed the enemy would attempt to land. Then, as now, it was separated from the main by only a shallow strait, always forlable, and sometimes almost dry. Between it and the village was a thin wood that had been partly cut over, and was encumbered with logs, stumps, and brush. The main shore is a ridge of gravel, about five feet in height, and at that time formed a natural breast-work.

At midday on the 28th,^a the British squadron, which left Kingston on the evening of the 27th, appeared off Sackett's Harbor. It consisted of the *Wolfe*,¹⁸¹⁸ 24, just finished; *Royal George*, 24; *Earl of Moira*, 18; schooners *Prince Regent*, *Sineoe*, and *Seneca*, mounting from ten to twelve guns each, and about forty bateaux. The land troops, ten or twelve hundred strong, consisted of the grenadier company of the One Hundredth Regiment, two companies of the Eighth or King's, a section of the Royal Scots, four companies of the One Hundred and Fourth, one company of the Glengary Regiment, two of the Canadian Voltigeurs, a detachment of the Newfoundland Regiment, and another of the Royal Artillery, with two 6-pounders. There was also a considerable body of Indians attached to the expedition, and who accompanied it in canoes. Sir James Lucas Yeo commanded the squadron, and the whole expedition was under the direction of Sir George Prevost, the Governor General of Canada, who accompanied it as leader of the land forces. He was with Yeo on the *Wolfe*.

The British squadron lay to about six miles from the Harbor, and a large number of troops were embarked in boats for the purpose of landing. While anxiously waiting for the signal to pull for shore, the soldiers were perplexed by an order to return to the squadron. They were still more perplexed when that squadron, without apparent cause, spread its sails to the light breeze and turned toward Kingston. The secret was soon known. A flotilla of nineteen American gun-boats had been seen off

¹ This is a view of the light-house as it appeared when I visited the island in 1855. It stands upon the spot where the enemy landed, and the keeper at the time of my visit was Captain Samuel McNit, of whom I shall hereafter speak. The island contains about twenty-seven acres.

Six-towns Point, approaching from the westward, and Sir George Prevost did not doubt their being filled with armed men destined to re-enforce Sackett's Harbor. It was even so. They were conveying part of a regiment under Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Aspinwall from Oswego to the Harbor. The apparition had made Sir George nervous. The Indians were not so easily frightened as their pale-faced ally. They darted in their canoes toward the American flotilla. This movement shamed Sir George. He listened to the advice of Sir James, turned the prows of his vessels once more in the direction of Sackett's Harbor, and sent several boats with armed men to join the canoes. Aspinwall and his party, closely chased, made for the shore. Twelve of his boats and seventy of his men were captured. The other seven boats, more fleet than their companions or pursuers, reached the haven in safety. The escaped party on shore made their way thither by land. They arrived at nine o'clock in the evening, and added one hundred men to the effective force at Sackett's Harbor.

The night of the 28th^a was spent by the Americans in active preparations for the expected attack. Toward midnight, about forty Indians, under Lieutenant Anderson, were landed on the shore of Henderson Bay, for the purpose of attacking the American militia in the rear. They were discovered, and Colonel Mills and his force, about four hundred strong, were withdrawn from Horse Island and placed behind the gravel ridge, at a clearing of five or six acres on the main, with a 6-pounder field-piece. The remainder of the militia, under Colonel Gershom Tuttle, were posted on the edge of the woods, a little farther back; and Colonel Backus, with his dismounted dragoons, was stationed on the skirt of the same woods, nearer the village. Lieutenant Colonel Aspinwall was posted on the left of Backus, and the artillerymen, under Lieutenant Ketchum, were stationed in Fort Tompkins, whose only armament was a 32-pounder mounted on a pivot.

Not a zephyr rippled the waters of the Harbor on the morning of the 29th, and not a cloud flecked the sky. Calmness, serenity, and beauty were visible on every side. The sails of the enemy's squadron could not catch the slightest breeze, and it was impossible for the large vessels to approach near enough to join in the attack. At dawn, thirty-three boats, filled with armed men, left the British squadron and made for Horse Island, where they landed under cover of two gun-boats directed by Captain Mulcaster, of the royal navy. As the flotilla rounded the island, the huge pivot gun in Fort

W. A. 2 Mulcaster

Tompkins hurled murderous enfilading shots in their midst, and when they were near the shore they received a scattering fire from the muskets of the militia. This was promptly responded to by Mulcaster's great guns, loaded with grape and canister, and by his first fire Colonel Mills, who was standing near his men, was shot dead.

The British formed in good order on the island, and with the grenadiers of the One Hundredth at their head, commanded by Colonel Baynes, they pressed rapidly across the shallow strait. The rank and file of the American militia had suffered no material injury, but the sound of bullets among the bushes, and the din of the oncoming foe, struck the whole line with an extraordinary panic, and before they had time to give a second fire they rose from their cover behind the gravel bank and fled with precipitation, leaving their 6-pounder behind. The efforts of the gallant Major Herkimer to arrest their flight were vain.¹

This disgraceful retreat astonished and perplexed General Brown, who was on the

¹ It is said that one of the militia commanders, who had talked very valiantly and hopefully, became much discouraged as soon as he saw the enemy's boats approaching the shore. As they came forward in a swarm he became less and less hopeful, until at length he told his men that he doubted the ability of the American force to cope with the enemy. "I fear we shall be compelled to retreat," he said. After a pause he continued, "I know we shall, and as I am a little lame I'll start now," and away he went upon the road leading to Adams, as fast as his legs could carry him, just as Mulcaster's guns opened their fire. He was among the "missing" at the close of the battle.

Cowardly Flight of Militia.

Gallantry of Captain M'Nitt.

Destruction of Public Stores.

left of his little army. He expected the militia would have remained firm until the enemy were finally on the main. But their movement was so sudden, general, and rapid, that he found himself completely alone, not a man standing within several rods of him. Stung by this shameful conduct, he ran after the fugitives and endeavored to arrest their flight. His efforts were unavailing. Forgetful of their promises of courage, and unmindful of the orders they had received to rally in the woods in the event of their being driven back, they continued their flight until they were sure of being out of harm's way. Some of them were not heard of again during the day. Those under Colonel Tuttle were equally recreant to duty, and joined in the disgraceful flight, although they had not in any way been exposed to the enemy's fire. But there was an honorable exception. Captain Samuel M'Nitt, with unflinching courage, had maintained his position on the extreme left, and stood blazing away at the enemy after his companions had fled. Seeing the panic, he started in pursuit of the fugitives, and, with the aid of Lieutenant Mayo, succeeded in rallying almost one hundred of them behind some fallen timber. From that cover they annoyed the enemy exceedingly, who were then marching through the woods toward the town.¹ Meanwhile Colonel Backus and his regulars had advanced, and, with the Albany Volunteers, who had stood firm when the militia fled, and had retired slowly along a wagon-road by the margin of the lake before superior numbers, was disputing the march of the invaders inch by inch.

These demonstrations of courage revived the sinking hopes of the commanding general. In hastening from M'Nitt's gallant band to Backus's line, his affrighted horse had broken from him in the woods. Fortunately, he soon met a man on horseback, whose animal he seized and mounted, and then pushed forward to the extreme right. There he found Colonel Backus with his dismounted dragoons on the right, assisted by Major Lavall, the gallant Albany Volunteers on the left, and infantry and artillery in the centre, while the gun at Fort Tompkins was playing upon the advancing column of the foe. For an hour the conflict continued, and so great was the weight of the enemy that the American line was constantly pressed back. Lieutenant Fanning, in command at Fort Volunteer, perceiving no danger of an attack there, had led his little force forward and engaged gallantly in the fight. Still the foe bore heavily upon them, and when the Americans were most in want of encouragement a disheartening event occurred. Dense smoke arose in their rear, and it was soon ascertained that the store-houses on the margin of the Harbor, filled with the spoils of York and a vast amount of other valuable property, also the new ship *General Pike*, were in flames. Had a portion of the enemy landed in the rear and applied the torch? No. In the almost universal panic that prevailed when the militia fled, Lieutenant Wolcott Chauncey, of the Navy, who had the stores in charge, was informed that all was lost, and that the victorious enemy was rapidly marching upon the post. A train prepared for the emergency was lighted, and in a few minutes stores and ship were in flames. The friendly incendiary was soon named to General Brown, much to his relief, and he hastened to inform and reassure Colonel Backus. He arrived just in time to see that gallant officer fall, mortally wounded, and to wipe his pallid brow with his own hand.²

Pressed back, back, back, the wearied and worried Americans took refuge in some new log barracks in an open space near the town. The enemy made desperate efforts to dislodge them. Brown saw that all would be lost should they be driven from that

¹ Samuel M'Nitt was a Scotchman, and a brave and active man. He was for some time a member of Forsyth's corps, and, as such, saw much active service at the beginning of the war. He commanded a militia company at the time we are now considering. He was in Wilkinson's expedition that went down the St. Lawrence in the autumn of 1813, and was in command of a company of regulars in the battle at Chrysler's Field. He died on the 9th of September, 1861, at Depauville, in Jefferson County, at the age of about ninety years.

² Electus Backus was a native of New York. He was commissioned major of the First Light Dragoons in October, 1808, and in February following was promoted to lieutenant colonel. He died eight days after the battle (June 7, 1813), and was buried at Sackett's Harbor with military honors.

The Militia reassembled.

Prevost alarmed.

His disgraceful Retreat.

shelter, and he determined to rally the fugitive militia, if possible, who, he was informed, were on the outskirts of the village and on the roads leading from it, and with them feign a descent upon the enemy's boats. He sent out mounted dragoons instructed to proclaim a victory gained, knowing that in the supposed absence of danger most of them would return. The stratagem was successful. About three hundred of them were collected, though in great disorder, on the eastern side of the village, about three fourths of a mile from the place where the battle was still raging. There they were addressed by the commanding general, who loaded them with reproaches, and informed them that measures had been taken to shoot every man of them who should be found attempting to run again. Many of them, stung by the words of the general, begged to be led into the thickest of the fight, and almost two hundred of them formed under the direction of Westcott, a Sackett's Harbor butcher, and Caleb, a volunteer, and, while others went toward the British landing-place, they attacked a flanking party of the enemy under Captain Grey, the adjutant general, just as they were about to assail the log barracks. Grey was a gallant soldier. He was walking backward, waving his sword, and had just shouted "Come on, boys; remember York! The day is ours!" when a drummer-boy among the rallied militia cried out, "Perhaps not yet!" and shot him. Grey fell, and instantly expired.¹



This rallying of the fugitive militia and menacing of the enemy's boats decided the fortunes of the day in favor of the Americans. Sir George Prevost, sweeping the horizon with his glass from a high stump, perceived the militia on his flank and rear, and supposing them to be re-enforcements of regulars in large numbers, immediately sounded a retreat while the way to their boats was open.² It was commenced in good order, but soon became a disorderly flight. It was so precipitate that the fatigued Americans could not overtake them. They reached the squadron in safety, leaving a large portion of their dead and wounded behind.³ At about ten o'clock in the morning, Sir George, with cool impudence, sent a flag to demand the surrender of the post which he had failed to capture. The summons was treated with deserved contempt. He then asked permission to send surgeons to take care of his wounded. This was denied; but an assurance was given by General Brown that Americans were "distinguished for humanity as well as bravery."

It was believed that the enemy intended to renew the attack. His squadron continued at anchor, and his boats remained filled with soldiers for some time not far from Horse Island. At noon they returned to the squadron, and the whole flotilla sailed for Kingston. It entered that port on the morning of the 30th, to the great mortification of the inhabitants, who had expected to see the expedition return with

¹ Captain Grey was a son of General Grey, the commander of the corps in the massacre of a part of Wayne's detachment at Paoli, in Pennsylvania, in September, 1777. ² Oral statement of E. Camp, Esq., of Sackett's Harbor. ³ The British lost 60 killed and 211 wounded. The Americans lost 47 killed, 84 wounded, and 38 missing. Most of the latter were the cowardly militia, who were ashamed to show their faces again.

How public Property was saved.	Conceit and Inefficiency of Sir George Prevost.	A Sort of "Greek Fire."
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all the garrison at Sackett's Harbor and the public property there.¹ The whole affair, on the part of the British, was pronounced at the time, and has been by their own writers since, "in a high degree disgraceful."² The skill, courage, and energy of General Brown, under the most appalling difficulties, seconded by the like qualities in a part of the troops, made it a brilliant achievement for the Americans, and a subject for just praise of the commanding general.³

As soon as the battle was ended the efforts of the men were turned to the salvation of the public property from the flames. Because of the greenness of the timber of the *General Pike* she had burned but little, and was saved. The *Duke of Gloucester*, captured at York, also escaped destruction. She was saved by the gallantry of Lieutenant Talman, of the army, who, notwithstanding he knew there was a large quantity of gunpowder on board of her, hastened to her deck, extinguished the kindling flames, and brought her from under the fire that was consuming the store-houses. The *Fair American* and *Pert* had cut their cables and retreated up the Black River. Several of the guns on Navy Point were spiked. The value of the property destroyed by the fire was about half a million of dollars. The loss was severely felt, because the distance from Albany, from which most of these stores were drawn, was such that they could not be seasonably replaced.⁴

No further attempts were made by the enemy to capture Sackett's Harbor, and it remained, as it had been from the beginning, the most important place of deposit for the army and navy stores of the Americans on the Northern frontier. During the



SACKETT'S HARBOR IN 1814.⁵

¹ James's *Military Occurrences*, i., 173.

² The conduct of Sir George Prevost in this and other occurrences where he became military commander was severely criticised. Wilkinson, in his *Memoirs*, i., 535, declares that Sir James Yeo was averse to the retreat. He says he was informed that Major Drummond (afterward Lieutenant Colonel Drummond, killed at Fort Erie), when Sir George gave the order to retreat, stepped up to him and said, "Allow me a few minutes, sir, and I will put you in possession of the place." To this the haughty baronet replied, "Obey your orders, sir, and learn the first duty of a soldier." The contempt for Sir George on the part of the army, which his conduct on this occasion engendered, was much intensified by his ignominious retreat from Plattsburg the following year.

³ The authorities consulted in the preparation of this narrative are the official reports of the respective commanders; the several American histories of the war; Anchinleck, Christie, and James on the British side; Wilkinson's *Memoirs*; Cooper's *Naval History of the United States*; manuscript statement found among General Brown's papers, and narratives of survivors.

⁴ In a letter to the author in October, 1863, the late venerable Robert Carr, who was a lieutenant colonel on the Northern frontier, gave the following account of a sort of "Greek fire" that was exhibited at Sackett's Harbor at about the time of the events recorded in the text. "At Sackett's Harbor," says Colonel Carr, "in September, 1815, a person from New England called on General Brown to exhibit some preparation which he called *liquid fire*, or some such name. General Covington called at my tent and invited me to go with him to witness the trial to be made that morning; but as I was a member of a court-martial then sitting, I could not go with him. On his return he informed me that the affair was most astonishing. The liquid resembled ink, and he had it in two small porter-bottles, one of which he threw against a small hemlock-tree, which was instantly in a blaze from top to bottom. The other bottle he also broke against another tree with a similar result. He asserted that water would not extinguish it. General Covington remarked that it might be called '*hell fire*.'"

⁵ This view is from a print from a drawing by Birch, published in the *Port Folio* in 1815. On the left is seen *Pike's*

Sackett's Harbor, and Occurrences there.

Description of its Defenses.

Map of the Same.

summer and autumn of 1813 several expeditions were fitted out there, which we shall hereafter consider, and labor was vigorously applied by the troops stationed there in the autumn, and by the sailors in the winter, in strongly fortifying the post. Fort



PLAN OF SACKETT'S HARBOR AND ITS DEFENSES IN 1814.

Tompkins was strengthened, and several other works were constructed, and before the midsummer of 1814 the post seemed

to be secured against any force the enemy might bring to bear upon it.¹

cantonment, where were barracks erected by Major Darby Noon. See page 292. On the rocky bluff at the right is seen Fort Tompkins. Near Pike's cantonment is seen a block-house, on the site of Fort Volunteer, and immediately back of it, a circular building with battlemented top represents Fort Chauncey. The little figures near the small boat, toward the centre of the picture, are on Navy Point, where the ship-house now stands.

¹ Joseph Bouchette, one of the most eminent writers on the statistics of the Canadas, gave the following description of the place at the close of 1814: "A low point of land runs out from the northwest, upon which is the dock-yard, with large store-houses and all the requisite buildings belonging to such an establishment. Upon this point is a very powerful work, called Fort Tompkins, having within it a strong block-house two stories high; on the land side it is covered by a strong picketing, in which there are embrasures: twenty guns are mounted, besides two or three mortars, with a furnace for heating shot. At the bottom of the harbor is the village, that contains from sixty to seventy houses, and to the southward of it a barrack capable of accommodating two thousand men, and generally used for the marines belonging to the fleet. On a point eastward of the harbor stands Fort Pike, a regular work surrounded by a ditch, in advance of which there is a strong line of picketing. In the centre of the principal work there is a block-house two stories high. This fort is armed with twenty guns. About one hundred yards from the village, and a little to the westward of Fort Tompkins, is Smith's cantonment or barrack, strongly built of logs, forming a square, with a block-house at each corner. It is loop-holed on every side, and capable of making a powerful resistance. Twenty-five hundred men have been accommodated in it. A little farther westward another fort presents itself (Fort Kentucky), built of earth and strongly palisaded, having in the centre of it a block-house one story high. It mounts twenty-eight guns. Midway between these two works (a little farther inland) is a powder magazine, inclosed within a very strong picketing.

"By the side of the road that leads to Henderson Harbor stands Fort Virginia, a square work with bastions at its angles, covered with a strong line of palisades, but no ditch. It is armed with sixteen guns, and has a block-house in the middle of it. (See sketch on p. 617.) Fort Chauncey is a small circular tower, covered with plank, and loop-holed for the use of musketry, intended for a small-arm defense only. It is situated a small distance from the village, and commands the road that leads to Sandy Creek. In addition to these works of strength, there are several block-houses in different situations, that altogether render the place very secure, and capable of resisting a powerful attack; indeed, from recent events, the Americans have attached much importance to it, and, with their accustomed celerity, have spared no exertions to render it formidable."—Bouchette's *Canada*, page 626. To this account may be added the statement that, after the battle in May, 1813, a breastwork of logs was thrown up around the village from Horse Island to the site of Madison Barracks.

The above map, showing a plan of Sackett's Harbor and its defenses in 1814, as described by Bouchette, is from a manuscript drawing by Patrick May, a soldier who was stationed there for two years. The topography may not be pre-

A Visit to Sackett's Harbor.

Commodore Tattnall.

Historical Localities.

Henry Eckford.

I visited Sackett's Harbor in the summer of 1860. I rode up from Sandy Creek during a sultry morning, through the wealthy agricultural towns of Ellisburg and Henderson, after a heavy rain. Before noon the sky was almost cloudless, and I spent the afternoon in visiting places of interest around Sackett's Harbor. Commodore Josiah Tattnall, one of the most accomplished men in the navy, and then in command of the naval station at the Harbor, accompanied me. I found him an exceedingly courteous man, of medium size in stature, and in the sixty-fourth year of his age. He had been commander of the East India squadron for some time, having the *Powhatan* for his flag-ship, in which he brought over the seas the Japanese ambassadors in the spring of 1860. Having been for several years in arduous service, the government had kindly ordered him to the Sackett's Harbor station to enjoy a season of rest. There he deserted the flag of his country, under which he had been cherished for almost half a century. He resigned his commission, joined the traitors in the slave-labor states who were then in open rebellion against his government, and became commander-in-chief of the "Confederate Navy."¹

Yet I can not forget the commodore's kindness. He accompanied me to the ship-house on Navy Point, in which is the *New Orleans*, just as she was left in her unfinished state at the end of the war in 1815. He also went with me to the site of Fort Pike, to Madison Barracks and the burial-ground, and to visit the widow of Captain William Vaughan, whose exploits have already been mentioned in these pages.² Mrs. Vaughan (a small, delicate woman) occupied the Sackett mansion, which was her residence in 1812. At the time now under consideration, Colonels Backus and Mills boarded with her there. The house was near the site of Fort Tompkins. It was a substantial frame building, with a fine portico, and was embowered in shrubbery and trees.

The *New Orleans* was to have been a huge vessel, made to cope with the *St. Lawrence*, a three-deck man-of-war of 120 guns, which the British launched at Kingston in the autumn of 1813. Henry Eckford³ was the constructor, and Henry Eagle, late of Oswego, was foreman of the navy yard. Time was precious, and Eckford applied

cisely correct, but it gives a general idea of the pains taken, and the method adopted for making the post as secure from capture as possible. It shows the localities of the fortifications, and of the vessels in the harbor in the autumn of 1814.

¹ Josiah Tattnall was born at Bonaventure, four miles from Savannah, Georgia, in November, 1796. He is a grandson of Governor Tattnall. He entered the navy as a midshipman in 1812, and was commissioned a lieutenant in 1818. He was promoted to commander in February, 1838, and to captain in February, 1850. He first served in the frigate *Constellation*, and was in the affair at Craney Island in June, 1813. He was in the Algerine war under Decatur, was with Perry on the coast of Africa, and with Porter in his expedition against the pirates in the Gulf of Mexico. He was in command of the *Spitefire* in the bombardment of Vera Cruz in the war with Mexico, and in the attacks on Tuspan, Tampico, and Alvarado. He was in command of the East India squadron during the trouble with the Chinese in the summer of 1853, and in the spring of 1860 brought the Japanese ambassadors to this country. He resigned his commission in 1861, and accepted one from the "government" of the so-called "Confederate States of America." He was in command of the vessels of the rebels at Norfolk when the *Merrimack* was destroyed, and in 1863 was in command of the "mosquito fleet" at Savannah, Georgia. His services were soon afterward dispensed with, and he sunk into obscurity. ² See page 368.

³ Henry Eckford was born in Scotland on the 12th of March, 1775, and at the age of sixteen became an apprentice to

his uncle, John Black, an eminent naval constructor at Quebec. In 1796 he commenced the business of ship-building in the city of New York, and soon rose to the head of his profession, and New York-built ships were most sought after. Eckford had become thoroughly identified with the interests and destiny of his adopted country when the war commenced in 1812, and he made large con-

tracts with the government for vessels on the Lakes. His achievements were wonderful, considering the theatre on which they were performed. At the close of the war, his accounts with the government, involving several millions of dollars, were promptly and honorably settled. Soon after that he constructed the *Robert Fulton*, a steam-ship of a thousand tons, to run between New York and New Orleans. He became naval constructor at the Brooklyn dock-yard of the government. His genius was too much hampered by government interference, and he soon left the position and engaged extensively in his profession. Orders came to him from foreign governments to construct war vessels. At the request of General Jackson he furnished a plan for a new organization of the navy. He had now amassed an ample fortune, and had set aside \$20,000 for the endowment of a professorship of Naval Architecture in Columbia College, when an unfortunate connection with an insurance company reduced him almost to penury. In 1831 Mr. Eckford built a sloop of war for the Sultan of Turkey, and he sailed in her to Constantinople. The sultan made him chief naval constructor of the empire. He died suddenly at Constantinople on the 12th of November, 1832, in the fifty-seventh year of his age.



The *New Orleans* Frigate.

Madison Barracks.

A neglected Monument.

to the work all the force that he could command. So vigorous were his efforts, that within twenty-seven days^a from the time when the axe was first laid to the timber in the surrounding forest for the great ship she was almost ready to be launched. She was to have been a three-decker, pierced for 110 guns, but capable of carrying 120 eighteens and forty-fours. Her frame was all completed, and planks nearly all on, when tidings of peace caused work upon her to cease. In the condition in which she was then left she has ever since remained. She was never launched. A spacious house was built over her, and so well has she been taken care of that her timbers remain perfectly sound. Her keel, according to a statement of Mr. Henry Metcalf, the ship-keeper, is 183 feet 7½ inches; breadth of beam, 56 feet; depth, 47 feet; length over all, 214 feet; tonnage, 3000. She was to draw 27 feet. Within the time above mentioned all the timbers for other purposes connected with the vessel were got out. The annexed sketch shows the



THE "NEW ORLEANS."

appearance of her bow as seen at the entrance to the ship-house. Near this building, on the south side, may be seen the sunken hulk of the *Jefferson*.

From the *New Orleans* we went up to *Madison Barracks*, on the high ground overlooking the village, the harbor, Black River Bay, and the wooded country beyond. These barracks are spacious stone buildings, covering three sides of a square, near the remains of Fort Pike. They were erected soon after the war, under the direction of Deputy Quarter-master General Thomas Tucker, at an expense of \$85,000. They have not been occupied by troops for a number of years.

We strolled into the burial-ground attached to the barracks, and visited the wooden monument erected to the memory of General Pike and others who gave their lives to their country during the war. That monument, utterly neglected, was rapidly crumbling into dust. I was there five years before,^b when it was more leaning than the Pisa tower, and fortunately made a sketch of it and copied the fading inscriptions upon it. Sergeant Gaines, who was then taking charge of the barracks, accompanied me, and assisted in deciphering the inscriptions. He had placed a copy of them, written on parchment, in a bottle, which was tightly sealed, and was then hanging under the urn, as the best way to preserve the precious records on the spot. When I was there in 1860 the urn and the bottle had disappeared, the panels were much decayed, and the inscriptions were illegible. The remains of the gallant dead were collected there during the administration of Colonel Hugh Brady, who commanded the post for ten years after the war; and the monument, which was about seven feet in height to the top of the urn,

^a July, 1805.



PIKE'S MONUMENT.

Forts Pike and Virginia.

An evening Ride to Watertown.

A Visit to the Widow of General Brown.

was erected by the officers of the garrison.¹ How long will our national government suffer just reproach for neglect in not erecting enduring monuments over the graves of these heroes?

On leaving the barracks we went out to the remains of Fort Pike, south of them, whose grassy mounds skirt the brow of the high bank. Within these were a magazine, a few cannon, and heaps of balls; and across the parade, the declining sun, shining brightly, was casting long shadows of the poplar-trees which were planted there when the fort was built in 1814. It was a beautiful spot, and we lingered as long as time would permit, when we returned to the village and went to the site of Fort Virginia, whose block-house,



REMAINS OF FORT PIKE.

made of heavy hewn timber, was yet standing in perfect preservation, and used as a barn. It was on the premises of Mrs. Tisdale, about twelve rods south from Washington Street.

We returned to the commodore's residence at five o'clock, and after tea I started in a light wagon for Watertown, on the Black River, about twelve miles distant, where I spent the Sabbath^a with the family of an old friend. On Monday morning he accompanied me to Brownsville, four miles distant, where I had the pleasure of spending a part of the forenoon at the elegant mansion of the widow of General Brown. There many mementos of that gallant officer were preserved. Among them was the portrait painted by John Wesley Jarvis, from which the engraving on page 608 was copied; also a monochrome drawn by Sully, of Philadelphia (now [1867] the oldest painter in the United States), for the medal voted to General Brown by the American Congress for his meritorious conduct on the Niagara frontier. That medal was also there. There too was his sword; also the elegantly written and well ornamented diploma which by vote of the Common Council of New York conferred upon him the "freedom of the city," and the gold box in which it was presented to him. Of the latter mementos of the gallant soldier I shall have occasion to write hereafter.

The mansion of General Brown, which he built in 1814-'15, is spacious and elegant. It is of blue limestone, and stands on the borders of the village of six or seven hundred inhabitants, in the midst of a lawn of about eight acres, ornamented with shrub-

^a August 22, 1860.

¹ The following were the inscriptions on the monument:

West Panel.—"In memory of Brigadier General Z. M. Pike, killed at York, U. C., 27th April, 1813. Captain Joseph Nicholson, 14th Infantry, *aid-de-camp* to General Pike, killed at York, U. C., 27th April, 1813."

North Panel.—"In memory of Brigadier General L. Covington, killed at Chrysler's Field, U. C., Nov. 11, 1813. Lieutenant Colonel E. Backus, 1st Dragoons, killed at Sackett's Harbor, 29th May, 1813."

East Panel.—"In memory of Colonel Tuttle, Lieutenant Colonel Dix, Major Johnson, Lieutenant Vandevanter."

South Panel.—"In memory of Lieutenant Colonel John Mills, Volunteer, killed at Sackett's Harbor, 29th May, 1813. Captain A. Spencer, 29th Infantry, killed at Lundy's Lane, 25th July, 1814."

General Pike was first buried near Fort Tompkins, not far from the ship-house. The remains of all were deposited in the cemetery of the barracks in 1819, when the monument was erected. Those of Colonel Mills were taken to Albany immediately after the battle.



BLOCK-HOUSE, SACKETT'S HARBOR.

bery and stately trees. The view of it here given is from the banks of a little stream that runs through a gentle swale along the skirt of the lawn.



MANSION OF GENERAL BROWN.

On our return to Watertown we rode along the margin of the Black River, where it sweeps in swift current through the village after leaping the precipice at the falls, and halted at the entrance to a cavern which extends to an unknown distance under



WHITTLESEY ROCK, WATERTOWN.

the town. In front of it, projecting into the stream like a huge buttress, is a mass of limestone known as the Whittlesey Rock, it being the place where the guilty wife of a man of that name jumped into the stream and perished over fifty years ago. Her husband was a lawyer from Connecticut, and settled in Watertown in 1809. Toward the close of the war he was appointed brigade paymaster, and in the performance of his duties went to the city of New York for funds, accompanied by his wife. He received thirty thousand dollars. On the way back she robbed him of several thousand dollars; and he was induced by the machina-

tions of his wife—a woman of education, but thoroughly depraved, who worked upon his fears—to report himself robbed of all, in order to secure the money for themselves. This was done on an occasion when he went out on a tour to pay off the drafted militia. He offered two thousand dollars reward for the robber, and made

A Confession extorted. Suicide of the guilty Party. Captain Hollins. Movements on the Niagara Frontier.

other demonstrations of honesty. But he was not believed by many; and his securities, Fairbanks and Keyes, of Watertown, were so well convinced of foul play, that they decoyed him into a lonely place^a not far from the village, and extorted from him a confession, and the assertion that a larger portion of the money might be found with his wife. One of the sureties and two or three others proceeded to the residence of Whittlesey, which stood near the bank of the river, forcibly entered the house, and there, between beds and quilted in a garment, most of the money was found. Whittlesey was taken to his home, and husband and wife, bitterly criminating each other, were placed under a guard. Unperceived by these, in a moment of confusion Mrs. Whittlesey glided from the house, crossed the present cemetery of Trinity Church to the river, and plunged in. Her body was found floating near the lower bridge. Public opinion fastened all the guilt upon the wretched wife. Whittlesey went into a Western state, where he led a correct life, and held the offices of justice of the peace and county judge. Mr. Fairbanks, one of the actors in the affair, is yet (1867) living at Watertown, and from his lips, on our return to the village, I received an account of the tragedy.¹

At the Woodruff House, in Watertown, I met Captain Hollins, of the navy, a stout, thick-set man, sixty-one years of age. He was a midshipman in our navy toward the close of the War of 1812, and in the course of long years rose to the rank of captain. He, too, deserted his flag in the hour of his country's peril, went South, and, during the Great Rebellion, played traitor with all the vigor his abilities would allow.² His accomplished wife, who was with him in Watertown, was a daughter of the patriotic Colonel Sterett, of Baltimore, and, true to her family instincts, tried, it is said, to persuade her husband to stand by his flag. She was in Poughkeepsie, New York, when he arrived at Boston from a cruise in the *Massachusetts* in May or June, 1861, and hastened to him to prevent his apprehended purpose. She failed, and he fell.

I left Watertown on Monday evening for Cape Vincent, for the purpose of visiting places of historic interest on the St. Lawrence. Concerning my visit to Carleton Island, French Creek, and other places near the Thousand Islands, I shall hereafter write. Let us now return to the Niagara frontier, and consider the hostile movements there soon after the battles at Sackett's Harbor, Fort George, and Stony Creek.

We left the Americans, under General Dearborn, at Fort George, and the enemy's advance, at the same time, occupied a strong position at the Beaver Dams, among the hills, and at Ten-mile Creek (now Homer village, three miles eastward of St. Catharine's), nearer the lake shore. At the former place, De Cou's house, a strong stone building, was made a sort of citadel by the enemy, where supplies were collected from the surrounding country, especially from those of the inhabitants who favored the American cause. The character and position of the place had been ascertained by a scout of mounted riflemen under Major Cyrenius Chapin, of the New York Volunteers, who was under Towson in the capture of the *Caledonia* at Fort Erie the preceding autumn.³ It was an important post, and General Dearborn determined to attempt its capture. For that purpose he detached five hundred and seventy men, including Chapin's corps, some artillerymen, and two field-pieces, under Lieutenant Col-

¹ A minute account of this affair, with a portrait of Mr. Fairbanks, may be found in Hough's *History of Jefferson County*, page 263.

² George N. Hollins was born in Baltimore, Maryland, on the 20th of September, 1790. He entered the navy as midshipman in February, 1814, on the sloop-of-war *Baltimore*, Captain Ridgely. He was a volunteer, under Barney, in the battle of Bladensburg. He was also an aid of Commodore Rodgers during the attack on Baltimore, and carried messages to Fort M'Henry. He was in the battle between the *President* and *Endymion*, off Sandy Hook, in January, 1815, when he was taken prisoner and carried to Bermuda. He is supposed to be the last survivor of the men of the *President*. He was with Decatur in the Mediterranean. His exploit in the attack on Greytown, Nicaragua, is fresh in memory, and not productive of pleasant reflections on the part of American citizens. Hollins seems not to have been highly prized by the leaders in the Rebellion, and is almost unknown to honorable fame among them.

³ See page 386. He was very efficient as lieutenant colonel commanding in skirmishes near Fort George in October following. He died in Buffalo in February, 1838.

Chas G Børstler

onel Charles G. Børstler, of the Fourteenth Infantry.¹ They left Fort George on the

evening of the 23d of June, marched up the Niagara River to Queenston, and then halted for the night. Early the next morning they proceeded toward St. David's, four miles west of Queenston, and when near it several British officers were seen to leave houses, mount their horses, and ride off westward in haste. They fired alarm guns and sounded a bugle, by which means the several cantonments of the enemy were aroused.

The Americans moved steadily forward until they reached the "Ten Road," a little eastward of the present village of Thorold, and at an old German church² commenced the ascent of the "Mountain" (as the Canadians call the gentle eminences that extend from the Niagara to Hamilton and beyond), through a forest of pine and beech trees, to the more level country on the summit, where they halted for some time. On resuming their march and proceeding about a mile, they saw Indians in a cleared field (Hoover's) and open woods running toward a more dense forest of beech-trees that skirted each side of the road, near the present toll-gate, close by the residence of the Rev. Dr. R. H. Fuller, rural dean. Chapin was immediately ordered forward with his mounted men, who were kept considerably in advance of the main body.



GERMAN CHURCH.

These had passed the beech woods, and a greater portion of the others had also gone by, when a body of Mohawk and Caughnawaga Indians, four hundred and fifty in number, under Captain John Brant and Captain William John Kerr³ (who afterward became his brother-in-law), who had been lying in ambush, fell upon Børstler's rear, where about twenty light dragoons were posted. Børstler immediately recalled Chapin, formed his troops, charged upon the half-concealed foe, and drove them almost a mile. The Indians might have been entirely routed had Børstler followed up the advantage gained. He hesitated. The Indians rallied, and hung upon his flank and rear, keeping up a most galling fire at every exposed situation. The Americans pressed onward, over the Beaver Dam Creek, fighting the wily foe to immense disadvantage, and made conscious that they were almost, if not altogether surrounded by them. For about three hours this annoying contest was kept up. Børstler's cannon had been posted on a rise of ground at the turn in the road near the residence of Mr. Schriener at the time of my visit, and the Indians fell slowly back before the American bayonets.

At length Børstler determined to retire and abandon the object of the expedition.

¹ Charles G. Børstler was a native of Maryland, and was commissioned lieutenant colonel of the Fourteenth Infantry in March, 1812. He was active, as we have seen (page 428), in affairs at Black Rock toward the close of that year. Three days before his unfortunate expedition to the Beaver Dams he was promoted to colonel of the Fourteenth. At the close of the war he was disbanded.

² This is a view of the oldest building erected for the worship of God in that section of Canada remaining at the time of my visit. It was a little more than half a mile from the village of Thorold. The German refugees from the Mohawk Valley at the close of the Revolution built it. It was formed of logs, and was about twenty-five feet square. It stood in the midst of a burial-ground.

³ Captain Kerr was a grandson of Sir William Johnson, by Molly Brant, sister of the great Mohawk chief, and was one quarter Mohawk. He married Elizabeth, the beautiful and accomplished youngest child of Brant.

British Troops saved by a Heroine.

Mrs. Secord's Services and Reward.

Børstler and his Command captured.

While moving off he encountered a small body of militia, under Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Clark, in the Beech Woods. They had hastened to the field from all quarters. Børstler halted, and sent a courier to Dearborn for re-enforcements. Very soon after-

ward Lieutenant James Fitzgibbon, who was in command at De Cou's, appeared with forty or fifty men of the British Forty-ninth.¹ He had been warned of the expedition of Børstler, and the danger to his post and command, by Mrs. Laura Secord, then a resident of Queenston, and now (1867) dwelling at Chippewa, who had been privately informed of the plans of General Dearborn. Resolving to reveal them to her endangered friends, she made a circuit of nineteen miles on foot, and gave the information which led to the Indian ambush and the check of Børstler's march.² Fitzgibbon displayed his men, and, perceiving much confusion in the American ranks, conceived the plan of boldly demanding their surrender in the name of Major De Haven, the commandant of the district. Fitzgibbon himself approached with a flag. He falsely assured Børstler that his party was the advance of fifteen hundred British troops and seven hundred Indians, then approaching under Lieutenant Colonel Biss-



Laura Secord

¹ A blacksmith in Smoky Hollow, two miles north from St. Catharine's, named Yonon, piloted Fitzgibbon from De Cou's to the Beaver Dams.

² Mrs. Secord was then, as now, a woman of light and delicate frame, and her patriotic journey was performed on a very hot summer's day. She is now (1867) living at the Canadian village of Chippewa, on the Niagara River, at the age of ninety-two years, her mental faculties in full play, and her eyesight sufficiently retained to see to read without spectacles. She is the widow of James Secord, Esq., who commanded a company of militia in the battle at Queenston in 1812, and was severely wounded there. In a letter to me, written on the 18th of February, 1861, Mrs. Secord has given the following interesting account of her exploit here mentioned: "After going to St. David's, and the recovery of Mr. Secord, we returned again to Queenston, where my courage again was much tried. It was then I gained the secret plan laid to capture Captain Fitzgibbon and his party. It was determined, if possible, to save them. I had much difficulty in getting through the American guards. They were ten miles out in the country. When I came to a field belonging to a Mr. De Cou, in the neighborhood of the Beaver Dams, I then had walked nineteen miles. By that time daylight had left me. I yet had a swift stream of water to cross over an old fallen tree (Twelve-mile Creek), and to climb a high hill, which fatigued me very much.

"Before I arrived at the encampment of the Indians, as I approached they all arose with one of their war-yells, which indeed awed me. You may imagine what my feelings were to behold so many savages. With forced courage I went to one of the chiefs, told him I had great news for his commander, and that he must take me to him, or they would be all lost. He did not understand me, but said, 'Woman! what does woman want here?' The scene by moonlight to some might have been grand, but to a weak woman certainly terrifying. With difficulty I got one of the chiefs to go with me to their commander. With the intelligence I gave him he formed his plans and saved his country. I have ever found the brave and noble Colonel Fitzgibbon a friend to me; may he prosper in the world to come as he has done in this.

"LAURA SECORD.

³ Chippewa, U. C., February 18, 1861."

Lieutenant Fitzgibbon was promoted to the rank of captain in the British army, and is now (1867) a Peer Knight of Windsor Castle. He gave Mrs. Secord a certificate setting forth the facts above recorded. It is signed "James Fitzgibbon, formerly Lieutenant in the Forty-ninth Regiment." That certificate is printed in the *Anglo-American Magazine*, and on page 115 of Auchincloss's *History of the War of 1812*, published in Toronto in 1855.

When the Prince of Wales was making a tour in Canada in 1860, the veteran soldiers of 1812 on the Niagara frontier went to Niagara to sign an address to his royal highness. Mrs. Secord applied for permission to place her name on the list. "Wherefore?" was the natural question. She told her story, and it was agreed that she was one of the most eminently deserving of honor among the patriots of that war. The story was repeated to the prince on his arrival at Queenston, and it made such an impression on his memory and kind heart, especially when it was said that the brave and patriotic woman was not "rich in this world's goods," that, soon after his return home, he caused the sum of one hundred pounds sterling to be presented to her. The likeness above given is from a daguerreotype kindly sent to me from Mrs. Secord by the hand of Mr. J. P. Merritt, of St. Catharine's.

The Terms of Surrender violated by the Indians. A bold Stroke for Liberty. Fort George invested by the British.

opp, and that the savages were becoming so exasperated that it would be difficult to keep them from massacring the Americans. Børstler believed, and was alarmed. He agreed to surrender on the conditions that the officers should retain their arms, horses, and baggage, and that the militia and volunteers, with Colonel Børstler (who was slightly wounded), should be permitted to return to the United States on parole.¹ By the time the capitulation was agreed to in final form, De Haven, who had been sent for by Fitzgibbon, came up with two hundred men and received the submission of the captives. The number of prisoners surrendered was five hundred and forty-two, and the spoils of victory were one 12-pounder, one 6-pounder, and a stand of colors.

The surrender was scarcely completed when the articles of the capitulation were violated. The Indians immediately commenced plundering the prisoners of their arms and clothing, and the militia and volunteers, instead of being released on parole, were taken to Burlington Heights and kept there as prisoners of war. Some of them escaped through the adroit management of Major Chapin, who was soon sent, with a number of his volunteers, in two bateaux, in charge of Captain Showers and a guard, to Kingston, there to be held as prisoners. When within twelve miles of York they arose and overpowered the guard, crossed the lake in the night, and arrived safely at Fort Niagara with their jailers as prisoners.²

When Børstler's courier reached Dearborn, that commander sent Colonel Christie with three hundred men to re-enforce him. They pushed forward rapidly to Queenston, where they heard of the surrender of the Americans. Christie hastened back to camp with the sad intelligence. It caused alarm there that was speedily justified by events. The British advanced upon Queenston, and, occupying that place and vicinity, soon invested the Americans at Fort George with a formidable force. General Vincent, with a small force, held Burlington Heights, and General De Rottenburg was encamped with a strong body at Ten-mile Creek. Dearborn, whose career as chief had been singularly unsuccessful, was soon superseded by a more incompetent and less trustworthy man, General Wilkinson,³ whose movements on the Northern frontier present a series of blunders and disasters.⁴

¹ This capitulation, in four brief articles, the substance of which is given in the text, was signed on the part of Colonel Børstler by Captain Andrew M'Dowell, and on that of Lieutenant Colonel Bishopp by Major P. V. De Haven. Captain Merritt, in his MS. Narrative, says that Captain Norton, of the Indian force, humorously declared that the Caughnawagas fought the battle, the Mohawks got the plunder, and Fitzgibbon got the credit. "The greater part of the Caughnawagas," says Merritt, "were displeased, and returned home in a few days afterward, which at this time was a very great loss."

² Major Chapin, in his *Review of Armstrong's Notices of the War of 1812*, page 16, says that he was placed in one boat with a principal part of the guard, and Captain Sackrider and a greater portion of the prisoners in the other boat. Orders had been given for the boats to keep some rods apart, one ahead of the other. After they had passed out of Burlington Bay upon the open lake, Chapin made a signal to Sackrider in the hinder boat, which the Americans were rowing, to come up closer. He gave the word in whispers to the men, and while the major was amusing the British captain with a story, the hinder boat came up under the stern of the forward one. It was ordered back, when Chapin, with loud voice, ordered his men not to fall back an inch. Captain Showers attempted to draw his sword, and some of his men thrust at Chapin with bayonets. The latter prostrated the captain with a blow. He fell in the bottom of the boat, and two of his men who were thrusting at Chapin fell upon him. The latter immediately stepped upon them. The guard in both boats were speedily overcome and secured. "I succeeded to the command of our fleet of two bateaux," says Chapin, "with no little alacrity. We shifted our course, crossed Lake Ontario, and with the boats and prisoners arrived the next morning safe at Fort Niagara."

³ Congress was in session when this "climax of continual tidings of mismanagement and misfortune" reached Washington. The late Charles J. Ingersoll, one of the historians of the war, was then a member of the House of Representatives. The intelligence produced great irritation. "On the 6th of July, 1813, therefore," says Ingersoll, "after a short accidental communion of regret and impatience in the lobby of the House of Representatives with the Speaker and General Ringgold, of Maryland, I was deputed a volunteer to wait on the President, and request General Dearborn's removal from a command which, so far, had been so unfortunate." The recall of General Dearborn immediately followed this request, and on the 15th of July that officer, who had performed noble service in the Continental army, took leave of that on the Niagara frontier, at Fort George, pursuant to an order from the Secretary of War that he should "retire from command until his health should be re-established." "The Northern army," says Ingersoll, "relieved of a veteran leader whose age and health disqualified him for active and enterprising services, in his successor, General Wilkinson, did not get a younger, healthier, or more competent commander."—*Historical Sketch of the Second War*, etc., i., 288.

⁴ The authorities consulted in the preparation of the foregoing narrative are the official dispatches; statements of officers; the Histories of Thompson, Perkins, Conner, Brackenridge, Ingersoll, James, Christie, Auchincloss; Stone's *Life of Brant*; Chapin's *Review of Armstrong*; Merritt's MS. narrative; personal narratives of survivors, etc.

It was in sultry August, 1860, that I visited the scenes of Børstler's march and disaster, and places in the vicinity. I have already mentioned my trip from Queenston to St. Catharine's, and so on to Hamilton, Paris, Brantford, and the Indian settlements on the Grand River in Canada.¹ It was at that time that I stopped at St. Catharine's for the purpose of seeing the Honorable William Hamilton Merritt, the brave British cavalry officer already mentioned, and of visiting places of interest near. I arrived there on Saturday evening, and at a boarding-house where I procured lodgings I had the pleasure of meeting the family of a once valued acquaintance in Virginia, who were seeking health from the use of the powerful mineral waters that flow up copiously there from the deep recesses of the earth.² Little did I think that within a few months the accomplished head of that family, whom I had learned to esteem most highly, would be seduced from his allegiance to the flag of his country, under which he had served with fidelity and distinction for five-and-thirty years, and become the general-in-chief of armies in rebellion against the government of the Republic! He held the narrow view of American citizenship, engendered by the doctrine of supreme state sovereignty, expressed in the words "I go with my state," and followed the terrible fortunes of his native Virginia when her political charlatans—her selfish trading politicians—declared her secession from the Union, and brought ruin on her people.

I was unfortunate in not finding Mr. Merritt at home. As a member of the Canadian Parliament, he had gone to Quebec to receive the Prince of Wales. To his son, Mr. J. P. Merritt, I am indebted for many kind courtesies while there. He gave me free access to his father's military papers, and kindly lent me the MS. Narrative of Events in the campaigns on the Canadian Peninsula already referred to.

Early on Monday morning,³ after a night made memorable by a fearful thunder-storm, I started for the Beaver Dams, accompanied by Mr. Merritt. On the way I sketched the ancient German church delineated on page 620; and early in the forenoon we reached the house of the Reverend Dr. Fuller by the famous Beech Woods where Børstler was first attacked. From the roof of his dwelling we obtained a fine view of the Beaver Dams' battle-ground and the theatre of Børstler's misfortunes, and from that elevation made the sketch seen at the top of the picture on the following page. On the right is seen the Beech Wood, and through the centre Beaver Dams' Creek. On the left is seen the turn of the road where Børstler's cannon were planted, and a little to the right of it is the stone house of Mr. Shriner, whose orchard, adjoining it, was the place where Børstler surrendered to De Haven. The two-story house on the right of the picture is De Cou's, and the cascade on the left is a view of De Cou's Falls, in Twelve-mile Creek.

From Dr. Fuller's we rode on through Beaver Dam village to De Cou's, passing on the way the smoking ruins of a barn which had been fired by lightning during the night. The famous house was of stone, two stories in height, spacious, with ornamental shrubbery around it. It was in an elevated, fertile, and beautiful region. After sketching the building we passed on to the lake slopes of the hills, and, following a farm-road a little distance, came to De Cou's Falls, where the Twelve-mile Creek pours over a ledge of rocks, semicircular in form, into a wild ravine, in a perpendicular cascade of sixty feet. The sides of the ravine are very precipitous, and covered chiefly with evergreens. With much difficulty and some danger, I made my

¹ See page 420.

² The city of St. Catharine's, on the Twelve-mile Creek, the Welland Canal, and the Great Western Railway, was known as "Chipman's" during the war. It is between twelve and thirteen miles west from the Niagara River. It is a port of entry (Port Dalhousie is at the mouth of the creek), is beautifully situated, and threatens to rival Hamilton. Its mineral springs are very noted for their healing properties, and St. Catharine's has become a place of great resort for invalids and fashionable people. It is a very desirable place for those who love a quiet watering-place for a few weeks in summer. The population is about seven thousand.

August 20,
1860.



BATTLE-GROUND.

way to its wild depths, and obtained a favorable position for a sketch of the Falls, on the crown of which, shaded by cedars and hemlocks, were the remains of an old mill. A fourth of a mile below was another fall of thirty feet, where the ravine deepens and darkens, for the whole declivity down which the stream pours toward the plain is covered with a dense forest.



DE COU'S STONE HOUSE.

We made our way along a most picturesque road among the hills to the fertile rolling plain below, and stopped at the little log cottage of Captain James Dittrick, a bachelor of seventy-five, and a veteran of the War of 1812.

James Dittrick

He was commander of the Fourth Lincoln company, and was in the battles at Queenston, Fort George, and Niagara, or Lundy's Lane, and was active on the frontier and over the peninsula during the whole of the war. He arrived at the Beaver Dams a few minutes after the surrender of Bærstler, and participated in the joy of the occasion. Captain Dittrick was a bald-headed, heavy man, very pleasant and communicative—ready to "fight his battles o'er again" by his hearthstone. Our visit was made too short for our pleasure and profit by the rumbling of thunder. We rode on to St. Catharine's, where we arrived in time to escape a drenching shower. I dined with Mr. Merritt and his father's family, and had

the pleasure of meeting at the table the widow of the eminent Jesse Hawley, who was a distinguished citizen of Western New York, to whom Governor De Witt Clinton (autograph letter now before me) gave the credit of being the chief projector of that great work of internal improvement, the Erie Canal. He published a series of



DE COU'S FALLS.

Visit to Hamilton and Stony Creek.

A Refugee from the Wyoming Valley.

Departure for Brantford.

able letters over the signature of "Hercules," whose wise suggestions led to the construction of that mighty work which immortalized the name of Clinton, and added millions to the wealth of New York.¹

I left St. Catharine's toward evening for the beautiful city of Hamilton, at the head of the lake. The railway passes through a most charming country lying between the "Mountain" or ancient shore of Ontario and the lake. This mountain approaches the lake within three fourths of a mile at Hamilton, and then, turning more southward, assists in forming the deep valley in which Dundas lies nestled. I passed the night at the Royal Hotel in Hamilton, and at six o'clock the next morning started in a light wagon for Stony Creek, seven miles eastward, over a fine stone road. I was directed to Colonel Daniel Lewis for information concerning the battle and its localities. His residence was a little northward of the village, but he was absent. From Mr. Heales, residing there, I obtained all needful knowledge respecting the place of the encampment and the combat. After making the sketch on page 603, I returned to the village, made my way half a mile southward of it, and took a hasty glance at the pouring down of Stony Creek from the "Mountain" in a perpendicular fall of one hundred and thirty feet into a deep, narrow gorge. Wishing to depart from Hamilton for Paris at twelve o'clock, I did not linger long at the falls. On my way back I stopped at the house of Mr. Michael Aikman to obtain some information concerning the place of the British encampment on Burlington Heights. He too was absent, but I spent a most interesting half hour with his mother, Mrs. Hannah Aikman, a small, delicate woman, then ninety-one years of age. She was the daughter of Michael Showers, a Tory refugee from the Wyoming Valley. She and her family were in Wintermoot's Fort, and her father was one of Butler's Rangers. After the battle there they were compelled to fly. They went up the Susquehanna, and across the country by way of the Genesee, intending to go to Niagara by the lake in a small boat which they took with them. It was so injured that it could not be used. The father walked to Fort Niagara for relief, and for a week his family subsisted on roots which they dug from the soil. They were timely relieved by some Mississagua Indians. Her father was one of the settlers with Butler's Rangers on the Canadian peninsula, and for almost seventy years she had lived at her then place of abode.² When I told her of my visit to Wintermoot's house, and described it as she remembered it, and spoke of the Wintermoots, the Burnets, the Hallenbecks, the Dorrances, and others whom she knew, her eyes brightened, and she said it seemed as if one of her old neighbors had come to see her.

I reached Hamilton³ just in time to take the cars for the West, and, as I have already mentioned, arrived at Brantford, on the Grand River, that evening. Of my visit to the Indian settlements in that vicinity I have elsewhere written.⁴

¹ It is proper to say here that the project of a canal to connect the waters of Lake Erie with those of the Hudson River was contemplated by General Philip Schuyler, Elkanah Watson, and Christopher Colles, many of years before Mr. Hawley wrote his convincing letters.

² I have before mentioned in this work that, after the Revolution, Butler's Rangers and other refugees from the United States settled on the Canadian peninsula. Each one of Butler's Rangers, almost five hundred in number, was presented with a thousand acres of land in this then wilderness, and that district, of which there were four in the province, was called Nassau. Governor Haldimand, a German, named the four districts respectively, beginning at the Detroit, Hesse, Nassau, Mecklenburg, and Lunenburg. Haldimand was a great friend of the Canadians; but Simcoe, desirous of making the province as English as possible, and denoting native nationality, gave British names to almost every place. In this spirit he changed the name of Toronto to York, in honor of a victory by the Duke of York on the Continent.

³ Hamilton was laid out in 1813, and is situated on the southwestern extremity of Burlington Bay. It is the chief city of West Canada, having a population of about 24,000. Burlington Heights are composed of an immense deposit of gravel, sand, and loam. The village of Burlington was the germ of the city of Hamilton, and stood on its site. The Great Western Railway passes along the shore of the bay, at the foot of the heights, and crosses the Des Jardins Canal, which is cut directly through the great hill north of the cemetery and the residence of the late Sir Allan M^cNab. The present railway bridge over the canal is of iron, and seventy feet above the water. The first one was of wood. It gave way, with a train of cars upon it, in March, 1867, when fifty-six persons were killed. In the cemetery may be seen the remains of General Vincent's fortified camp. They form a ridge across the grounds (which comprise about twenty-seven acres), running east and west. The palatial residence of the late Sir Allan M^cNab is called Dundurn Castle. It is built of limestone, fronts southeast, overlooking the bay and Hamilton, and is surrounded by about forty acres of land.

⁴ See pages from 420 to 425, inclusive.

General Boyd, being the senior officer on the Niagara frontier, became temporary commander-in-chief there after the departure of General Dearborn. He found his position an important and arduous one. The success of the British at the Beaver Dams made them bold, and they were gradually closing upon the Americans at Fort George and Newark. Frequent picket skirmishing occurred, and bold raids into the American territory were performed. One of these occurred on the night of the 4th of

July.¹ A party composed of Canadian militia and Indians, and led by Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Clark, crossed the Niagara from Chippewa to Schlosser, captured the guard there, seized a large quantity of provisions, one brass 6-pounder cannon, several stands of arms, and some ammunition. With these spoils they returned in triumph to the Canada shore.

Four days later a sad tragedy was performed near the residences of John and Peter Ball,¹ about a mile and a half from Fort George. The gallant young leader, Merritt, then just twenty years of age, was sent with a small party to recover some medicines near Ball's which the British had concealed when they fled from Fort George in May. A body of one hundred and fifty savages, just arrived from the Western wilderness, under Captain M. Elliott, and led by the bloody Blackbird, of Chicago fame,² were employed as a covering party. Merritt was encamped, and while breakfasting at Ball's a skirmish with an American picket-guard took place not far off. Lieutenant Eldridge (then adjutant), with thirty-nine volunteers, went out to the relief of the guard, and a larger force, under Major Malcolm, prepared to follow. The impetuous Eldridge dashed forward into the thick wood, and fell into an ambush prepared for him by Blackbird and his followers. The foe was repulsed at first, but overwhelming numbers crushed Eldridge and his little party.³ Only five escaped. The prisoners and wounded were butchered and scalped by the Western savages, whose conduct on the occasion was marked by the most atrocious barbarity.⁴ This was so shocking and exasperating that General Boyd resolved to adopt Washington's plan of having "Indians fight Indians," and to accept the services of the Senecas and Tus-

¹ The Ball family still occupied this dwelling, I was informed, when I visited Niagara in 1860. They have, as a cherished relic, the military chapeau worn by the gallant Brock when he fell at Queenston.

² Joseph C. Eldridge was a native of New York. He entered the army as second lieutenant in the Thirteenth Regular Infantry in the spring of 1812. A year afterward he was promoted to first lieutenant, and appointed adjutant. He was distinguished for bravery at Stony Creek a month earlier, and was a young officer of great promise.

³ There are statements by American and British writers concerning this affair too widely differing to admit of reconciliation. Some of the American writers say that the force which fell upon Eldridge was composed of British and Indians, while British writers declare that no white man was present. The only statement that I have ever met from an eye-witness is that of the late Hon. William Hamilton Merritt in his MS. narrative, now before me, and from that I have drawn the facts up to the ambush. He says that he had no expectation of being in the fight, and that he and John Bell were the only two white persons engaged in it except a boy thirteen years old, whose father was a prisoner and dangerously wounded, and whose eldest brother was killed at Fort George. "This little fellow," says Merritt, "was determined to revenge the loss his family had sustained, and would not be persuaded to leave the field until his mother [Mrs. Law, whose house was on the ground] came out and took him away in her arms by force." An American officer, writing from Fort George the next day, said that two of the five survivors, and who were at first taken prisoners, stated that there were British soldiers in the ambush, painted as Indians, "with streaks of green and red around their eyes."

—*Niles's Register*, iv., 352.

Mr. Merritt says that his whole attention, after the fight, was given to the prisoners in the hands of Blackbird and his followers, and that his own life was threatened because he made intercession for those of the captives. "The poor devils," he says, "were crying and imploring me to save their lives, as I was the only white man they saw." He says that the Indians, after getting an interpreter, promised him that "the lives of the prisoners should be spared—would only frighten them a great deal, to prevent them coming again. I made a solemn vow," he continues, "if a prisoner was killed, never to go out with an Indian again." The savages violated their pledge, and butchered their prisoners with a barbarity too revolting to be repeated here. The American officer above alluded to says: "I break open this letter for the purpose of stating that the body (as is supposed) of Lieutenant Eldridge, the adjutant of the Thirteenth, has been brought in this moment, naked, mangled in the manner mentioned of the other." The excuse made for the murder of Eldridge was that, after he was made prisoner, he treacherously drew a concealed pistol and shot one of the chiefs through the head. This was Blackbird's reason for murdering *all*. Mr. Merritt speaks of Eldridge as "the officer who forfeited his life by firing at an Indian while a prisoner." He does not speak from his own knowledge. An investigation proved the assertion of the savage leader to be wholly untrue, and this crime (strange as it may appear) stands, uncondemned by British writers, one of pure barbarian cruelty.

The following least revolting recital is from a letter from an American officer to his friend in Baltimore, dated at Fort George, July 12: "A recital will make you shudder. I will merely mention the fate of a young officer who came under my notice, whose body was found, the day after the action, cut and mangled in the most shocking manner, his entrails torn from his body, and his heart stuffed in his mouth! We are resolved to show no quarter to the Indians after this."—*Niles's Weekly Register*, iv., 352.

Expedition against Black Rock.

General Porter hurries to its Defense.

Repulse of the British.

caroras, who had proffered them, under certain conditions which humanity would impose.

Clark's success at Schlosser suggested another and more important expedition. It was the surprise of the American naval station and deposit for stores and munitions of war at Black Rock, near Buffalo. It was organized by the gallant Lieutenant Colonel Cecil Bisshopp, of the British Forty-first. He left his head-quarters at Lundy's Lane on the afternoon of the 10th,^a with detachments from the Royal Artillery, and the Eighth, Forty-first, and Forty-ninth Regiments, and at Chippewa was joined by Lieutenant Colonel Clark, with a body of Lincoln militia and volunteers, making his whole force between three and four hundred in number. They embarked at Chippewa early in the evening, and at half an hour before dawn^b landed unperceived on the American shore, a short distance below Black Rock. The block-house there, called Fort Tompkins, was in charge of less than a dozen artillerymen; and the only other available military force at the station was about two hundred militia, under Major Adams, with two or three pieces of artillery. At Buffalo, two miles distant, were less than a hundred infantry and dragoon recruits from the South, on their way to Fort George, and a small body of Indians under Henry O'Bail, the young Corn-planter, who had been partially educated at Philadelphia, but who, Indian-like, could not brook the restraints of civilization, and had gone back to his blanket and feather head-dress. These forces were under the command of General Peter B. Porter, who was then residing at his house near Black Rock.¹

Bisshopp was accompanied by Colonel Warren. They surprised Major Adam's camp, and he and his alarmed militia fled precipitately to Buffalo, leaving the artillery unharmed on the ground. General Porter narrowly escaped capture in his own house. He made an unsuccessful attempt to reach Adam's camp when he learned of the flight of the militia and the garrison at the block-house. He followed on foot toward Buffalo, and on the way met Captain Cummings, with one hundred regulars, who, having heard of the invasion, was advancing toward Black Rock. In the mean time the enemy had fired the block-house and barracks, attacked the navy buildings and a schooner lying there, and the principal officers had gone to the house of General Porter, where they ordered breakfast. Their followers, and the re-enforcements continually coming over from the Canada shore, were employed meanwhile in plundering the inhabitants and public stores not destroyed by fire.

On meeting Captain Cummings, Porter ordered him to halt. Then, mounting the horse of one of the dragoons, he hastened to Buffalo, rallied about one half of Major Adam's militia, and, with these and about fifty volunteer citizens, he soon rejoined Cummings. With the united force and about forty Indians, he attacked the invaders, at eight o'clock, from three different points. The Indians, who were concealed in a ravine, arose from cover, and gave the appalling war-whoop at the moment of the attack, and added much to the surprise and confusion of the British, who did not expect the return of the Americans. After a short, spirited contest, the foe were beaten, and driven in confusion toward their boats, now moored near the present ferry, where they rallied. Porter now concentrated his own forces, and fell upon Bisshopp with so much power that, after a contest of not more than twenty minutes, he fled with precipitation to his boats, leaving nine killed and sixteen or eighteen prisoners, among whom was Captain Saunders, of Bisshopp's regiment, who was badly wounded.² He was carried gently by the Indians in blankets to General Porter's house.³ The Brit-

¹ See page 426.

² Stone's Life of Brant, page 242; Lieutenant Colonel Clarke's Official Report to Lieutenant Colonel Harvey, dated Chippewa, July 12, 1813. Mr. Stone says that, after he had written his account of the affair at Black Rock, he placed his manuscript in the hands of General Porter, who was then living. The general not only corrected it, but rewrote the whole narrative, the substance of which is given in the text.

³ The Indians, after taking from Captain Saunders his cap, epaulettes, sword, and belt, carried him gently to Porter's house. He was wounded by a rifle-ball passing through his chest and lungs, and another shattering his wrist. He re-

Death of Bishopp. His Monument. Expedition to Burlington Heights. Descent on York.

ish suffered a greater loss after they had reached their boats.¹ Among those mortally wounded was the commander of the expedition, a gallant young man, thirty years of age. He was conveyed in sadness to his head-quarters at Lundy's Lane, where, after lingering five days, he died. He was buried in the bosom of a green slope, in a small cemetery on the south side of Lundy's Lane, a short distance from



BISHOPP'S MONUMENT.

the great cataract of the Niagara, by his brother officers, who erected over his grave a neat monument. In the course of time it fell into decay, and thirty-three years afterward the sisters of the young soldier replaced it by another and more elegant one. Upon the recumbent slab that surmounts it is an appropriate inscription.²

During the remainder of the summer there were frequent skirmishes in the neighborhood of Fort George, caused by attacks upon American foraging parties, but no enterprise of much importance was undertaken excepting an attempt to capture the British stores at Burlington Heights, known to be in charge of a feeble guard under Major Maule. This was attempted toward the end of July. Colonel Winfield Scott had just been promoted to the command of a double regiment (twenty companies), and had resigned the office of adjutant general. He was eager for distinction and useful service, and he volunteered to lead any land force that might be sent to the head of Ontario. Chauncey was then making gallant cruises about the lake. He had twelve vessels, and felt strong enough to cope with any force that might appear under Sir James Yeo.

The expedition to Burlington Heights was under the chief command of Chauncey. He appeared at the mouth of the Niagara River with his fleet on the 27th of July, and on the following day he sailed for the head of Ontario, with three hundred land troops under Colonel Scott. Meanwhile Colonel Harvey had taken measures for the security of the British stores at Burlington. Lieutenant Colonel Battersby was ordered from York with a part of the Glengary corps to re-enforce the guard under Major Maule. By forced marches Battersby joined Maule before Chauncey's arrival. That officer and Scott soon perceived that their force was insufficient for the prescribed work. Convinced of this, and informed of the defenseless state of York on account of the withdrawal of Battersby's detachment, Chauncey spread his sails, went across the lake, and entered that harbor on the 31st. Colonel Scott landed his troops without opposition, took possession of the place, burnt the barracks, public storehouses and stores, and eleven transports, destroyed five pieces of cannon, and bore

maintained at Porter's, kindly treated and attended by his wife, who was sent for, for about three weeks, when he was sufficiently recovered to be sent to the rendezvous of prisoners at Williamsville.—*Stone's Life of Red Jacket*, page 246.

¹ The entire loss of the British during this expedition, in killed, wounded, and missing, must have been almost seventy. Some estimated it as high as one hundred. The loss of the Americans was three killed and five wounded. Two of the latter were Indians. The destruction of property was not so great as has been generally represented. The Americans did not lose, by destruction or plunder, more than one third of the valuable naval stores at Black Rock, collected for Commodore Perry, nor did they reach a particle of the military stores for the use of the army, then deposited at Buffalo. The enemy destroyed or captured 4 cannon, 177 English and French muskets, 1 three-pounder traveling carriage, 6 ammunition kegs, a small quantity of round and case shot, 123 barrels of salt, 46 barrels of whiskey, considerable clothing and blankets, and a small quantity of other stores.—*Clark's Official Report*.

² The following is a copy of the inscription:

"Sacred to the memory of Lieutenant Colonel the Honorable Cecil Bishopp, 1st Foot Guards, and inspecting field-officer in Upper Canada, eldest and only surviving son of Sir Cecil Bishopp, Bart., Baron de la Fouché, in England. After having served with distinction in the British army in Holland, Spain, and Portugal, he died on the 16th of July, 1813, aged 30, in consequence of wounds received in action with the enemy at Black Rock on the 11th of the same month, to the great grief of his family and friends, and is buried here.

"This tomb, erected at the time by his brother officers, becoming much dilapidated, is now (1846) renewed by his affectionate sisters, the Baroness de la Fouché and the Honorable Mrs. Rechell, in memory of an excellent man and beloved brother."

Lieutenant Colonel Bishopp received a severe, but not mortal wound while on shore, and four or five others after he entered his boat. The gallant Fitzgibbon took charge of him, and conveyed him as tenderly as possible from Chippewa to Lundy's Lane.

General Dearborn succeeded by General Wilkinson. Arrival of the Latter at Washington. Indian skirmishing.

away as spoils one heavy gun and a considerable quantity of provisions, chiefly of flour. The expedition returned to the Niagara on the 3d of August, carrying with them the sick and wounded of Bœrstler's command found in York. No military movements of much importance occurred on that frontier after this until late in the year.¹

Four days after the return to the Niagara, while Chauncey's fleet was lying at anchor in the mouth of the river, a British squadron under Sir James Yeo made its appearance. Chauncey went out to attack the baronet. They manœuvred all day, and after midnight, during a heavy squall, two of the American vessels were capsized and lost, with all on board excepting sixteen. This movement we shall consider hereafter, in giving a connected account of the naval operations on Lake Ontario during the year 1813.

We have noticed the retirement of General Dearborn from the command of the Northern Army. That measure had been decided upon by General Armstrong, the Secretary of War, full six months before it occurred. He considered the command of that army "a burden too heavy for General Dearborn to carry with advantage to the nation or credit to himself," and two remedies were suggested to the Secretary's mind—"the one a prompt and peremptory recall, the other such an augmentation of his staff as would secure to the army better instruction, and to himself the chance of wiser councils."² The former remedy was chosen, and General James Wilkinson, then in command in the Gulf region, and General Wade Hampton, stationed at Norfolk, in Virginia, were ordered to the Northern frontier. These men had been active officers in the old War for Independence, the first on the staff of General Gates, and the second as a partisan ranger in South Carolina in connection with Marion. Unfortunately for the good of the public service, they were now bitter enemies, and so jealous of each other that they would not co-operate, as we shall observe, at a critical moment.

It was early in March when the Secretary's orders were sent to Wilkinson, and with them was a private letter from the same hand, breathing the most friendly spirit, and saying, "Why should you remain in your land of *cypress* when patriotism and ambition equally invite you to one where grows the *laurel*? . . . If our cards be well played we may renew the scenes of Saratoga."³ Wilkinson was flattered, and as soon as he could make his arrangements he left the "land of the cypress," journeyed through the Creek country by way of Fort Mims to the capital of Georgia, and thence northward to Washington City, where he arrived, weary and worn with several hundreds of miles of travel, and weak with sickness, on the 31st of July. He was cordially received by Armstrong and the President, and, after being allowed to rest a few days, and becoming formally invested with the power of commander-in-chief of the Army of the North in place of Dearborn, a plan of the proposed operations of that army during the remainder of the campaign, which the Secretary had laid before the Cabinet on the 23d of July,^a was presented to him for consideration,^b with an expressed desire that if he should perceive any thing objectionable in the plan he would freely suggest modifications.

At the beginning of the campaign Armstrong was anxious to secure the control

¹ There were frequent picket skirmishes. Among the most conspicuous of these was one that occurred near Fort George on the 16th of August while the belligerents were near each other. It was the first, of any account, in which the Indians of Western New York engaged after their alliance with the Americans, which had been made with the explicit understanding that they were not to kill the enemy who were wounded or prisoners, or take scalps. The occasion referred to was an effort to capture a strong British picket. About three hundred volunteers and Indians under Major Chapin and General Peter B. Porter, and two hundred regulars under Major Cummings, were sent out by General Boyd for the purpose. The primary object was defeated by a heavy rain, but a severe skirmish ensued, in which the enemy was routed, and twelve British Indians and four white soldiers were captured. The principal chiefs who led the American Indians were Farmer's Brother, Red Jacket, Little Billy, Pollard, Blacksnake, Johnson, Silver Heels, Captain Half-town, Major Henry O'Bail (Cornplanter's son), and Captain Cold, chief of the Onondagas.—*Boyd's Dispatch*.

² *Notices of the War of 1812*, ii., 23.

³ Armstrong to Wilkinson, March 12, 1813. Armstrong and Wilkinson were both members of General Gates's military staff during the campaign which resulted in the capture of Burgoyne at Saratoga in the autumn of 1777.

of the St. Lawrence by the capture of Kingston, but circumstances, as we have seen,¹ prevented an attempt to do so. That project was now revived, and had received the approval of the Cabinet. It did not strike Wilkinson favorably, and on the 6th of August, in a written communication to the Secretary, the general freely suggested modifications, saying, "Will it not be better to strengthen our force already at Fort George, cut up the British in that quarter, destroy Indian establishments, and (should General Harrison fail in his object) march a detachment and capture Malden? After which, closing our operations on the peninsula, razing all works there, and leaving our settlements on the strait in tranquillity, descend like lightning with our whole force on Kingston, and, having reduced that place, and captured both garrison and shipping, go down the St. Lawrence and form a junction with Hampton's column,² if the lateness of the season should permit."³ The object of that junction was to make a combined attack on Montreal. The Secretary of War, always impatient when his opinions were disputed, at once conceived a dislike of his old companion in arms, whom he had invited so kindly to come North and win laurels, and from that time a widening estrangement existed. Long years afterward the Secretary wrote, "This strategic labor of the general had no tendency to increase the executive confidence in either his professional knowledge or judgment. Still the President hoped that if the opinions it contained were mildly rebuked, the general would abandon them, and, after joining the army, would hasten to execute the plan already communicated to him."⁴

Armstrong replied courteously to Wilkinson. He adhered to his own plan, but allowed that the fall of Kingston and the attainment of the control of the St. Lawrence might be as effectually accomplished indirectly by a quick movement down the river against Montreal, masked by a feigned attack on the former place. But he decidedly objected to any farther movements against the enemy on the Canadian peninsula, as they would but "wound the tail of the lion;"⁵ and Wilkinson departed for Sackett's Harbor^a without any definite plan of operations determined upon, while

^a August 11.
1813.

Armstrong sent instructions to General Boyd to keep within his lines at Fort George, and simply hold the enemy at bay, notwithstanding the American force was much larger than that of the British.

On his way to Sackett's Harbor Wilkinson sent from Albany his first orders to Hampton, as commander-in-chief of the Northern Army. This aroused the ire of the old aristocrat, whose landed possessions in South Carolina and Louisiana were almost princely, and whose slaves were numbered by thousands. His anger was intensified

^b August 23.

by his hatred of Wilkinson, and he immediately wrote to the Secretary of War,^b insisting that his was a separate command, and tendering his resignation in the event of his being compelled to act under Wilkinson. Wilkinson at the same time was distrustful of Armstrong, and evidently quite as jealous of his own rights, for on the 24th of August he wrote to the Secretary of War, saying, "I trust you will not interfere with my arrangements, or give orders within the district of my command, but to myself, because it would impair my authority and distract the public service. Two heads on the same shoulders make a monster." "Unhappily for the country," says Ingersoll, "that deplorable campaign was a monster with three heads, biting and barking at each other with a madness which destroyed them all and disgusted the country."⁶ This calamity we shall have occasion to consider hereafter.

^c August 20.

Wilkinson arrived at Sackett's Harbor late in August,^c and found himself nominally in command of between twelve and fourteen thousand troops, four thousand of them, under Hampton, at Burlington, composing the right wing, and the remainder equally divided between Sackett's Harbor, the centre, and

¹ See page 585.

² *Notices of the War of 1812*, H., 81.

³ Armstrong's letter to Wilkinson, August 8, 1813.

⁴ Hampton was on Lake Champlain, with his head-quarters at Burlington.

⁵ The same.

⁶ *Historical Sketch of the Second War*, etc., I., 300.

Wilkinson at Sackett's Harbor.

Affairs on the Niagara Frontier.

Scott marches for Sackett's Harbor.

Fort George, the left wing.¹ But his real effective force did not exceed nine thousand men. It had been a sickly summer on the frontier, especially on the Canadian peninsula, and the hospitals were full. The British force opposed to him amounted to about eight thousand. Their right was on Burlington Heights, their centre at Kings-ton, and their left at Montreal.

Wilkinson called a council of officers on the 28th.^a It was attended by ^{a August, 1813.} Generals Lewis, Brown, and Swartwout, and Commodore Chauncey. It was determined to concentrate at Sackett's Harbor all the troops of that department except those on Lake Champlain, preparatory to striking "a deadly blow somewhere."² Wilkinson accordingly hastened to Fort George, leaving Lewis in command at the Harbor, and arrived there on the 4th of September, extremely ill, after a fatiguing voyage the whole distance in an open boat. As soon as his strength would allow he assumed active command there, and on the 20th held a council of officers, at which Generals Boyd, Miller, and Williams, eleven colonels and lieutenant colonels, and ten majors, attended. It was resolved to abandon and destroy Fort George, and transfer the troops to the east end of Lake Ontario. But orders came from Washington to "put Fort George in a condition to resist assault; to leave there an efficient garrison of at least six hundred regular troops; to remove Captain Nathaniel Leonard, of the First Regiment of Artillery, from the command of Fort Niagara, and give it to Captain George Armistead, of the same regiment; to accept the services of a volunteer corps offered by General P. B. Porter and others, and to commit the command of Fort George and the Niagara frontier to Brigadier General Moses Porter."³ These instructions were but partially obeyed. Leonard was left in command of Fort Niagara; no arrangements were made for the acceptance of the volunteers; and Colonel Scott, instead of General Moses Porter, was placed in command of Fort George, with a garrison of about eight hundred regular troops, and a part of Colonel Philetus Swift's regiment of militia, instructed, in the anticipated event of the British abandoning that frontier, to leave the fort in command of Brigadier General M'Clure, of the New York Militia, and with his regulars join the expedition on the St. Lawrence. Having completed his arrangements, Wilkinson embarked with the Niagara army on Chauncey's fleet, and sailed eastward on the 2d of October.

Colonel Scott immediately set Captain Totten, of the Engineers, at work to strengthen the post over which, a few months before, he had unfurled the American flag for the first time. Much had been accomplished at the end of a week, when, suddenly, to the surprise of all, the British broke camp and hastened toward Burlington Heights. General Vincent had received intelligence of the defeat of Proctor on the Thames,⁴ and he instantly directed the concentration of all his forces at the head of the lake, to either meet Harrison, should he push in from the field of victory, or to renew the attempt to repossess themselves of the Niagara frontier. Proctor, with the small remnant of his vanquished army, joined Vincent on the 10th. This retrograde movement of the British was the contingency which Scott longed for, because he preferred active service down the St. Lawrence to garrison duty. He accordingly placed Fort George in command of General M'Clure, and crossed the river to the American shore with all the regulars on the 13th of October.^b He marched to the mouth of ^{b 1813.} the Genesee River, where he expected to find lake transportation for his troops. He was disappointed; and in drenching rain, and through deep mud, he pressed on with his little army by way of the sites of Rochester⁵ and Syracuse⁶ to Utica,⁷ where

¹ Report of the adjutant general, August 2, 1813.

² Minutes of the council.

³ Armstrong's *Notices of the War of 1812*.

⁴ See page 554.

⁵ The only dwelling then at the Falls of the Genesee, where the city of Rochester now stands, was the log house of Enos Stone, built in 1807. Now (1867) the population of Rochester is about 65,000.

⁶ Syracuse was then in embryo, in the form of a few huts of salt-boilers, and called by the village name, South Salina. It now (1867) contains a population of about 34,000.

⁷ Utica is on the site of old Fort Schuyler, a few miles eastward of the later Fort Schuyler, originally called Fort Stanwix, now Rome. It was then an incorporated post village, and considered the commercial capital of the great Western

Armstrong on the Frontier. The British threaten Fort George. It is abandoned. Newark burnt.

he struck the road that from there penetrated the Black River country.¹ There he met General Armstrong, who had left his post at Washington for the double purpose of reconciling the differences between Wilkinson and Hampton, and to superintend in person the movements of the St. Lawrence expedition. The Secretary permitted Scott to leave his troops in command of Major Hindman, and to push forward to Ogdensburg, where he joined Wilkinson, and took part in subsequent events of the expedition.

^a October 13, 1813. When Scott left Fort George^a it was believed that the British troops had been called from the west end of Lake Ontario to re-enforce the garrison at Kingston. Such order had been sent to Vincent by the timid Sir George Prevost when he heard of Proctor's disaster. On the receipt of it Vincent called a council of officers, when it was resolved to disobey it, and not only hold the peninsula, but endeavor to repossess every British post on the Niagara frontier. Meanwhile M'Clure was sending out foraging parties, who greatly alarmed and distressed the inhabitants. They appealed for protection to General Vincent, and he sent a detachment of about four hundred British troops under Colonel Murray, and about one hundred Indians under Captain M. Elliott, to drive the foragers back. The work was accomplished, and the Americans were very soon hemmed within their own lines by the foe, who took position at Twelve-mile Creek, now St. Catharine's.

While affairs were in this condition at Fort George General Harrison arrived there, as we have seen,² with the expectation of leading an expedition against Burlington Heights. But he was speedily ordered to embark, with all his troops, on Chauncey's squadron, for Sackett's Harbor. M'Clure was again alone^b with his volunteers and militia. The time of service of the latter was about to expire, and none could be induced to remain.³ Gloomy intelligence came from the St. Lawrence—Wilkinson's expedition had failed. Startling intelligence came from the westward—Lieutenant General Drummond, accompanied by Major General Riall, had lately arrived on the Peninsula, with re-enforcements from Kingston, and assumed chief command; and Murray, with his regulars and Indians, was moving toward Fort George. Its garrison was reduced to sixty effective regulars of the Twenty-fourth United States Infantry. These were in great peril, and M'Clure determined to abandon the post, and place his little garrison in Fort Niagara. The weather was extremely cold. Temperature had been faithful to the calendar, and winter had commenced in earnest on the 1st of December. Deep snow was upon the ground, and biting north winds came over the lake. "Shall I leave the foe comfortable quarters, and thus increase the danger to Fort Niagara?" he asked of the Spirit and Usage of War. They answered No, and with this decision, and under the sanction of an order from the itinerant War Department,⁴ he attempted to blow up the fort while his men were crossing^c the icy flood.⁵ Then he applied the brand to the beautiful village of Newark. One hundred and fifty houses were speedily laid in ashes.⁶ The inhabitants had been given only a few hours' warning; and,

District of New York. It was first called Old Fort Schuyler Village. At the time we are considering it had about 1700 inhabitants, and was a central point for all the principal avenues of communication. Its population now is about 25,000.

¹ The present Jefferson County was then known as the Black River country. ² See page 559.

³ "I offered a bounty of two dollars a month," says M'Clure, in the *Buffalo Gazette*, "for one or two months, but without effect. Some few of Colonel Bloom's regiment took the bounty, and immediately disappeared."

⁴ From Sackett's Harbor the Secretary of War wrote as follows:

"War Department, October 4, 1813.

"Sir,—Understanding that the defense of the post committed to your charge may render it proper to destroy the town of Newark, you are hereby directed to apprise the inhabitants of this circumstance, and invite them to remove themselves and their effects to some place of greater safety.

JOHN ARMSTRONG.

"Brigadier General M'Clure, or officer commanding at Fort George."

Behind this order General M'Clure took shelter when assailed by the public indignation.

⁵ Mr. E. Giddings, a printer, kept the ferry between the fort and Youngstown opposite at that time, and for many years succeeding the war he had charge of Fort Niagara. He narrowly escaped capture when the British took the fort in December, 1813.

⁶ Only one house was left standing. Mr. Merritt, in his Narrative, says: "Nothing but heaps of boats, and streets full of furniture that the inhabitants were fortunate enough to get out of their houses, met our eyes. My old quarters, Gordon's house, was the only one standing."

Sufferings of the Inhabitants.

Just Indignation of the British.

Fort Niagara surrendered.

with little food and clothing, a large number of helpless women and children were driven from their homes into the wintry air houseless wanderers.¹ Oh! it was a cruel act. War is always cruel, but this was more cruel than necessity demanded. It excited hot indignation and the spirit of vengeance, which soon caused the hand of retaliation to work fearfully. It provoked the commission of great injury to American property, and left a stain upon the American character.

Murray was at Twelve-mile Creek when he heard of the conflagration of Newark. He pressed on eagerly, hoping to surprise the garrison. He was a little too late, yet his swift approach had caused M'Clure to fly so precipitately that he failed to blow up the fort or destroy the barracks on the bank of the river; and he left behind tents sufficient to shelter fifteen hundred men. These, with several cannon, a large quantity of shot, and ten soldiers, fell into the hands of the British. That night the red cross of St. George floated over the fortress, and Murray's troops slumbered within its walls.

"Let us retaliate by fire and sword," said Murray to Drummond, as they gazed, with eyes flashing with indignation, upon the ruins of Newark. "Do so," said the commander, "swiftly and thoroughly;" and on the night of the 18th of December—a cold, black night—Murray crossed the river at Five-mile Meadows, three miles above Fort Niagara, with about a thousand men, British and Indians. With five hundred and fifty regulars he pressed on toward the fort, carrying axes, scaling-ladders, and other implements for assault, and shielded from observation by the thick cover of darkness. They captured the advanced pickets, secured silence, and, while the garrison were soundly sleeping, hovered around the fort in proper order for a systematic and simultaneous attack at different points. Five companies of the One Hundredth Regiment, under Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton, were to assail the main gate and escalade the adjacent works; three companies of the same regiment, under Captain Martin, were to storm the eastern demi-bastion; the Royal Scots Grenadiers, Captain Bailey, were to assault the salient angle of the fortification; and the flank companies of the Forty-first Regiment were ordered to support the principal attack.²

These preparations were unnecessary. Gross negligence or positive treachery had exposed the fort to easy capture. M'Clure had established his head-quarters at Buffalo, and when he left Niagara on the 12th,³ he charged Captain Leonard, ^{December, 1813.} commander of the garrison, to be vigilant and active, for invasion might be expected. This vigilance and activity the invaders had prepared for; but when, at about three o'clock in the morning, Hamilton went forward to assail the main gate, he found it standing wide open and unguarded! Leonard had left the fort the evening before at eleven o'clock, and spent the night with his family at his house three miles in the rear. He gave no hint to the garrison of expected assault, and his departure was without their knowledge.³ They were between three and four hundred strong in fairly effective men, and, with a competent and faithful commander, might have kept the invaders at bay. They had neither, and when the foe came there was no one to lead. The sentinels were seized, and in fear gave up the countersign to the foe, and the fort was entered without much resistance. The occupants of the south-eastern block-house, and the invalids of the Red Barracks, made such determined opposition for a few minutes that Lieutenant Nowlan and five men were killed, and Col-

¹ The unscrupulous James (il., 8) says: "General M'Clure gave about half an hour's notice to the inhabitants of Newark that he should burn down their village," and says very few believed him to be in earnest. General M'Clure, in a communication to the *Buffalo Gazette*, says: "The inhabitants had twelve hours' notice to remove their effects, and those who chose to come across the river were provided with all the necessaries of life."

² Colonel J. Murray's Report to Lieutenant General Drummond, December 19, 1813.

³ Captain Leonard was suspected of treason. It was stated by General M'Clure, six days after the capture of the fort, that he had given himself up to the enemy, "and that his family are now on the Canada side of the strait." It is known that he returned to the fort and became a prisoner. He was "disbanded," or dropped from the service not long afterward.



INTERIOR OF FORT NIAGARA.

onel Murray, three men, and a surgeon were wounded. This conflict was over before the remainder of the garrison were fairly awake to the cause of the tumult, and the fort was in possession of the foe. It might have been an almost bloodless victory had not the unhallowed spirit of revenge for the outrage at Newark demanded victims. Murray did not restrain that spirit, and a large number of the garrison, many of them invalids, were bayoneted after all resistance had ceased!¹ This horrid work was performed on Sunday morning, the 19th of December, 1813.

When Murray had gained full possession of the fort, he fired one of its largest cannon as a signal of success for the ear of General Riall, who, with a detachment of British regulars and about five hundred Indians, was waiting for it at Queenston. Riall immediately put his forces in motion, and at dawn crossed the Niagara to Lewiston, and took possession of the village without much opposition from Major Bennett and a detachment of militia who were stationed on Lewiston Heights at Fort Grey. At the same time a part of Murray's corps plundered and destroyed the little village of Youngstown (only six or eight houses), near Fort Niagara.

Full license was given by Riall to his Indian allies, and Lewiston was sacked, plundered, and destroyed—made a perfect desolation.² This accomplished, the invaders pushed on toward the little hamlet of Manchester (now Niagara Falls Village); but, when ascending Lewiston Heights, they were met and temporarily checked and driven back by the gallant Major Mallory, who, with forty Canadian volunteers, came down from Schlosser and fought the foe for two days as they pushed him steadily back toward Buffalo.³ He could do but little to stay the march of the desolator. The whole Niagara frontier on the American side, from Fort Niagara to Tonawanta Creek, a distance of thirty-six miles, and far into the interior, was swept with the be-

¹ The loss of the Americans was 80 killed—many of them hospital patients—14 wounded, and 344 made prisoners. Of the entire garrison only 20 escaped. The spoils consisted of 27 pieces of cannon, 2000 stand of arms and many rifles, an immense amount of ordnance and commissariat stores, and a large quantity of clothing and camp equipage of every description.

² A letter to the editor of *Niles's Weekly Register* from a gentleman on the frontier said: "They killed at and near Lewiston eight or ten of the inhabitants, who, when found, were all scalped with the exception of one, whose head was cut off. Among the bodies was that of a boy ten or twelve years old, stripped and scalped."

³ General M'Clure's Report to Governor Tompkins, dated at Buffalo, December 22, 1813.

som of destruction placed by British authority in the hands of savage pagans.¹ Manchester, Schlosser, and Tuscarora Village shared the fate of Youngstown and Lewiston.² Free course was given to the blood-thirsty Indians, and many innocent persons were butchered, and survivors were made to fly in terror through the deep snow to some forest shelter or remote cabin of a settler far beyond the invaders' track. Buffalo, too, would have been plundered and destroyed had not the progress of the foe been checked by the timely destruction of the bridge over the Tonewanta Creek.

But the respite for doomed Buffalo was short. Riall and his followers returned to Lewiston, crossed over to Queenston, and on the morning of the 28th appeared at Chippewa, under the command of Lieutenant General Drummond. In the mean time the alarm had spread over Western New York, and the inhabitants were thoroughly aroused. General M'Clure had sent out a stirring address³ to the "in-
December 18,
1813. habitants of Niagara, Genesee, and Chautauqua," urging them to repair immediately to Lewiston, Schlosser, and Buffalo.³ General Amos Hall, with his usual

alacrity, called out the militia and invited volunteers. His headquarters were at Batavia, where the government had an arsenal, thirty or forty miles eastward from Buffalo, and

E. A. Hall M. Genl

there General M'Clure resigned his command, and took orders from Hall. As fast as men were collected they were sent to Black Rock and Buffalo, and thitherward Hall hastened on the morning of the 25th. He reached Buffalo twenty-four hours after his departure from Batavia, and there found "a considerable body of irregular troops of various descriptions, disorganized and confused. Every thing wore the appearance of consternation and dismay."⁴ He ordered their immediate organization; and when, on the 27th, he reviewed the troops, he found their number to be a little more than two thousand at Buffalo and Black Rock.⁵

General Drummond advanced to a point nearly opposite Black Rock on the 29th, and reconnoitred the American camp. At midnight General Riall crossed with regulars, Canadians, and Indians, about a thousand strong, and landed where Bisshopp did, about two miles below Black Rock. Moving immediately forward, they encountered mounted pickets under Lieutenant Boughton, who, after a brief skirmish with the British vanguard, fled across Shogeoquady Creek.⁶ The enemy took possession of the "Sailors' Battery" there and the bridge, and then paused, while Boughton

¹ This was a hamlet. Augustus Porter, Esq., had valuable mills there. These were destroyed.

² A handbill printed at Montreal on the 28th of December, and cited by the *Plattsburg Republican* of January 1, 1814, contained an extract of a letter from "an officer of high rank" (Lieutenant General Drummond?) at Queenston, written on the 19th, in which the following passage occurs: "A war-whoop from five hundred of the most savage Indians (which they gave just at daylight, on hearing of the success of the attack on Fort Niagara) made the enemy take to their heels [at Lewiston], and our troops are in pursuit. We shall not stop until we have cleared the whole frontier. The Indians are retaliating the conflagration of Newark. *Not a house within my sight but is in flames.* This is a melancholy but just retaliation."

³ This address was issued on the day preceding the capture of Fort Niagara, M'Clure having been informed by his scouts of the preparations of the British to make a descent upon the American side of the Niagara.

⁴ Hall's Report to Governor Tompkins.

⁵ There were 129 mounted volunteers, under Lieutenant Colonel Boughton; 433 exempts and volunteers, under Lieutenant Colonel Blakelee, of Ontario; 136 Buffalo militia, under Colonel Chapin; 97 Canadian volunteers, under Major Mallory; 332 Genesee militia, under Major Adams. These were at Buffalo. At Black Rock were stationed 382 effective men, under Brigadier General Hopkins, composed of corps commanded by Lieutenant Colonels Warren and Churchill, exclusive of a body of 37 mounted infantry under Captain Ransom; 83 Indians, under Lieutenant Colonel Granger; 25 artillery, under Lieutenant Seely, with a 6-pounder; and about 300 Chautauqua Indians, under Lieutenant Colonel M'Mahon.—Hall's Report to Governor Tompkins, January 6, 1814.

⁶ See map on page 382.

* Major Benajah Mallory had been, in early youth, in the military service toward the close of the Revolutionary War. He had settled in Canada, but, with others, took sides with his own country, and became the commander of the famous partisan corps known as the "Canadian Refugees." He was in the severe battle at Niagara Falls, or Lundy's Lane, and assisted General Scott from the field after he was wounded. He resided many years in Lockport, New York, and when, in 1852, Scott stopped there on a journey, he recognized the veteran as one of his loved companions in arms.

hastened with news of the fact to General Hall's quarters, between Buffalo and Black Rock. The night was very dark. The troops at head-quarters were paraded, and Lieutenant Colonels Warren and Churchill (General Hopkins was absent from camp) were ordered to go forward with their corps and feel the position and strength of the enemy. They met the foe, and at the first fire they broke and fled, and were no more seen during the following day. Hall then ordered Adams and Chapin, with their commands, to the same duty, and the same result ensued; and at the dawn of the 30th he found himself in command of eight hundred troops less than at the evening twilight of the 29th. They had actually *deserted*.

Hall now advanced with his whole force, and ordered Lieutenant Colonel Blakeslee to move forward and commence the attack on the enemy's left. They marched toward Black Rock on the Hill Road, and in the dim light of early dawn saw a flotilla of British boats making for the shore near General Porter's mansion. These bore the Royal Scots, eight hundred in number, who landed under cover of a five-gun battery on the American shore, in the face of severe opposition. Their plan of attack was soon revealed to the American general, and he made his dispositions accordingly. Colonel Gordon, of the centre, with about four hundred Scots, commenced the attack, while the British left wing attempted to flank the American right. Hall quickly foiled this design by throwing Granger and his Indians, and Mallory and his Canadian Refugees, in the way of the enemy's advancing left wing. At the same time Blakeslee and his Ontario militia confronted the centre, and M'Mahon and his Chautauqua troops were posted as a reserve at the battery of Fort Tompkins,¹ which was commanded by the gallant Lieutenant John Seely.

The batteries on the Canada shore and the cannon of the Americans opened fire simultaneously and vigorously, while Blakeslee's men, cool as veterans, disputed the ground with the foe inch by inch. But the Indians and Canadians, lacking moral strength, gave way almost before a struggle was begun, and M'Mahon and his reserves were ordered to the breach. They, too, gave way and fled, and could not be rallied by their officers. Hall's power was thus completely broken, and he was placed in great peril. Deserted by a large portion of his troops, opposed by veterans, vastly outnumbered, and almost surrounded, he was compelled, for the safety of the remnant of his little army, to sound a retreat, after he had maintained the unequal conflict for half an hour. He tried to rally his troops, but in vain. The gallant Chapin, with a few of the bolder men, retired slowly along the present Niagara Street toward Buffalo, keeping the enemy partially in check,² while Hall, with the remainder, who were alarmed and scattered, retired to Eleven-mile Creek, where he rallied about three hundred men, who remained true to the old flag. With these he was enabled to cover the flight of the inhabitants, and to check the advance of the invaders into the interior.

The British and their Indian allies took possession of Buffalo,³ and proceeded to plunder, destroy, and slaughter. Only four buildings were left standing in the town. These were the jail (built of stone), the frame of a barn, Reese's blacksmith-shop, and the dwelling of Mrs. St. John, a resolute woman, who, more fortunate than her neigh-

¹ This battery, of three guns, was on the site of William Bird's house, and Fort Tompkins was on ground now occupied by the stables of the Niagara Street Railway Company. It had six pretty heavy guns, and was the largest work there.

² "Among these was Lieutenant John Seely, a carpenter and joiner, who lived on the corner of Auburn and Niagara Streets, and was lieutenant of a company of artillery at Black Rock. He had fought his pieces on the brow of the hill, on what is now Breckinridge Street, until he had but seven men and one horse left. Mounting the horse, which was harnessed to the gun, he brought it away with him, firing upon the enemy whenever occasion offered. Near where Mohawk Street joins Niagara was then a slough. Here Seely turned upon his foe. The gun was thrown off from its carriage by the discharge, but was quickly replaced, and taken to the village.—*Buffalo during the War of 1812*; a paper read before the Buffalo Historical Society, March 13, 1863, by WILLIAM DORNSEIMER, Esq.

³ The place was unofficially surrendered by Colonel Chapin to prevent farther bloodshed. He approached the British with a piece of his shirt as a flag of truce, and agreed to surrender on condition that private property should be respected. It was agreed to, and he and some other citizens became prisoners. When General Riall found that Chapin had no authority to surrender the city, he declared his own agreement void, and gave his marauders free play.

Destruction of Buffalo and Black Rock.

Murders by the Indians.

Horrors of retaliatory Warfare.

bor, Mrs. Lovejoy (who was murdered and burnt in her own house), saved her own life and her property.¹ At Black Rock only a single building escaped conflagration. It was a log house, in which women and children had taken refuge. The *Ariel*, *Little Belt*, *Chippewa*, and *Trippe*, vessels that performed service in the battle on Lake Erie a little more than a hundred days before, were committed to the flames. Fearful was the retaliation for the destruction of half-inhabited Newark, *where not a life was sacrificed!* Six villages, many isolated country houses, and four vessels were consumed; and the butchery of innocent persons at Fort Niagara, Lewiston, Schlosser, Tuscarora Village, Black Rock, and Buffalo, and in farm-houses, attested the fierceness of the enemy's revenge.²

¹ Mrs. St. John was a stout, resolute woman. I was informed by the venerable Dr. Trowbridge, of Buffalo, who was there at the time, that he went to the house of Mrs. St. John, begged her to leave because the Indians would kill her, offered her the use of his horse for the purpose, and assured her that he would take care of her children. She said, "I can't do it; here is all I have in the world, and I will stay and defend it." She did so, not by force but kindness of manner, and her life and property were spared. Mrs. Lovejoy was not so prudent. She, too, was resolute, but resisted the Indians by force when they came to the house. They killed and scalped her, and left her body, covered with the silk in which she was dressed, upon the floor. On the following day, when the savages came into the town again to complete their work of destruction, her house and corpse were consumed. The latter had been laid out across the cords of a bedstead by a neighbor. Her son, Henry Lovejoy (see note 2, page 357), now (1867) living in Buffalo, was then a lad twelve years of age, and was in the affair at Black Rock when Bishopp was repulsed, where he carried a flint-lock musket, too huge for his strength to bear it long. When the enemy approached at the time we are considering, this brave-hearted woman said to the boy, "Henry, you have fought against the British; you must run. They will take you prisoner. I am a woman; they'll not harm me." He fled to the woods. Her house stood on the site of the present Phoenix Hotel.

² In a letter of a gentleman to his wife in Albany, written on the 6th of January, 1814, from Le Roy, he says: "Numerous witnesses testify to the following facts: The Indians mangled and burned Mrs. Lovejoy in Buffalo; massacred two large families at Black Rock, namely, Mr. Luffer's and Mr. Lecori's; murdered Mr. Gardner; put all the sick to death at Youngstown, and killed, scalped, and mangled sixty at Fort Niagara after it was given up. Many dead bodies are yet lying unburied at Buffalo, mangled and scalped. Colonel Marvin counted thirty-three this morning. I met between Cayuga and this place upward of one hundred families in wagons, sleds, and sleighs, many of them with nothing but what they had on their backs; nor could they find places to stay at." The suffering of the fugitives was terrible.

The almost universal condemnation of General McClure for the destruction of Newark, and the manifold greater enormities committed in retaliation, caused Sir George Prevost to hasten before the world with an assurance that he should endeavor to stop that sort of warfare. He well knew that the judgment of mankind would pronounce farther prosecution of war on that plan to be atrocious, and, in a proclamation issued on the 12th of January, 1814, after justifying the retaliation thus far, said: "To those possessions of the enemy along the whole line of frontier which have hitherto remained undisturbed, and which are now at the mercy of the troops under his command, his Excellency has determined to extend the same forbearance, and the same freedom from rapine and plunder which they have hitherto experienced; and from this determination the future conduct of the American government shall alone induce him to depart."



Wilkinson concentrates his Forces.

The Secretary of War at Sackett's Harbor.

Colonel J. G. Swift

CHAPTER XXIX.

"For a nautical knight, a lady—heigh-ho!—
Felt her heart and her heart-strings to ache;
To view his dear person she looked to and fro.
The name of the knight was Sir James Lucas Yeo,
And the Lady—'twas she of the Lake."
OLD SONG—THE COURTEOUS KNIGHT, OR THE FLYING GALLANT.



GENERAL WILKINSON, as we have seen, arrived at Sackett's Harbor on the 20th of August, 1813, where he formally assumed command of the Northern Army, and, with the co-operation of a council of officers, formed a general plan of operations against the enemy at Kingston and down the St. Lawrence. His first care was to concentrate the forces of his command, which were scattered over an extensive and sparsely-settled country, some on the Niagara frontier, some at the eastern end of Lake Ontario

and on the St. Lawrence, and some on Lake Champlain. He accordingly directed those on the Niagara and at Sackett's Harbor to rendezvous on Grenadier Island, in the St. Lawrence, about eighteen miles from the Harbor, and at French Creek (now Clayton), about the same distance further down the river. Those composing the right wing, on Lake Champlain, were directed to move at the same time to the Can-

ada border, at "the mouth of the Chateaugay, or other point which would favor the junction of the forces and hold the enemy in check."



For the purpose of promoting harmony of action between Wilkinson and Hampton, as we have observed, and to add efficiency to projected movements, the Secretary of War, accompanied by the adjutant general, Colonel Walbach, established the seat of his department at Sackett's Harbor.^a He, and Wilkinson, and the late venerable General Joseph Gardner Swift (then chief engineer of the Northern Army, and bearing the commission of colonel¹) held consultations with Governor Tompkins at Albany, who, from the beginning, had employed his best energies for the promotion of the general good, and especially for the defense of his commonwealth against invasion.

Before considering Wilkinson's expedition, let us turn back a little, and take a

J. G. Swift

^a Joseph Gardner Swift was born in Nantucket on the last day of the year 1783. He entered the army as a cadet at Newport, Rhode Island, in 1800, and was the first graduate of the Military Academy at West Point. He became attached to a corps of United States Engineers, and in 1807, having attained the rank of captain, he was appointed commandant of West Point. He was military agent at Fort Johnson, South Carolina, early in 1812, and was soon afterward made an

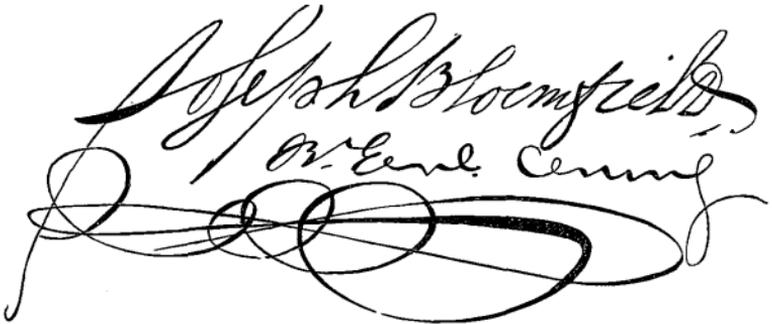
Governors Tompkins and Galusha.

General Dearborn moves into Canada.

glance at military and naval operations on Lake Champlain up to the autumn of 1813. We shall then better understand several aspects of that expedition.

When war was declared in June, 1812, zealous supporters of the national administration were governors of New York and Vermont,¹ between which lay important Lake Champlain. These magistrates, sustained by their respective Legislatures, seconded the administration in all its measures. The Legislature of Vermont prohibited all intercourse with Canada except with the permission of the governor, and they adopted measures for calling out the militia of the state when needed. New York was not a whit behind her sister of the Green Mountains in zeal and efficiency.

During the summer of 1812 Brigadier General Bloomfield was sent to the Cham-



Joseph Bloomfield
Brigadier General

plain frontier with several regiments, and on the 1st of September had collected about eight thousand men at Plattsburg—regulars, volunteers, and militia—besides some small advanced parties at Chazy and Champlain. General Dearborn arrived there soon afterward, and assumed direct command; and on the 16th of November he moved toward the Canada line with three thousand regulars and two thousand militia, and encamped upon the level ground near the present village of Rouse's Point. There he advanced across the line toward Odell Town, for what ultimate object no one knew, and on the banks of the La Colle, a tributary of the Sorel, he was confronted by a considerable force of voltigeurs, chasseurs, militia, and Indians, under Lieutenant Colonel De Salaberry, an active British commander.

On the morning of the 20th, just at dawn, Colonel Zebulon M. Pike, with about six hundred men, crossed the La Colle, and surrounded a block-house which had been occupied by a strong picket-guard of Canadians and Indians. These had fled during the previous evening. At about the same time a body of New York militia, who had been detached by another road, approached for the same purpose, and in the dim light of the early morning were mistaken by those at the block-house for enemies. Pike's men opened fire upon them, and for



A. de Salaberry

aid-de-camp to Major General C. C. Pinckney, of South Carolina, with the rank of lieutenant colonel. He succeeded Jonathan Williams as commander of the United States corps of Engineers, with the rank of colonel. For his valuable services on the St. Lawrence frontier in 1813 and 1814, and in defense of the city of New York, he was breveted brigadier general. He was connected with the Military Academy at West Point for several years after the war, and in 1818 he, with several officers of the corps, left the service because of the appointment of General Bernard, a French officer of distinction, to the control of important engineering services on the coast. For nine years General Swift was Surveyor of the port of New York, and from 1829 to 1845 he was superintendent of the harbor improvements on the Lakes. He was in charge of several important works as civil engineer, among which may be named the Baltimore and Susquehanna Railroad, the New Orleans and Lake Pontchartrain Railroad, and the Harlem Railroad. He went on a mission of peace, by order of President Harrison, to the British American Provinces in 1841, and in 1862 he made a tour in Europe. General Swift contributed many valuable papers to publications on scientific subjects. After 1830 he resided in Geneva, New York, spending his winters in Brooklyn, Long Island. I am indebted to him for many valuable letters relating to the subject of this work. He retained his mental faculties in great perfection until near the time of his death, which occurred at Geneva on the 23d of July, 1865.

¹ Daniel D. Tompkins was Governor of New York, and Jonas Galusha of Vermont.

Repulse of the British at La Colle.

They rally and defeat the Americans.

Lieut. Ward and Lieut. Col. Carr.

nearly half an hour a sharp contest was sustained. When they discovered their mistake, they found De Salaberry approaching in force with a strong advance guard, when Lieutenant Ward,¹ of the Twenty-ninth New York Militia, with his company of fifty men, moved slowly upon the enemy, and, after receiving three discharges from them without returning a shot, gave the order to fire and charge. This was promptly obeyed, and the appalled foe, taken completely by surprise, were driven back to the main body. This gallant performance of the lieutenant elicited the highest praise from his superiors. But De Salaberry's force was too overwhelming to be successfully withstood. To the Americans a retreat was sounded, and they fled so precipitately that they left five of their number dead and five wounded on the field.² It was a fruitless expedition, and the army returned to



Robert Carr

¹ November 23, 1812. Plattsburg³ out of humor and depressed in spirits. Three of the regiments of regulars went into winter

¹ Lieutenant Aaron Ward received his commission on the 30th of April, 1813. He was promoted to captain a year later. At the close of the war he was charged with the conducting of the first detachment of British prisoners from the States to Canada. Law was his chosen profession, and in 1825 he became a law-maker by being elected a representative of his district in the State of New York in the National Congress. He was an active and efficient worker, and his constituents were so well satisfied with his services that he kept his seat twelve out of eighteen consecutive years. He assisted in framing the new Constitution of the State of New York in 1846, and after that he declined to engage in public life. He traveled extensively abroad in 1850, and afterward published a very interesting volume, entitled *Around the Pyramids*. For many years he was major general of the militia of Westchester County. He died early in 1867. His residence was at a beautiful spot overlooking the village of Sing Sing, and the Hudson and its scenery from the Highlands to Hoboken.

² MS. Journal of Colonel Robert Carr. *Christie's History of the War in the Canadas*, page 90. Robert Carr, whose journal is here cited, was born in Ireland on the 29th of January, 1775. He came to America at the age of six years, and settled, with his father, in Philadelphia. They lived next door to Dr. Franklin, and he was often employed by that great man as an errand-boy. He learned the art of printing with Benjamin Franklin Bache, a grandson of Dr. Franklin, with whom he commenced his apprenticeship in 1792. He rose to the head of his profession, and in 1804 received a first premium as the best printer in Philadelphia. He printed *Wilson's Ornithology* from manuscript; also *Rose's Cyclopaedia*. In March, 1812, he received the commission of major in the Sixteenth Regiment of Infantry, and in August, 1813, was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel of the Ninth, from which he was transferred to the Fifteenth. He was disbanded in 1815, and for several years he was the last surviving field-officer of the army of 1812 in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, or Delaware. He was a member of the *McPherson Blues* of Philadelphia, and one of the firing party on the occasion of the Congressional funeral of Washington in that city. See note 4, page 110.

Colonel Carr married a daughter of William Bartram, proprietor of the celebrated Botanical Gardens near Philadelphia, and in right of his wife, carried on the establishment from the year 1809 to 1850, a period of more than thirty years. From 1821 to 1824 he was adjutant general of the State of Pennsylvania; and, by order of the Legislature, he compiled a work on "Rules and Regulations for the Field Exercise." He was a long time an alderman and a justice of the peace in Philadelphia, and has ever been held in the highest esteem by his fellow-citizens. Deprived of his property in his old age by the vicissitudes of fortune, he was for some time gate-keeper at the Pennsylvania *Asylum for the Insane*, situated in a beautiful spot beyond the Schuylkill. There I visited him on a blustery afternoon late in November, 1861, when he was almost eighty-four years of age. He was in excellent health and spirits, and assured me that he had not been sick in more than sixty years. He had led a strictly temperate life, never having been intoxicated but once. It was when he was a boy, and was produced by eating rum-cherries. A month before I visited him he had been among the American camps in Virginia, near Arlington Heights, where he walked seventeen miles in one day, and attended a theatre in Washington the same evening. "I could have danced a cotillon after that," he said. He attended the celebration of Bradford's birth-day by the New York Historical Society in May, 1862, as a delegate from Philadelphia, and was then doubtless the oldest printer in the United States. On the 22d of February, 1864, Colonel Carr, then past eighty-six years of age, read Washington's Farewell Address before the veteran soldiers of the War of 1812, at the Union soldiers' celebration in Philadelphia. He never used spectacles, excepting when his photograph was taken, yet he wrote with grace and facility until the time of his death, which occurred in Philadelphia on the 15th of March, 1866. He kindly lent me his Diary, kept during the War of 1812. It is written in a fine hand, and contains much valuable matter. I shall ever remember with pleasure my interview with an errand-boy of Dr. Franklin, and one who had read *rueur*, as a printer, with President Washington when correcting his own compositions.

End of Dearborn's Canada Expedition. Preparations for War on Lake Champlain. Early Naval Operations there.

quarters at Plattsburg, and three others at Burlington, the former under the command of Colonel Pike, and the latter under Brigadier General Chandler. The light artillery and dragoons returned to Greenbush (opposite Albany), the head-quarters of General Dearborn, and the militia were disbanded.

There were no farther military movements on Lake Champlain of special importance until July, 1813. Naval preparations had been somewhat active under the superintendence of Lieutenant Thomas Macdonough, who, in the fall of 1812, superseded Lieutenant Sidney Smith in the command on Lake Champlain.¹ When war was declared the whole American naval force on the lake consisted of only two gun-boats that lay in Basin Harbor on the Vermont shore.² Two small sloops and four bateaux were fitted up and armed, each carrying a long eighteen-pounder. The British had two or three gun-boats and armed galleys in the Richelieu, or Sorel River, the outlet of Lake Champlain into the St. Lawrence.

In the spring of 1813 Macdonough put the new-armed sloops *Growler* and *Eagle* afloat, the former commanded by Lieutenant Smith and the latter by Mr. Loomis. At the beginning of June intelligence came that the British gun-boats had attacked some American small craft near Rouse's Point. Macdonough ordered Smith, with the *Growler* and *Eagle*, and one hundred and twelve men (including Captain Herrick and thirty-three volunteers), to look after the matter, and, on the evening of the 2d of June,^a these vessels anchored near Rouse's Point, within a mile of the Canada line. On the following morning they went down the Sorel with a stiff favoring breeze from the south, and at Arch Island gave chase to three British gun-boats. The pursuit continued to a point within sight of the fortifications on *Isle aux Noix*, where prudence caused Smith to tack and beat up the Sorel against the wind. When this movement was discovered by the British, three armed row-galleys were sent out from the shelter of the batteries on the island, and gave chase. They soon opened upon the flying sloops with long twenty-four pounders. At the same time a land force was sent out on each side of the river, who poured severe volleys of musketry upon the decks of the *Growler* and *Eagle*. These were answered by grape and canister. This running fight had been kept up for about four hours, when a heavy cannon-shot tore planking from the *Eagle* below water, and she went down almost immediately. At about the same time the *Growler* became disabled and ran ashore, and the people of both vessels were made prisoners. The Americans lost in the engagement one killed and nineteen wounded. The loss of the British was much greater—probably at least one hundred. But they gained a victory, and with it secured, for the time, the full control of the lake. The captured sloops were refitted by them, named respectively *Finch* and *Chubb*, and placed in the British naval service. Macdonough recaptured them at Plattsburg in September the following year.

Macdonough was not disheartened by his loss. It stimulated him to greater exertions, and by the 6th of August he had fitted out and armed three sloops and six gun-boats. Meanwhile a British force of soldiers, sailors, and marines, fourteen hundred strong, under Colonel J. Murray, conveyed in two sloops of war, three gun-boats, and forty-seven long boats, had fallen upon Plattsburg.^b That place was entirely uncovered, there being no regular troops on the west side of the lake. The enemy landed on Saturday afternoon without opposition, and began a work of destruction which lasted until ten o'clock the next day. Major General Hampton was at Burlington, only twenty miles distant, with almost four thousand men, yet he did not attempt to cross the lake, or in any way oppose the inroad of Murray. The latter officer shamefully violated the promises made to the civil authorities of Platts-

¹ Sidney Smith was fifth lieutenant under Commodore Barron in the *Chesapeake* at the time of her affair with the *Leopard*. In 1810 he was ordered to Lake Champlain, and remained in command there until the arrival of Macdonough, his senior in rank. He died a commander in the service in 1827.

² Basin Harbor is considered the best on Lake Champlain. It is near the southwest corner of Ferrisburg, Addison County, Vermont, and nearly opposite Westport on the New York side of the lake.

burg when he entered the village, that private property should be respected, and that non-combatants should remain unmolested. After destroying the block-house, arsenal, armory, and hospital in the town, and the military cantonment (known as Pike's) near Fredenburg Falls, on the Saranac, two miles above the village, he wantonly burned three private store-houses, and plundered and destroyed private merchandise, furniture, etc., to the amount of several thousand dollars. The value of public property destroyed was estimated at twenty-five thousand dollars.¹

Having accomplished the object of his raid, Colonel Murray retired so hastily that he left a picket of twenty men, who were captured. He went up the lake several miles above Burlington on a marauding expedition, destroying transportation boats, and on his way back to Canada he plundered private property on Cumberland Head, on the Vermont shore, and at Chazy Landing. Such was the condition of affairs on Lake Champlain at the close of the summer of 1813, when Wilkinson took command of the Army of the North, and prepared for his expedition down the St. Lawrence.

The right wing of the army, under General Hampton, was first put in motion, when it was thought that Kingston would be the first point of attack. He was ordered to penetrate Canada toward Montreal by way of the Richelieu or Sorel, to divert the attention of the enemy in that direction. For this purpose his forces were assembled on Cumberland Head at the middle of September, consisting of four thousand effective infantry, a squadron of horse, and a well-appointed train of artillery. On the 19th^a he moved forward to the Great Chazy River, the infantry in boats, ^{1813.} convoyed by Macdonough's flotilla, and the squadron of horse and artillery by land. They formed a junction at Champlain on the 20th,^b and on the same day the advance, under Majors Wool, Snelling, and M'Neil, marched as far as Odell Town, just within the Canada borders, westward of Rouse's Point. A severe drought was prevailing over all that region. Hampton was convinced that he would not be able to procure water on the route northward over that flat country for his horses and draught-cattle, and he at once returned to Champlain^c and took the road westward, which led to the Chateaugay River. At the "Four Corners," not far from the present village of Chateaugay, he encamped,^d ^{September 24.} and remained there awaiting orders twenty-six days.

In the mean time preparations for the expedition were going on at the eastern end of Lake Ontario, over whose waters Commodore Chauncey and Sir James Yeo had been for some time playing a sort of hide-and-seek game. As Chauncey's fleet was a co-operative force in the expedition of Wilkinson, we may here appropriately consider the naval movements on Lake Ontario not already described, up to the departure of the expedition down the St. Lawrence.

We have already observed the active co-operation of the naval with the land forces in the capture of York² and Fort George,³ and the attempt of Sir James Yeo to seize or destroy the post at Sackett's Harbor.⁴ Intelligence of the fact that the British squadron was out upon the lake reached Chauncey on the 30th of May, while lying in the mouth of the Niagara River. He immediately weighed anchor, crossed over the lake and looked into York, and then ran for Kingston. No foe was to be seen, and he sailed for Sackett's Harbor, where the embers of the recent conflagration were smouldering. Chauncey felt some doubts of his ability to cope with the heavy vessels of the enemy, and he used every exertion to have the new ship, the *General Pike*, put afloat. She was a corvette, pierced for twenty-six long twenty-fours. She was

¹ *History of Lake Champlain from 1609 to 1814*, by Peter S. Palmer, page 168. Mr. Palmer says: "Soldiers would break into private dwellings, and bear off back-loads of property to the boats in the presence of British officers, who, when remonstrated with by the plundered citizens, replied that they could not prevent it, as the men did not belong to their particular company." Among the sufferers in this way, according to an inventory made at the time, and published by Mr. Palmer, were Judge D. Lord, who lost property to the amount of \$1079 81; Peter Salliey, \$387 77, besides two store-houses valued at \$900; Judge Palmer, \$386 50; Doctor Miller, \$1200; Bostwick Burk, \$150 00; Jacob Ferris, \$700; and lesser amounts by other citizens. A store-house belonging to Major Platt was also burned.

² See page 687.

³ See page 698.

⁴ See page 609.

Commodore Chauncey tries to engage Sir James Yeo. Serious Disaster. The British Commander avoids a Conflict.

launched on the 12th of June, and on the day before, Captain Arthur Sinclair had arrived and was placed in command of her. But it was late in the summer before she was fully equipped and manned, for much valuable material intended for her had been consumed, and men came from the sea-board tardily, a part of whom were sent to the importunate Perry, then anxiously preparing his squadron on Lake Erie to cooperate with General Harrison. Meanwhile the keel of a fast-sailing schooner, afterward named the *Sylph*, was laid by Eckford at the Harbor; and a small vessel was kept constantly cruising as a scout between the Ducks (a group of islands) and Kingston, to observe the movements of Sir James. On the 16th of June the *Lady of the Lake*, Lieutenant W. Chauncey, engaged in that service, captured the British schooner *Lady Murray*, loaded with provisions, shot, and fixed ammunition, and took her into the Harbor. At about this time the British squadron made a cruise westward, and, as we have seen, interfered seriously with vessels bearing supplies for the Americans at Fort George, and destroyed stores at Sodus.¹ Sir James, as we have observed, had looked into Oswego, but thought it prudent not to land.²

We have alluded to the appearance of Sir James and his squadron off Niagara on the 7th of July, just after Chauncey, with the troops under Colonel Scott, had returned from the second expedition to York.³ The British squadron was first seen about six miles to the northwest. Chauncey immediately weighed anchor, and endeavored to obtain the weather-gage of his enemy. He had thirteen vessels, but only three of them had been originally built for war purposes.⁴ The enemy's squadron consisted of two ships, two brigs, and two large schooners. These had all been constructed for war, and were very efficient in armament and defensive shields.

All day the belligerents manœuvred, with a good breeze, without coming into conflict. At sunset there fell a dead calm, and sweeps were used. When night came on the American fleet was collected by signal. During the evening the wind came from the westward, freshened, and at midnight was a fitful gale. Suddenly a rushing sound was heard astern of most of the fleet, and it was soon ascertained that the *Hamilton*, Lieutenant Winter, and *Scourge*, Mr. Osgood, had disappeared. They were capsized by a terrific squall, and all the officers and men, excepting sixteen of the latter, were drowned. This was a severe blow to the lake service, for these two vessels, carrying nineteen guns between them, were the best in it.

Soon after dawn^a the British squadron was seen bearing down, as if for action, but when within a league of the Americans it bore away. Again the belligerents commenced manœuvring for advantages. Alternate wind and calm made the service severe, and at length the considerate Chauncey, whose men had been at quarters full thirty-six hours, ran in and anchored at the mouth of the Niagara River. All night the lake was swept by squalls. When, in the morning,^b the enemy was seen at the northward, Chauncey weighed anchor and stood out to meet him. Another day and night were consumed in fruitless manœuvres. At length, at six o'clock on the morning of the 10th, having the weather-gage, Chauncey, with a light wind, formed his fleet in battle order, and a conflict seemed imminent.⁵ But varying breezes, and an unwillingness on the part of the enemy to engage,

July 8,
1813.

July 9.

¹ See page 605.

² See page 606.

³ See page 628.

⁴ The *Pike*, *Madison*, *Oneida*, *Hamilton*, *Scourge*, *Ontario*, *Fair American*, *Governor Tompkins*, *Conquest*, *Growler*, *Julia*, *Asp*, and *Pert*.

⁵ On the night of the 9th, Chauncey, becoming convinced that he could not get the wind of the British while the latter were disposed to avoid an action, formed his fleet in an order of battle well calculated to draw the enemy down. It was considered an admirable movement. His vessels were formed in two lines, one to windward of the other. "The weather line," says Cooper, in giving an account of it, "consisted altogether of the smallest of the schooners, having in the order in which they are named from the van to the rear, the *Julia*, *Growler*, *Pert*, *Asp*, *Ontario*, and *Fair American*. The line to leeward contained, in the same order, the *Pike*, *Oneida*, *Madison*, *Governor Tompkins*, and *Conquest*."—*Naval History of the United States*, ii., 364. Commodore Chauncey, in his dispatch to the Secretary of the Navy on the 13th, said, "The schooners, with long, heavy guns, formed about six hundred yards to windward, with orders to commence a fire upon the enemy as soon as they could reach him with effect, and, as he approached, to edge down the line to leeward." The *Julia*, *Growler*, *Pert*, and *Asp* to pass through the intervals, and form to leeward, the *Ontario* and *Fair American* to take their stations in the line." The same disposition was made on the night of the 10th, when an action en-

Capture of American Vessels.

The British Commander very prudent.

A Battle at last.

caused another day to be spent in manœuvring. At ten o'clock at night the enemy made chase, and at eleven the *Fair American* (the sternmost of the schooners) opened fire upon the advancing foe. The enemy continued to draw ahead, and a general action seemed unavoidable. The commanders of the *Growler* (Lieutenant Deacon) and *Julia* (Mr. Trant¹), in the excess of their zeal, took their vessels out of the prescribed line. They became separated from the rest of the fleet, and were captured after a severe but short struggle, with small loss. There was but little fighting elsewhere, and at midnight, the gale increasing, Chauncey determined to run for shelter into the Genesee. He changed his course, however, and went to Sackett's Harbor, where, after encountering a calm, he arrived with the remains of his fleet on the 13th. On the same day he took in provisions for five weeks and sailed on another cruise, with eight vessels. Off Niagara, on the 16th, he fell in with the enemy, who had the same number of vessels; but, after a cruise of three days more, he returned to the Harbor,^a where he found the new vessel (the *Sylph*) launched. Great sickness ^{July 19, 1813.} prevailed in the fleet, and Chauncey lay inactive in the Harbor for some time.²

On the 28th of August Chauncey put out again upon the lake, but it was not until the 7th of September that he came in sight of the enemy. At dawn of that day the British squadron was seen off the Niagara, and Chauncey, with the *Pike*, *Madison*, and *Sylph*, each with a schooner in tow, made chase. For six days he endeavored to bring his antagonist into action; but Sir James Yeo, following the strict injunctions of his superiors to risk nothing, avoided a contest. The critical situation of Canada at that time made the preservation of a naval force sufficient to protect harbors and keep Chauncey employed, very important.

On the 11th Sir James lay becalmed off the Genesee. Catching a gentle breeze from the northwest, Chauncey bore down upon him, and was within gun-shot distance of his enemy when the British sails took the wind, and their vessels, being the faster sailers, escaped, not, however, without sustaining considerable damage during a running fight for more than three hours. The *Pike* had been hulled several times, but not seriously hurt, while the British vessels were a good deal out up. Yeo finally escaped to Amherst Bay, whose navigation was strange to the American pilots, and he was not followed. Chauncey lay off the Ducks until the 17th, when Sir James made his way into Kingston harbor. Chauncey now ran into Sackett's Harbor for supplies.

On the 18th the American squadron sailed for the Niagara for troops to be conveyed to Sackett's Harbor, and was followed by the enemy. After remaining a few days, Chauncey crossed the lake with the *Pike*, *Madison*, and *Sylph*, each with a schooner in tow, having been informed that the enemy was in York harbor. When he approached, Sir James fled, followed by Chauncey in battle order and with the weather-gage. The baronet was now compelled to fight, or to cease boasting of unsatisfied desires to measure strength with Americans. An action commenced at a little past noon, when the *Pike* for more than twenty minutes sustained the desperate assaults of the heaviest vessels of the enemy. She was managed admirably, and delivered tremendous broadsides upon her antagonists. She was gallantly assisted a part of the time by the *Tompkins*, Lieutenant W. C. B. Finch, of the *Madison*; and when the smoke of battle passed away, the *Wolfe* (Sir James's flag-ship) was found to

sued. "Nothing could have been simpler or better devised," says Cooper, "than this order of battle; nor is it possible to say what would have been the consequences had circumstances allowed the plan to be rigidly observed." A sketch of the positions of the vessels in this engagement was sent by Chauncey with his report of the affair to the Navy Department.

¹ James Trant was a native of Ireland, and came to America in 1781 with Captain Barry, in the *Alliance*. He was a sailing-master in the United States Navy from its formation. He was marked by eccentricities of character and opinions, and for the most unflinching courage. He lived until he was about seventy years of age. Toward the close of his life he was commissioned a lieutenant (May 5, 1817), which gave him great comfort. He died at Philadelphia on the 11th of September, 1820.

² It appears, by the official reports made at about that time, that one fifth of the men were left on shore in consequence of illness. Of two hundred men on board the *Madison*, eighty were on the sick-list at one time.

be too seriously injured to sustain a conflict any longer. She had lost her main and mizzen top-masts, and her main yard, besides receiving other injuries, and when discovered she was pushing away dead before the wind, crowded with canvas, and gallantly protected by the *Royal George* in her flight. A general chase was immediately commenced, and a running fight was maintained for some time. The pursuit was continued toward Burlington Bay for two hours, when Chauncey called off his vessels. No doubt, by pressing sail, and with proper support, he might have captured or destroyed the British squadron,¹ but the wind was increasing, and there was no good harbor or place of shelter on the coast, where, in the event of being driven ashore, capture by land troops would be almost certain. Taking counsel of prudence, Chauncey sailed into the Niagara, and there lay safely during a severe gale that lasted forty-eight hours.

For two days after the gale had subsided the wind blew strongly from the east, when it shifted to the westward.^a All the transports with troops had now departed for Sackett's Harbor, and Chauncey went out again in search of the foe. The weather was thick, and the *Lady of the Lake*, sent to reconnoitre Burlington Bay, reported that only two gun-boats were to be seen there. Supposing the enemy to have escaped under cover of mist or darkness, Chauncey sailed away eastward, and at sunset of the 5th of October, when near the Ducks, the *Pike* captured three British transports, *Confiance*, *Hamilton*,² and *Mary*. The *Sylph* captured the *Drummond* cutter, and the armed transport *Lady Gore*. These carried from one to three guns each. The whole number of persons found on the five vessels, and made prisoners, including the officers, was two hundred and sixty-four. Among the latter was a lieutenant and two master's mates of the royal navy, four masters of the provincial marine, and ten army officers. During the remainder of the season Sir James Yeo remained inactive in Kingston harbor, and Commodore Chauncey was employed in watching the movements of the enemy there, and in aiding the army in its descent of the St. Lawrence.

After much discussion at Sackett's Harbor between the Secretary of War, General Wilkinson, and other officers, it was determined to pass Kingston and make a descent upon Montreal. For weeks the bustle of preparation had been great, and many armed boats and transports had been built at the Harbor. Every thing was in readiness by the 4th of October.³ Yet final orders were not issued until the 12th, when a plan of encampment and order of battle was given to each general officer and corps commander, to be observed when circumstances would permit. Four days more were consumed without any apparent necessity, when, on the 17th, orders were given for the embarkation of all the troops at the Harbor destined for the expedition. At the same time, General Hampton, who, as we have seen, had been halting on the banks of the Chateaugay, was ordered to move down to the mouth of that river.

¹ Chauncey was indignant and loud in his complaints of a want of support on this occasion. Speaking of this, the Hon. Alvin Bronson, of Oswego, New York, in a letter to me, dated August 28, 1860, says: "While on board the British fleet as a prisoner in May, 1814, and associating familiarly with its subordinate officers, I received ample confirmation of reports that had been current in the army and navy of the bad conduct of some of the officers under Commodore Chauncey in a then late naval engagement at the head of the lake. It was a running fight, and the British sailors facetiously called it the *Burlington Races*, as it was fought partly off Burlington Heights. Chauncey was the assailant, and would have destroyed the British fleet, or have driven it on shore, had he been properly sustained by his best and heaviest vessels, particularly the *Madison*, Commander Crane, and the heavily-armed and fast-sailing brig *Sylph*, Captain Woolsey. These vessels never got into close action." The only excuse was that they had gun-boats in tow; but Chauncey's signal for close action, which he kept flying, implied that the vessels must cast off every encumbrance. "The British officers," continues Mr. Bronson, "awarded Chauncey all credit for skill and bravery, and admitted that their fleet must have been destroyed if he had been properly sustained by his subordinates."

The bearer of a flag of truce who went into Sackett's Harbor on the 12th of October admitted that Sir James Yeo was so badly beaten on this occasion that he had made preparations to burn his vessels, and would have done so had Chauncey chased him twenty minutes longer. Every gun on the *Wolfe's* starboard side was dismounted.—Letter to the Editor of the *Democratic Press*, dated at Sackett's Harbor, October 18, 1813, and copied in *The War*, ii., 86.

² The *Confiance* and *Hamilton* were the *Grouler* and *Julia*, captured from the Americans on the night of the 10th of August. Their names had been changed by the captors.

³ General Morgan Lewis's testimony on the trial of Wilkinson.

With a reckless disregard of life and property, the troops under Major General Lewis were embarked at the beginning of a dark night, when portents of a storm were hovering over the lake, at a season when sudden and violent gales were likely to arise. They were packed in scows, bateaux, Durham boats, and common lake sail-boats, with ordnance, ammunition, hospital stores, baggage, camp equipage, and two months' provisions. The voyage was among islands and past numerous points of land where soundings and currents were known to few. There was a scarcity of pilots, and the whole flotilla seemed to have been sent out with very little of man's wisdom to direct it. The wind was favorable at the beginning, but toward midnight, as the clouds thickened and the darkness deepened, it freshened, and before morning became a gale, with rain and sleet. The flotilla was scattered in every direction, and the gloomy dawn^a revealed a sad spectacle. The shores of the islands and the main were strewn with wrecks of vessels and property. Fifteen large boats were totally lost, and many more too seriously damaged to be safe. For thirty-six hours the wind blew fiercely, but on the 20th, there having been a comparative calm for more than a day, a large proportion of the troops, with the sound boats, arrived at Grenadier Island.¹ These were chiefly the brigades of Generals Boyd, Brown, Covington, Swartwout, and Porter² (the three former had encamped at Henderson Harbor), which had arrived.

General Wilkinson in the mean time was passing to and fro between the Harbor and Grenadier Island, looking after the smitten expedition. A return made to him on the 22d showed that a large number of troops were still behind, in vessels "wrecked or stranded." The weather continued boisterous, and on the 24th he was compelled to write to the Secretary of War, "The extent of the injury to our craft, clothing, arms, and provisions greatly exceed our apprehensions, and has subjected us to the necessity of furnishing clothing, and of making repairs and equipments to the flotilla generally. In fact, all our hopes have been nearly blasted; but, thanks to the same Providence that placed us in jeopardy, we are surmounting our difficulties, and, God willing, I shall pass Prescott on the night of the 1st or 2d proximo."

The troops remained encamped on Grenadier Island until the 1st of November, except General Brown's brigade, some light troops, and heavy artillery, which went



James Wilkinson

¹ The now venerable Major Mordecai Myers, of Schenectady, New York, to whom I am indebted for an interesting narrative of the events of this campaign, was very active in saving lives and property during this boisterous weather. It was resolved to send back to Sackett's Harbor all who could not endure active service in the campaign. Nearly two hundred of these were put on board two schooners, with hospital stores. The vessels were wrecked, and Captain Myers, on his own solicitation, was sent by General Boyd with two large boats for the rescue of the passengers and crew. He found the schooners lying on their sides, the sails flapping, and the sea breaking over them. Many had perished, and the most of those alive, having drunk freely of the liquors among the hospital stores, were nearly all intoxicated. The hatches were open, and the vessels were half-filled with water. By great exertions and personal risk Captain Myers succeeded in taking to the shore nearly all of the two hundred persons who had embarked on the schooners. Forty or fifty of them were dead.

² Colonel Carr's MS. Journal. "October 19, first brigade, under Boyd—5th, 12th, and 13th Regiments; second brigade, under Brown—6th, 15th, and 22d Regiments, already arrived and encamped. October 20, the third brigade, under Covington—9th, 16th, and 25th Regiments; and fourth brigade, under Swartwout—11th, 21st, and 14th, have arrived. The 5th, under Porter—light troops and artillery—arriving hourly. The weather still stormy, and continual rains for the last two days."

Hampton in the Chateaugay Country.

Position of the Belligerents.

Hampton's criminal Negligence.

down the St. Lawrence on the 29th,^a and took post at French Creek. In the mean time Hampton, pursuant to Wilkinson's orders, moved^b down the Chateaugay toward the St. Lawrence for the purpose of forming a junction with Wilkinson from above. He found a forest ten or twelve miles in extent along the river in the line of his march, in which the vigilant and active De Salaberry had felled trees across the obscure road, and placed Indians and light troops to dispute the passage of the Americans. General George Izard was at once sent out with light troops to gain the rear of these woods, and seize the Canadian settlements on the Chateaugay in the open country beyond, while the remainder of the army made a circuit in an opposite direction, and avoided the obstructed forest altogether. The movement was successful, and on the following day^c a greater portion of the army encamped at Spear's, near the confluence of the Outard Creek and the Chateaugay River.¹ It was an eligible position, and there Hampton remained until the stores and artillery came up on the 24th.

^a October, 1813.
^b October 21.

^c October 22.

Immediately in front of the army at Spear's was an open country, seven miles along the river, to Johnson's,² where another extensive forest lay in the way. These woods had been formed into *abatis*, covering log breastworks and a log block-house. On the latter were some pieces of ordnance. In front of these defenses were Indians and a light corps of Beauharnais militia, and behind them, under the immediate command of Lieutenant Colonel De Salaberry, was the remainder of the disposable force of the enemy, charged with the duty of guarding a ford at a small rapid in the river, and keeping open communication with the St. Lawrence. De Salaberry's force was almost a thousand strong, and Sir George Prevost and General De Wattville were within bugle call with more troops.

Hampton determined to dislodge De Salaberry, take possession of his really stronghold, and keep it until he should hear from Wilkinson, from whom no tidings had been received for several days. He was informed of the ford opposite the lower flank of the enemy, and on the evening of the 25th he detached Colonel Robert Purdy, of the Fourth Infantry, and the light troops of Boyd's brigade, to force the ford, and fall upon the British rear at dawn. The crack of Purdy's musketry was to be the signal for the main body of the Americans to attack the enemy's front. But the whole movement was foiled by the ignorance of the guides and the darkness of the night. Purdy crossed the river near the camp, lost his way in a hemlock swamp, and could neither find the ford nor the place from which he started. His troops wandered about all night, and different corps would sometimes meet, and excite mutual alarm by the supposition that they had encountered an enemy.³ In the morning Purdy extricated his command from the swamp labyrinth, and, within half a mile of the ford, halted and gave them permission to rest, for they were excessively fatigued. In the mean time Hampton put three thousand five hundred of his army in motion, under General Izard, expecting every moment to hear Purdy's guns; but they were silent. The forenoon wore away; meridian was past; and at two o'clock Izard was ordered to move forward to the attack. Firing immediately commenced, and the enemy's pickets were driven in. The gallant De Salaberry came out with about three hundred Canadian fencibles and voltigeurs, and a few Abenake Indians, but Izard's overwhelming numbers pressed him back to his intrenchments.

Firing was now heard on the other side of the river. Purdy, who seems to have neglected to post pickets or sentinels, had been surprised by a small detachment of

¹ This point is seen at the junction of "Hampton's route" and "Smith's road" on the map on page 881. The stream seen along "Smith's road" is the Outard.

² See Map on page 881.

³ "Incredible as it may appear," said Purdy, in his official report to Wilkinson, "General Hampton intrusted nearly one half of his army, and those his best troops, to the guidance of men *each of whom repeatedly assured him that they were not acquainted with the country*, and were not competent to direct such an expedition." "Never, to my knowledge," said Purdy, in another part of his report, "during our march into Canada, and while we remained at the Four Corners, a term of twenty-six days, did General Hampton ever send off a scouting or reconnoitring party, except in one or two cases at Spear's, in Canada."

Disgraceful Events. Hampton's inglorious Retreat. Wilkinson's Expedition on the St. Lawrence.

chasseurs and Canadian militia, who gained his rear. His troops, utterly disconcerted, fled to the river. Several officers and men swam across, bearing to General Hampton alarming accounts of the great number of the enemy on the other side of the stream. That enemy, instead of being formidable, had fled after his first fire, and the ludicrous scene was presented of frightened belligerents running away from each other. All was confusion; and detachments of Purdy's scattered men, mistaking each other for enemies in the dark swamp, had a spirited engagement. The only sad fruit of the blunder was the death of one man.

De Salaberry had perceived that superior numbers might easily outflank him, and he resorted to stratagem. He posted buglers at some distance from each other, and when some concealed provincial militia opened fire almost upon Hampton's flank, these buglers simultaneously sounded a charge. Hampton was alarmed. From the

seeming extent of the British line as indicated by the buglers, he supposed a heavy force was about to fall upon his front and flank. He

immediately sounded a retreat, and withdrew from the field. The enemy in a body did not venture to follow, but the Canadian militia¹ harassed the army as it fell slowly back to its old quarters at Chateaugay Four Corners, where its inglorious campaign ended. The whole affair was a disgrace to the American arms, and, as one of the surviving actors in the scenes (now a distinguished major general in the United States Army) has said, "no officer who had any regard for his reputation would voluntarily acknowledge himself as having been engaged in it."² In this affair, which has been unwarrantably dignified with the character of a *battle*, the Americans lost about fifteen killed and twenty-three wounded. The British lost five killed, sixteen wounded, and four missing.³

Storm followed storm on Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence. Snow fell to the depth of ten inches, and the troops collected by Wilkinson on Grenadier Island suffered much. The season was too far advanced—a Canadian winter was too near—to allow delays on account of weather, and General Brown and his division moved forward, in the face of the tempest and of great peril, on the 29th of October. They landed at French Creek, and took post in a thick wood about half a mile up from the present village of Clayton. Chauncey in the mean time attempted to blockade the enemy in Kingston Harbor, or at least to prevent his going down the river either to pursue the Americans or to take possession of and fortify the important old military post at the head of Carleton Island, just below Cape Vincent. But Chauncey's blockade was ineffectual. British marine scouts were out among the Thousand Islands; and when, on the afternoon of the 1st of November, they discovered Brown at French Creek, two brigs, two schooners, and eight gun-boats, filled with infantry, were out and ready to bear down upon him. They did so at about sunset of the same day. Fortunately Brown had planted a battery of three 18-pounders on Bartlett's Point, a high wooded bluff on the western shore of French Creek, at its mouth, under the command of Captain M'Pherson, of the light artillery. This battery, from its elevation, was very effective, and it was served so skillfully that the enemy were driven away after some cannonading. At dawn the next morning the conflict was renewed, with

¹ In his official dispatch Sir George Prevost asked from the Prince Regent a stand of colors for each of the five battalions of Canadian militia as a mark of approbation. They were granted.

² Major General John E. Wool, who then held the commission of major in the Twenty-ninth Regiment United States Infantry. I am indebted to written and oral statements of General Wool for many of the facts given concerning the affair near Johnston's, on the Chateaugay. Hon. Nathaniel S. Benton, of Little Falls, New York, late Auditor of the State of New York, and author of a *History of Herkimer County and the Upper Mohawk Valley*, was captain of a militia company engaged in this affair. He informed me that his company numbered 109 men, and all of them his own height—six feet.

³ American and British Official Reports; General Orders; Christie's, Auchinleck's, Thompson's, Perkins's, and Ingersoll's Histories; Armstrong's Notices, etc.

W. Hampton

American Camp at French Creek. The attacking British repulsed. Wilkinson pursued down the St. Lawrence.

the same result, the enemy in the two engagements having suffered much loss. That of the Americans was two killed and four wounded. It was with much difficulty that the British saved one of their brigs from capture.

Troops were coming down from Grenadier Island in the mean time, and landing upon the point on which Clayton¹ now stands, and along the shore of French Creek as far as the lumber and rafting yard on what is still known as Wilkinson's Point. Wilkinson arrived there on the 3d, and on the 4th² he issued a general order preparatory to final embarkation, in which he exhorted his troops to sustain well the character of American citizens, and abstain from rapine and plunder. "The general is determined," he said, "to have the first person who shall be detected in plundering an inhabitant of Canada of the smallest amount of property made an example of."³

On the morning of the 5th, a clear, bright, crisp morning, just at dawn, the whole flotilla, comprising almost three hundred boats, moved down the river from French Creek with banners furled and music silent, for they wished to elude discovery by the British, who, until now, were uncertain whether the expedition was intended for Kingston, Prescott, or Montreal.³ The vigilant foe had immediately discovered their course, and, with a heavy armed galley and gun-boats filled with



MOUTH OF FRENCH CREEK.⁴

troops, started in pursuit. The flotilla arrived at Morristown early in the evening. It had been annoyed by the enemy all the way. Several times Wilkinson was disposed to turn upon them; and at one time, near Bald Island, about two miles below Alexandria Bay, he was compelled to engage, for the enemy's gun-boats shot out of the British channel on the north, and attacked his rear. They were beaten off, and Wilkinson determined to run by the formidable batteries at Prescott during the night. It was found to be impracticable, and his boats lay moored at Morristown until morning. A corps of land troops from Kingston had also followed Wilkinson along the northern shore of the river, and arrived at Prescott before the American flotilla reached Ogdensburg.

For the purpose of avoiding Fort Wellington and the other fortifications at Prescott, Wilkinson halted three miles above Ogdensburg, where he debarked his ammunition and all of his troops,⁵ except a sufficient number to man the

¹ This was formerly called Cornella, and is yet called by the name of French Creek. It was named in honor of Senator John M. Clayton, of Delaware, in 1833. French Creek was called by the Indians *Fallen Fort*, from the circumstance that, long before a white man was ever seen there, a fort had been captured on its banks by the Oneidas.

² General Order, French Creek, November 4, 1813.

³ The boat that conveyed Wilkinson and his military family was commanded by the now venerable William Johnston, who was an active spy on that frontier during the war. He is better known as "Bill Johnston," by some called the "Hero," and by others the "Pirate," of the Thousand Islands. Of Mr. Johnston and his remarkable career I shall write presently.

⁴ This is from a sketch made in the summer of 1860, from the place of Brown's encampment, at the lumber and rafting yard on Wilkinson's Point. In the water, in the foreground, is seen a raft partly prepared for a voyage down the St. Lawrence. The bluff in the distance, beyond the little sail-vessel, is Bartlett's Point, on which M'Pherson's battery was placed. The vessel without sails indicates the place where the British squadron lay when it was repulsed. The land seen beyond is Grindstone Island, from behind which the British vessels came. The point in the middle distance, on the extreme right, is the head of Shot-bag Island.

⁵ November 6.

Difficulties in Wilkinson's Way.

A Council of Officers.

Number and Position of the British Force.



BALD ISLAND AND WILKINSON'S FLOTILLA.¹

boats. These were to be conveyed by land to the "Red Mill," four miles below Ogdensburg, on the American shore, and the boats were to run by the batteries that night. At the place of debarkation he issued a proclamation to the Canadians, intended to make them passive;² and there, at noon, he was visited by Colonel King, Hampton's adjutant general. By him he sent orders to Hampton to press forward to the St. Lawrence, to form a junction with the descending army at St. Regis.

By the skillful management of General Brown, the whole flotilla passed Prescott safely on the night of the 8th, with the exception of two large boats heavily laden with provisions, artillery, and ordnance stores,³ which ran aground at Ogdensburg. They were taken off under a severe cannonading from Fort Wellington, and soon

¹ November 7, 1813. joined the others⁴ at the "Red Mill." Wilkinson was now informed that

the Canada shore of the river was lined with posts of musketry and artillery at every eligible point, to dispute the passage of the flotilla. To meet and remove these impediments, Colonel Alexander Macomb was detached, with twelve hundred of the *élite* of the army, and on Sunday, the 7th, landed on the Canada shore. He was soon followed by Lieutenant Colonel Forsyth and his riflemen, who did excellent service in the rear of Macomb.

The flotilla arrived at the "White House,"⁵ opposite Matilda,⁶ about eighteen miles below Ogdensburg, on the 8th, and there Wilkinson called a council of his officers, consisting of Generals Lewis, Boyd, Brown, Porter, Covington, and Swartwout. After hearing a report from the active chief engineer, Colonel Swift, concerning the reported strength of the enemy,⁷ the question, Shall the army proceed with all possible rapidity to the attack of Montreal? was considered, and answered in the affirmative.

¹ This is from a sketch by Captain Van Cleve (see note 1, page 617), who kindly allowed me the use of it. Bald Island is one of the Thousand Islands, and lies on the left of the American or steam-boat channel of the river. It is mostly bare, and rises to the height of about thirty or forty feet above the water in the centre. At some distance beyond it, northward, is the British channel. The gun-boats that attacked Wilkinson's flotilla came out at the lower end of Bald Island, through a lateral channel in which the sail-vessel lies.

² He assured them that he came to invade, and not to destroy the province—"to subdue the forces of his Britannic Majesty, not to war against unoffending subjects. Those, therefore," he said, "who remain quiet at home, should victoriously incline to the American standard, shall be protected in their persons and property; but those who are found in arms must necessarily be treated as avowed enemies. To menace is unmanly; to seduce, dishonourable; yet it is just and humane to place those alternatives before you."—Proclamation, November 7, 1813.

³ The flotilla moved at eight o'clock in the evening, under cover of a heavy fog, General Brown, in his gig, leading the way. There was a sudden change in the atmosphere, when the general's boat was discovered at Prescott, and almost fifty 34-pound shot were fired at her, without effect. The gleaming of bayonets on shore, in the light of the moon in the west, caused a heavy cannonade in the direction of the American troops on the march, also without effect. Brown halted the flotilla until the moon went down, but its general movement was perceived by the enemy. For three hours they poured a destructive fire upon it, and yet, out of about three hundred boats, not one was touched, and only one man was killed and two wounded.—General Wilkinson's Journal, November 6, 1813.

⁴ According to the statement of Captain Mordcaid Myers, already referred to (note 1, page 546), there were traitors in Ogdensburg. He says that the British at Prescott were apprised of the approach of the flotilla by the burning of blue lights in one or more houses in Ogdensburg.

⁵ Matilda is a post village in Dundas County, Canada West, on the Pointe à la Pline Canal. The "White House" had disappeared when I visited the spot in 1855, when the place belonged to James Parlor.

⁶ Colonel Swift employed a secret agent, who reported to him that the enemy's forces were as follows in number and position: 600 under Colonel Murray, at Coteau du Lac, strongly fortified with artillery; about 200 men of the British line of artillery, but without ammunition, at the Cedars; 200 sailors, 400 marines, and an unknown number of militia at Montreal, with no fortifications; 2500 regular troops expected daily from Quebec; and the militia between Kingston and Quebec, 20,000. Wilkinson reported his own force to be 1000 men, and that he expected to meet 4000, under Hampton, at St. Regis.—Journal of Dr. Amasa Trowbridge, quoted by Dr. Hough in his *History of St. Lawrence County*, page 639.

General Brown invades Canada.

Wilkinson in Peril.

Preparations for Battle at Chrysler's Farm.

General Brown was at once ordered to cross the river with his brigade and the dragoons, for the purpose of marching down the Canada side of the river in connection with Colonel Macomb, and the remainder of the day and night was consumed in the transportation.¹ Meanwhile Wilkinson was informed that a British re-enforcement, full one thousand strong, had been sent down from Kingston to Prescott, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Morrison. They had come in the armed schooners *Beresford* and *Sidney Smith*, and several gun-boats and bateaux under Captain Mulcaster, which had eluded Chauncey's inefficient blockading squadron. They were joined at Prescott by provincial infantry and dragoons under Lieutenant Colonel Pearson, and on the morning of the 9th they were close upon Wilkinson with the vessels in which they came down the river, and a large portion of the land troops were debarked near Matilda for the purpose of pursuing the Americans. General Boyd and his brigade were now detached to re-enforce Brown, with orders to cover his march, to attack the pursuing enemy if necessary, and to co-operate with the other commanders.

Wilkinson now found himself in a perilous position. The British armed vessels were following his flotilla, and a heavy British force was hanging upon the rear of his land troops, ready to co-operate with the water craft in an attack upon the Americans. They constantly harassed Brown and Boyd, and occasionally attacked the rear of the flotilla. The forces on the shore also encountered detachments coming up from below, and were compelled to make some long and tedious circuits in their march because of the destruction of bridges in the front.

On the morning of the 10th,^a when Wilkinson was approaching the "Longue Saut," a perilous rapid in the St. Lawrence, eight miles in extent, he was informed that a considerable body of the enemy had collected near its foot, constructed a block-house, and were prepared to attack him when he should come down. General Brown was ordered to advance at once and dislodge them, and at noon cannonading was heard in that direction for some time. At the same hour the enemy came pressing upon Wilkinson's rear, and commenced cannonading from his gun-boats. The American gun-barges were so slender that the eighteen-pounders could not be worked effectively, so they were landed, placed in battery, and brought to bear upon the enemy so skillfully that his vessels fled in haste up the river. In these operations the day was mostly consumed. The pilots were unwilling to enter the rapids at night. It was necessary to hear from Brown, for when the flotilla should once be committed to the swift current of the rapids there could be no retreat. These considerations caused Wilkinson to halt for the night, and his vessels were moored a little below Chrysler's Island, nearly in front of the farm of John Chrysler (a British militia captain then in the service), a few miles below Williamsburg, while Boyd, with the rear of the land force, encamped near.

At ten o'clock in the morning of the 11th Wilkinson received a dispatch from Brown, addressed from "five miles above Cornwall," announcing his success in his attack upon the British post at the foot of the rapids, informing him of the wounding of Lieutenant Colonel Forsyth and one of his men, and urging him to come forward with the boats and supplies as quickly as possible, because his wearied troops were "without covering in the rain."² This dispatch found Wilkinson extremely ill, and his reply, in which he told Brown of the presence of the enemy upon his rear, and his apprehensions that he intended to pass him with his gun-boats and strengthen the British force below, was addressed "From my bed." "It is now," he said, "that I feel the heavy hand of disease—enfeebled and confined to my bed while the safety

¹ A part of this force landed on the property of Christian Delabough, near Matilda, owned, in 1865, by Daniel Shaw. Another portion landed at Snyder's, now Pillar's Bay.

² General Brown's MS. Letter-book. Colonel Carr, in his MS. Journal before me, says: "We are wet to the skin, and, having no tents or shelter but bushes, must pass a very uncomfortable night." Dated "Near Cornwall, November 10, 10 P.M."



CHRYSLER'S IN 1855.¹

of the army intrusted to my command, the honor of our armies, and the greatest interests of our country are at hazard."²

Wilkinson now ordered the flotilla to proceed, and Boyd and his command to resume their march. At that moment information reached the commanding general that the enemy were advancing in column, and that firing from their gun-boats was heard. He immediately sent Colonel Swift with an order for Boyd to form his detachment into three columns, advance upon the enemy, and endeavor to outflank him and capture his cannon. At the same time the flotilla was ordered to lie moored on the Canada shore, just below Weaver's Point, while his gun-boats lay off Cook's Point.

General Brown

The brave Boyd, anxious for battle, instantly obeyed. Swartwout was detached with the fourth brigade to assail the vanguard of the enemy, which was composed of light troops, and Cov-

ington was directed to take position at supporting distance from him with the third brigade. Swartwout, on a large brown horse, dashed gallantly into woods of second growth, followed by the Twenty-first Regiment, commanded by Colonel E. W. Ripley, and with them drove the light troops of the enemy back upon their main line in open fields on Chrysler's farm, below his house.³ That line was well posted, its right resting on the St. Lawrence, and covered by Muleaster's gun-boats, and the left on a black-oak swamp, supported by Indians and gathering militia, under Colonel Thomas Fraser. They were advantageously formed back of ravines that intersected the extensive plain and rendered the advance of the American artillery almost impossible, and a heavy rail-fence.⁴

¹ This is a view of Chrysler's house and the outbuildings as they appeared when I visited the spot in August, 1855, a circumstance to be noticed presently. The house fronted the St. Lawrence. The road, in which the oxen and cart are seen, is the fine highway along the river from Cornwall to Prescott. ² General Brown's MS. Letter-book.

³ This conflict is usually called the battle of Chrysler's Field. It is sometimes called the battle of Williamsburg, that village being almost within cannon-shot range of the battle-field. Chrysler's name is frequently spelled with a t.

⁴ The British army, on this occasion, was slightly superior in numbers, counting its Indian allies, to the Americans, and had the double advantage of strong position behind ravines and of freshness, for the Americans had undergone great fatigue. They were formed in what Wellington called *en échelon*, or the figure of steps, with one corps more advanced than another, as follows: Three companies of the Eighty-ninth Regiment were posted on the extreme right,

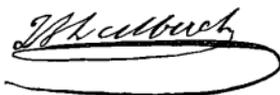
Battle on Chrysler's Farm.

Incidents of the Contest.

The Americans repulsed.

Swartwout's sudden and successful dash was quickly followed by an attack on the enemy's left by the whole of the fourth brigade, and a part of the first, under Colonel Coles, who advanced across plowed fields, knee-deep in mud, in the face of a heavy shower of bullets and shrapnel-shells.¹ At the same time General Covington, mounted on a fine white horse, gallantly led the third brigade against the enemy's left, near the river, and the battle became general. By charge after charge, in the midst of difficulties, the British were pushed back almost a mile, and the American cannon, placed in fair position by General Boyd, under the direction of Colonel Swift, did excellent execution for a few minutes. The squadron of the Second Regiment of Dragoons was early on the field, and much exposed to the enemy's fire, but, owing to the nature of the ground, was unable to accomplish much. At length Covington fell, severely wounded,² and the ammunition of the Americans began to fail. It was soon exhausted, and the fourth brigade, hard pushed, fell back, followed by Colonel J. A. Coles. This retrograde movement affected the third brigade, and it too fell back, in considerable disorder. The British perceived this, and followed up the advantage gained with great vigor, and were endeavoring by a flank movement to capture Boyd's cannon, when a gallant charge of cavalry, led by Adjutant General Walbach, who had obtained Armstrong's permission to accompany the expedition, drove them back and saved the pieces. The effort was renewed. Lieutenant Smith, who commanded one of the cannon, was mortally wounded, and it fell into the enemy's hands.³

J. A. Coles


J. H. Walbach


The conflict had lasted about five hours, in the midst of cold, and snow, and sleet, when the Americans were compelled to fall back. During that time victory had swayed, like a pendulum, between the combatants, and would doubtless have rested with the Americans had their ammunition held out. Their retreat was promising to be a rout, when the flying troops were met by six hundred men under Lieutenant Colonel Timothy Upham,⁴ of the Twenty-first Regiment of Infantry, and Major Malcolm, whom Wilkinson had sent up to the support of Boyd. These checked the disorderly flight, and, taking position on the ground from which Boyd's force had been driven, they gallantly attacked the enemy, seized the principal ravine, and, with a severe fire at short musket range, drove the British back and saved the day.⁵ Meanwhile Boyd had reformed his line in battle order on the edge of the wood from which Swartwout drove the foe at the beginning, and there awaited another attack. It was not made. Both parties seemed willing to make the excuse of oncoming darkness a warrant for suspending farther fighting. The Americans, under cover of night, retired unmolested to their boats, and the British remained upon the field. Neither party had gained a victory, but the advantage was with the British.⁶

resting on the river, with a 6-pounder, and commanded by Captain Barnes. On their left, and a little in the rear, were flanking companies of the Forty-ninth and a detachment of fencibles, with a 6-pounder, under Lieutenant Colonel Pearson. Still further to the left and rear were other companies of the Forty-ninth and Eighty-ninth Regiments, and a 6-pounder, under Lieutenant Colonel Morrison, whose left rested on a pine forest. In front of all were voltigeurs, under Major Herriott, and some Indians, under Lieutenant Anderson.

¹ Shells containing a quantity of musket-balls, which, when the shell explodes, are projected still farther.

² Covington was killed a short distance from Chrysler's barn (see picture on page 652), which was yet standing, well bored by bullets, when I visited the battle-ground in 1856. The British fired from that barn, and it is believed that a bullet from it was the one fatal to the general. The place where he fell was on the site of a nursery of thrifty trees in 1855.

³ William Wallace Smith was a cadet in 1809. He was a native of New Jersey. He was commissioned second lieutenant of light artillery on the 1st of June, 1812, and promoted to first lieutenant in October, 1813. In the battle on Chrysler's Field he was serving his field-piece himself, having lost all of his men, when he was mortally wounded. He died, a prisoner, at Fort Prescott, on the 18th of December, 1813.

⁴ Upham was a gallant soldier. We shall meet him again on the Niagara frontier.

⁵ MS. sketch of the military career of Colonel Timothy Upham, by an officer of the army.

⁶ Official dispatches of Wilkinson and Boyd, and Lieutenant Colonel Morrison; Wilkinson's Journal; Life of General Macomb, by Captain George H. Richards; General Brown's MS. letter-book; Colonel Robert Carr's MS. journal; the



On the morning after the battle the flotilla and gun-boats passed safely down the Long Rapids without discovering any signs of an enemy, and at the same time the land troops marched in the same direction unmolested. At Barnhart's, three miles above Cornwall, they formed a junction with the forces under General Brown, and Wilkinson expected to hear of the arrival of Hampton at St. Regis,

on the opposite shore of the St. Lawrence. But he was disappointed. General Brown had written to Hampton the day before informing him of rumors of a battle above, and saying, "My own opinion is, you can not be with us too soon," and begging him to inform the writer by the bearer when he might be expected at St. Regis.¹ Soon after Wilkinson's arrival, Colonel Atkinson, Hampton's inspector general, appeared as the bearer of a letter from his chief, dated the 11th, in which the commander of the left of the grand army of the North, who had fallen back to Chateaugay Four Corners, declared his intention not to join Wilkinson at all, but to co-operate in the attack on Montreal by returning to Champlain and making a descent from that place.² Wilkinson was enraged, and declared that he would "arrest Hampton, and direct Izard to bring forward the division." He was too feeble in mind and body to execute his threat, or do any thing that required energy; and, after uttering a few

various published Histories of the War; oral statements to the author in 1855 by Peter Brouse, a surviving British soldier in the battle, living near the ground; Dr. Amasa Trowbridge's narrative, quoted by Hough.

The loss of the British in this engagement was 22 killed, 150 wounded, and 15 missing. The Americans lost 106 killed and 227 wounded. Among the killed and mortally wounded were General Covington, and Lieutenants Smith, Hunter, and Olmstead; and their wounded officers were Colonel Preston, Majors Chambers, Cummings, and Noun, Captains Foster, Campbell, Myers, Murdoch, and Townsend, and Lieutenants Heaton, Pelham, Lynch, Williams, Brown, and Cray. Among the officers specially mentioned with praise were General Covington, Colonel Pearce, who took command of his corps when he fell, Colonels E. P. Gaines, E. W. Ripley, and Walbach, Lieutenant Colonel Aspinwall, Majors Cumming, Morgan, Grafton, and Gardner, and Lieutenants Whiting (his aid) and (late Major General) W. J. Worth.

The wounded in the battle were placed in barns and log houses, and the mansion of Chrysler was made a hospital. A bullet passed through Captain Myers's arm, near his shoulder, while at the head of his men in assailing the British behind the stone wall. The desperation of the encounter may be conceived when the fact is stated that of 50 men he lost 23. He shared General Boyd's quarters at French Mills. Dr. Man, a noted physician, took him to his house, ten miles distant, where he remained four months. He there became acquainted with the daughter of Judge William Bailey, of Plattsburg, and in March following they were married in that town.

Mordecai Myers was born at Newport, Rhode Island, on the 1st of May, 1776, and is now (1867) in the ninety-second year of his age. He was educated in New York City, and became a merchant in Richmond, Virginia. There he served in a military company under Colonel (afterward Chief Justice) Marshall. He soon returned to New York, engaged in business there, and served in an artillery company under the command of Captain John Swartwout. He was afterward commissioned an officer of infantry, and for two years studied military tactics assiduously. When war was threatened he was active in raising volunteer companies, and in March, 1812, he was commissioned a

captain in the Thirteenth United States Infantry, and ordered to report to Colonel Peter B. Schuyler. During the war he performed laborious and gallant services under several commanders in the Northern Department, and in 1815 the disability produced by his wound caused him to be disbanded and placed on the pension roll for the half pay of a captain. Thus ended his military career. He has resided many years in Schenectady. He has been mayor of that city, and represented New York city in the Legislature of the State for six years.

¹ Brown's MS. Letter-book

² Letter of General J. G. Swift to the author of this work, dated "Geneva, N. Y., February 13, 1866."

M. Myers

The American Army at the French Mills.

Character of its chief Leaders.

Hampton censured.

courses, he called a council of war, and left Hampton to do as he pleased. That council decided that the "conduct of Major General Hampton, in refusing to join his division to the troops descending the St. Lawrence, rendered it expedient to remove the army to French Mills, on the Salmon River."¹ "The opinion of the younger members of the council was," says General Swift, "that, with Brown as a leader, no character would be lost in going on to Montreal;"² but the majority said no, and on the following day,³ at noon, when information came that there was a considerable British force at Coteau du Lac, the foot soldiers and ar-

* November 15, 1813.

tillerymen were all embarked on the transports, under the direction of General Brown, and departed for the Salmon.³ The horses of the dragoons, excepting about forty, were made to swim across the cold and rapidly-flowing river, there a thousand yards wide, and the squadron proceeded to Utica. The flotilla passed up the Big Salmon River about six miles to its confluence with the Little Salmon, near the French Mills, when it was announced



PLACE OF DEBARKATION ON THE SALMON RIVER.³

that the boats were scuttled, and the army was to go into winter quarters in huts.⁵

Thus ended in disaster and disgrace an expedition which, in its inception, promised great and salutary results. It was composed of brave and patriotic men; and justice to those men requires the humiliating confession from the historian that their failure to achieve complete success is justly chargeable to the incompetency of the chief commanders, and the criminal indulgence on the part of those commanders of personal jealousies and animosities. The appointment of Wilkinson to the command of the Northern Army was a criminal blunder on the part of the government. His antecedents were well known, and did not recommend him for a responsible position. The weakness of his patriotism under temptation, and his too free indulgence in intoxicating liquors, were notorious. Hampton was totally unfitted for the responsible station in which he was placed;⁶ and Armstrong, who was a fellow-soldier with them both in the old War for Independence, lacked some of the qualities most essential in the administration of the extraordinary functions of his office in time of war. His presence on the frontier during the progress of the expedition was doubtless detrimental to the service, and he left for the seat of government at a moment when the counsel and direction of a judicious Secretary of War was most needed.⁷

¹ "The grounds on which this decision was taken were—want of bread, want of meat, want of Hampton's division, and a belief that the enemy's force was equal, if not greater than our own."—General J. G. Swift to General John Armstrong, June 17, 1836.

² General Swift's Letter to General Armstrong, June 17, 1836.

³ In a general order issued on the morning of the 13th, General Wilkinson said, "The commander-in-chief is compelled to retire (from the Canada shore) by the extraordinary, unexpected, and, it appears, unwarrantable conduct of Major General Hampton in refusing to join this army with a division of four thousand men under his command agreeable to positive orders from the commander-in-chief, and, as he has been assured by the Secretary of War, of explicit instructions from the War Department."

⁴ This is a view of the place where Wilkinson's flotilla was moored. The boats were soon frozen in the ice, and in February, apprehensions being felt of their capture by the enemy, they were cut and burnt down even with the surface of the ice, and sank when it melted in the spring.

⁵ Colonel Robert Carr's MS. Diary.

⁶ See page 630.

⁷ On the 24th of November, General Brown, then in command of the army at French Mills, wrote, with considerable

On arriving at Salmon River the army was immediately debarked on the frozen shores, and set to work in the construction of huts for winter quarters. Their first labor was the sad task of digging a grave for the remains of General Covington. He was shot through the body on the 11th, and died at Barnhart's on the morning of the 13th, just before the flotilla departed for French Mills.¹ Wilkinson at once left for Malone, after transferring the command of the army to General Lewis,² * November 16, 1813. who, with General Boyd, made



LEWIS' AND BOYD'S HEAD-QUARTERS.



BROWN'S HEAD-QUARTERS.

his head-quarters at a long, low building, yet standing in 1860, a dingy red in color, on the left bank of the Salmon, near the present lower bridge over the river at French Mills or Fort Covington.² Lewis and Boyd obtained leave of absence, and the command of the army devolved upon Brigadier General Brown, who made his head-quarters on the right bank of the river, in a house built by Spafford in 1811 (store of P. A. Mathews in 1860, corner of Water and Chateaugay Streets), and there he received his commission^b of * February 11, 1814. major general of the United

States Army. Hampton, in the mean time, had retired to Plattsburg with his four thousand men. By special orders, sent from Malone by the hand of Colonel Swift (when on his way to Washington with dispatches),³ Wilkinson directed Hampton to join the army at French Mills. This, like other orders, were utterly disregarded by

feeling to the Secretary of War, saying, "You have learned that the grand army of the United States, after marching and countermarching most ingloriously, arrived at this place on the 13th instant. I must not express to you my indignation and sorrow. I did not expect you would have left us." In the same letter he said, "Colonel Scott will hand you this, and can give you all the information you wish relative to our movements since he joined us (see page 652), and the present situation of our army. The public interest would be promoted by the advancement of such men as Scott."⁴ —MS. Letter-book.

¹ Leonard Covington was a brave soldier. He was a native of Maryland, and born in October, 1768. In 1792 he was a cornet of cavalry, and was distinguished for bravery under Wayne in the defense of Fort Recovery (see page 57) in June, 1794. He was in the battle at the Mannece Rapids in August following, where Wayne achieved a victory over the Indians. At the time of the first engagement he held the commission of lieutenant; in the last he was captain. He resigned in 1798. From 1806 to 1807 he represented a district of his native state in the National Congress. In 1809 he was commissioned colonel of light dragoons, and in August, 1812, was breveted brigadier general. He accompanied Wilkinson in his unfortunate expedition that ended at the French Mills. At the time of his death, on the 13th of November, 1813, he was about forty-five years of age.

² There was a block-house at French Mills situated on the property, owned, when I visited there in 1880, by Mr. McCre. General Covington's body was buried just outside of the block-house, in the present garden of Mr. McCre. There also was buried the remains of Major John Johnson, of the Twenty-first Infantry,^a who died at the station on the 11th of December, 1813. The block-house was named Fort Covington in honor of the slain general, and the village that grew up around the French Mills was also called Fort Covington. The place was first settled by a few French Canadians, who built mills there, and from this circumstance it was called French Mills until after the war.

³ "I found Mr. Madison much grieved by the failure of the campaign," General Swift wrote to the author in February, 1800. "It was generally believed that, had younger officers been placed in command of the armies of Wilkinson and Hampton, Montreal would have been taken without the inconsequential conflict at Chrysler's Field, though that affair gave distinction to several officers for meritorious services." Major Totten succeeded Colonel Swift as chief engineer after he left, of whom Brown spoke in the highest terms.

^a Major Johnson was from Pennsylvania. He entered the service as a marine in 1806, and was first lieutenant under Preble at Tripoli in 1804. In April, 1813, he was assistant adjutant general with the rank of major. In June he was commissioned major.

The Army relieved of Hampton's Presence. Sufferings of the Army at the French Mills. Departure of the Troops.

Hampton. He had accomplished the defeat of efforts to take Canada,¹ and, leaving General Izard, of South Carolina, in command, he abandoned the service, and returned to his immense sugar plantations in Louisiana,² followed by the contempt of all virtuous and patriotic men.

General Brown at once adopted measures for making the troops as comfortable as possible. Huts were constructed, but this was a work of much labor, and consumed several weeks. Meanwhile severe winter weather came. They were on the forty-fifth parallel, and at the beginning of December the cold became intense. Most of the soldiers had lost their blankets and extra clothing in the disasters near Grenadier Island, or in the battle on Chrysler's Field. Even the sick had no shelter but tents. The country in the vicinity was a wilderness, and provisions were not only scarce, but of inferior quality. A great quantity of medicines and hospital stores had been lost through mismanagement, and these could not be procured short of Albany, a distance of two hundred and fifty miles. The mortality among the sick became frightful, and disease prostrated nearly one half of the little army before they were fairly housed in well-regulated cantonments.³ Taking advantage of this distress, British emissaries tried, by the circulation of written and printed placards, to seduce the suffering soldiers from their allegiance. One of these written placards (see a fac-simile on the next page), found one morning upon a tree in one of the American camps, and presented to me by Colonel Carr, reads thus:

"NOTICE.—All American Soldiers who may wish to quit the unnatural war in which they are at present engaged will receive the arrears due to them by the American Government to the extent of five month's pay; on their arrival at the British out Posts. No man shall be required to serve against his own country."

It is believed that not a single soldier of American birth was enticed away by such allurements.

The enemy frequently menaced the cantonment at French Mills, as well as at Plattsburg, and toward the close of January Wilkinson received orders from the War Department to break up the post on Salmon River. Early in February the movement was made. The flotilla was destroyed as fully as the ice in which it was frozen would permit, and the barracks were consumed. The hospital at Malone was abandoned; and while Brown, with a larger portion of the troops, marched up the St. Lawrence and to Sackett's Harbor, the remainder accompanied the commander-in-chief to Plattsburg. The enemy at Cornwall were apprised of this movement, and crossed the river on the ice on the day when the last American detachment left French Mills. They were regulars, Canadian militia, and Indians, and plunder seemed to be their chief object. In this they were indulged, and the abandoned frontier suffered much. No discrimination seemed to be made between public and private property, and it was estimated that at least two hundred barrels of provisions were carried away.

Thus closed the events of the campaign of 1813 on the Northern frontier.

I visited the theatre of the scenes described in this chapter partly in the year 1855,

¹ See note 3, page 259.

² Hampton had immense sugar plantations in Louisiana, and was doubtless the most extensive planter and wealthiest man in the Southern States. He owned at one time five thousand negro slaves. He was a native of South Carolina, and was born in 1754. He was an active partisan soldier with Sumter and Marion. In 1808 he was commissioned a colonel of light dragoons, and a brigadier general in 1809. On the 2d of March, 1813, he was promoted to major general. His inefficient career is recorded in the text. In April, 1814, he resigned his commission, to the great joy of the Northern Army, with whom his deportment and habits had made him unpopular. He died at Columbia, South Carolina, on the 4th of February, 1835, at the age of eighty-one years.

³ The army was cantoned as follows on the 1st of January, 1814:

The artillery, under Colonel Alexander Macomb, of the Engineers, at the block-house on Mr. John M'Crea's property. The wounded from Chrysler's were taken into the block-house. This was called the *Centre Camp*. The *East Camp*, under the charge of Colonel E. W. Ripley, was on Seth Blanchard's property. The *North Camp*, under Colonel James Miller, was on the property of Allen Lincoln. The *West Camp*, under Colonel Campbell, was on W. L. Manning's property. The *South Camp* was on Hamlet Mear's property. The owners above mentioned were the proprietors of the land when I visited Fort Covington in the summer of 1860.

Attempt to seduce the American Soldiers from their Allegiance.

Notice

All American Soldiers who may wish
to quit the unnatural war in which they
are at present engaged will receive the ar
rears due to them by the American Govern
ment to the extent of five months pay, on
their arrival at the British out posts.
No man shall be required to serve
against his own country.

FACSIMILE OF A WRITTEN PLACARD.

Visit to Carleton Island.

Remains of Fortifications there.

Their History.

Vincent¹ by railway, and lodged in an inn connected with the road station there, standing on the margin of the St. Lawrence. It was a chilly night. The next morning was clear and blustering, and the surface of the river was dotted with the white caps of the waves. After an early breakfast we started for Carleton Island; three miles down the St. Lawrence, in a skiff rowed by a son of the proprietor of the hotel. As we approached the rocky bluff at the head of the island we observed several chimneys standing alone (built of stone, some perfect, some half in ruins), which mark the remains of strong and somewhat extensive fortifications erected there by both the French and English during the last century, that post being a key to the internavigation of the St. Lawrence River and Lake Ontario. We moored our boat in a small sheltered creek by which the head of the island is made a pleasant peninsula of eight or ten acres. On this stand the residences of Mr. Charles Pluche, an intelligent French Canadian (who owns five hundred acres of the western end of the island²), and of his brother. That creek separates the peninsula from the higher bluff on which the ruins of Fort Carleton are seen. Mr. Pluche kindly accompanied us to these ruins and other interesting places near, and, but for the increasing violence of the wind, which became almost a gale at noon, our visit would have been one of unmixed satisfaction.

The ruins of Fort Carleton are upon the most elevated portion of the island, and from the ramparts may be viewed some of the most picturesque scenery of the famous Thousand Islands and the New York shore. At what precise time fortifications were first erected there is not positively known. The English found it quite a strongly fortified post at the time of the conquest of Canada, at a little past the middle of the last century, and, perceiving its value in a military point of view (for it commands the main channel of the St. Lawrence), they greatly strengthened it.³ They occupied it until 1812. On the declaration of war that year most of the barracks to which the

now standing chimneys belonged were in good order, and before Cape Vincent was settled two or three families resided on the island. A garrison, composed of a sergeant and three invalid soldiers, and two women, occupied the fort when the war broke out. As soon as intelligence of the declaration reached the frontier, Captain Abner Hubbard, of Hubbard's (now Millen's) Bay, a soldier of the Revolution, started in a boat, with a man and boy, to



REMAINS OF FORT CARLETON.⁴

¹ This was known as Gravelly Point at the time of the War of 1812. It was laid out as a village in 1817. It is the northernmost town of Jefferson County, and is the terminus of the Rome, Watertown, and Cape Vincent Railway. From this point is a ferry to Kingston, passing through Wolf or Grand Island by a canal dug for the purpose a few years ago. The railway wharf is 3000 feet in length, with large store-houses and a grain-elevator.

² The island contains 1274 acres. The portion here alluded to was a military class-right, located there in 1786. The island forms a part of Cape Vincent Township, Jefferson County, New York. The island received its name from Governor Sir Guy Carleton.

³ Long, in his *Voyages*, printed in London, 1791, after speaking of Oswegatchie (Ogdensburg), says, "Carleton is higher up the river, and has greater conveniences to it than Oswegatchie, having an excellent harbor, with strong fortifications, and well garrisoned, excellent accommodations for shipping, a naval store-house for Niagara and other ports."

⁴ This view is from the N. N. E. point of the fort, and shows eight of the nine chimneys yet standing. On the extreme right, beyond the little vessel, is seen Cape Vincent.

capture Fort Carleton. He succeeded, and this was the first seizure of a military post after the declaration of war. He sent a boat on the following day to bring away the stores, and soon afterward the barracks were burned. Nine bare chimneys have stood there ever since, gray and solitary tokens of change. There were about twenty originally within the fort, some of which are in ruins. There were also chimneys on the little peninsula near Mr. Pluche's house, and along the shore northward, where, on a fine grassy point, vestiges of the gardens that were attached to the officers' quarters may yet be seen. The moat that surrounded the fort was dug in the rock, and so was the well in the northwestern portion of the works.

A little northward of the fort was the garrison cemetery; and beyond this, a fourth of a mile from the ramparts, is an ancient Indian burial-ground, in a grove of small trees on the verge of the river. In a grave that was opened there in the spring of 1860 was found the skeleton of a chief, bearing evidence that the body was first wrapped in the hide of a buffalo, then swathed in birch-bark, and next deposited in a board coffin. With the skeleton was found a silver gorget, on which was engraved a running deer; also a fine silver armlet (now in possession of the writer) bearing the royal arms of England,¹ silver ear-rings, and other trinkets. Near this burial-ground was found, the year before, a silver medal given by the British government to Colonel John Butler. It is known that Butler and Sir John Johnson encamped, with the Indians from the Mohawk Valley, on Carleton Island in 1775, when on their way to join the British at Montreal. The



INDIAN ARMLET.

medal was doubtless lost there at that time, and the chief who bore the armlet and gorget was probably one of the expedition, who perished there.

After partaking of some refreshments from the hands of Mrs. Pluche and daughter, we re-embarked in our little boat at noon. The wind was blowing almost a gale from the direction of Lake Ontario, bringing down waves that made the voyage a dangerous one. At times, when in the trough, we could not see the land. Our oarsman, a stout, resolute young man, labored faithfully, with the boat's bow up stream, but he could not make an inch of headway toward Cape Vincent; so, after heavy exertions and some anxiety, we were driven to the southern shore of the river, at a point opposite our place of departure. There we abandoned the boat and started on foot for Cape Vincent, when we met a farmer, with his wagon and rick, going to his field for hay. We hired him to take us to the Cape, and on soft, sweet dried grass we lay and rested in the cool air to the end of the wagon journey. The remainder of the afternoon was spent at the Cape in strolling about the little village, for the river was too rough to make a wished-for voyage to Grenadier Island either safe or pleasant. There we met General William Estes, who was conspicuous in the "Patriot War" in Canada in 1838, and visited the dwelling of Dr. Webb, the kitchen part of which is the remnant of the house of Richard M. Esseltyn, which, with others, was destroyed by the British. In it an American was shot.

We lodged at Cape Vincent that night, and at five o'clock the next morning departed in a lake steamer for Clayton (French Creek), sixteen miles below, where we landed, and breakfasted at the "Walton House," kept by a son of William Johnston, known among his British contemporaries in 1838 as "the Pirate of the Thousand Islands."

¹ This armlet is little more than ten inches in length and two and a half in width, and the ornamentation is embossed work. In addition to the royal arms is a trophy group, composed of helmet and cuirass, cannon, spears, and banners, the latter bearing the letters G. R., the monogram of the king; and a group inclosed within branches of the olive and palm, composed of a crown resting upon a sword and sceptre crossed. These armlets, gorgets, and other silver ornaments were distributed freely among the Indian chiefs by the British government, as one of the means of securing their loyalty. The gorget was always suspended from the neck, and rested upon the upper part of the breast.

Visit to Rock Island, the Home of Johnston of the Thousand Islands.

Peel Island and Its Associations.

There we were informed that the hero of many a romantic legend of the frontier was still living, in the light-house of which he was keeper, on a solitary island a few rods in circumference, five miles below, where, in company with two young ladies—traveling companions—I had visited him two years before. Hiring a boat, and a good fisherman as oarsman, we set out after breakfast to visit Mr. Johnston, prepared with fishing tackle to indulge in sport on the way. We trolled faithfully, but only a solitary pickerel of moderate size rewarded our watchfulness of the lines. Our dreams of mighty masquelonges, forty pounds in weight, which some young ladies, they say, sometimes "hook," were dispelled; but the kindly oarsman came to the assistance of our humbled pride as sportsmen with the pleasant suggestion that the late storm of wind had so roiled the water that "nobody couldn't do nothin' at fishin' when the creeturs couldn't see the spoon." And we were no more successful in catching a hero.

Silence reigned on Rock Island.¹ Not a living thing was seen. Johnston lived there entirely alone, at the age of seventy-eight years. He was now absent, and the island was deserted.² After making a sketch of the light-house and its locality, we left in disappointment, and again trolled unsuccessfully as we floated down the current about two miles to Peel Island, the scene of Johnston's exploit which caused him to be declared an outlaw by his own government, and gave him the name



LIGHT-HOUSE KEPT BY JOHNSTON.

of "Pirate." This exploit was the destruction of the British mail steamer *Sir Robert Peel* at this place on the night of the 29th and 30th of May, 1838, by Johnston and some disguised associates, who were engaged with the Canadians in their armed resistance to government. The immediate object of the assailants appears to have been the capture, and not the destruction of the steamer, and with her aid to seize, on the following day, the steamer *Great Britain*, and convert the two into cruisers on the lake. Johnston had but thirteen men with him, but was promised that two

hundred should be within call on the shore of the neighboring main. They were not there. He had not sufficient men to manage the powerful steamer, and, toward morning, he committed her to the flames. She was seized at



PEEL ISLAND.

¹ This is an appropriate name. It is a group of bare rocks, with a few trees and shrubs growing in the interstices. Johnston had filled some of the hollows with earth, brought from the main shore in his boat, and we found them covered with vegetables and flowers. The barren island possessed a pleasant little garden.

² This is in the midst of the Thousand Islands, five miles below Clayton, on the south side of the steam-boat channel. At the time of my visit there in 1858 I ascended to the lantern, and from that elevation counted no less than seventy islands, varying from rods to miles in circumference.

Johnston's Exploits among the Thousand Islands. His Arrests and Imprisonments. His Commission as Commodore.

Ripley's dock, on Wells's Island, taken into the stream, set on fire, and floated down and lodged against a small island near (represented in the sketch on the preceding page), which has since been known as Peel Island.¹

¹ From the lips of Mr. Johnston I received a very minute and particular account of this transaction. He was living at Clayton when the "Patriot" war broke out. Being a bold, adventurous man, and cordially hating the British government and its employes, he was easily persuaded by the American sympathizers with the "Patriots" to engage in the strife. His thorough knowledge of the St. Lawrence from Kingston to the Longue Sault pointed the "Patriots" to him as a valuable man for the service on that frontier. He says that the leaders promised him ample assistance in men and means, but disappointed him. They employed him to capture the *Peel* and seize the *Great Britain*. The former was a new and staunch vessel, built at Brockville in 1837. She was 30 feet wide and 160 in length, and was commanded by Captain John B. Armstrong. On the evening of the 20th of May, 1838, she was on her way up from Prescott to Toronto, with nineteen passengers, and stopped at M'Donnell's Wharf, on Wells's Island, for wood. Johnston and thirteen men in disguise were lying in wait at Ripley's wood wharf near by. They were armed with muskets and bayonets, and painted like Indians. They rushed on board, crying out, "Remember the *Caroline*!" (an American vessel that the British had destroyed at an American wharf a few months before), and compelled the passengers, in terrible alarm, and in their night-clothes, to go on shore. Their baggage was taken on shore likewise, and in this plight they remained, in a woodman's shanty, until morning, when they were conveyed to Kingston by the *Oncida*. When the insurgents had taken possession of the *Peel*, they hauled her out into the stream, expecting, as we have observed in the text, to be joined by a large number of others from the main. They did not appear. Johnston and his men, who, he says, "looked like devils," could not manage her, and she was set on fire. Governor Marcy declared Johnston an outlaw, and offered a reward of \$500 for his person, and smaller sums for each of his confederates who might be convicted of the offense. The



Mr. Johnston

Earl of Durham, governor of Canada, offered \$5000 for the conviction of any person concerned in the "infamous outrage." Johnston boldly avowed himself the leader of that party, in a proclamation which he issued from "Fort Wallace" on the 10th of June, 1838. He declared that the men under his command were nearly all Englishmen, and that his headquarters were on an island in the St. Lawrence, not within the jurisdiction of the United States. "I act under orders," he said. "The object of my movements is the independence of the Canadas. I am not at war with the commerce or property of the United States." "Fort Wallace" was a myth. It was wherever Johnston happened to be.

Johnston was now placed in peril between the officers of the two governments, and for several months he was a refugee, hiding among the Thousand Islands, and receiving food at night from his daughter, a beautiful girl eighteen years of age, small in stature and delicate in appearance, who handled oars with skill, and who, in a light boat, sought his hiding-places under cover of darkness. She was often watched and followed by persons in the interest of the United States government, but her thorough knowledge of the islands and skill in rowing allowed her to elude them. Finally Johnston joined in the expedition to Prescott, to "keep out of the way of both parties," he said. After the defeat of the insurgents at Windmill Point (see page 583), he was seen publicly in the streets of Ogdensburg, where he had many sympathizers, and was not arrested. He saw that all was lost, and, weary of hiding, he resolved to give himself up to the authorities of the United States, and cast himself upon the clemency of his country. He made an arrangement with his son John to arrest him and receive the \$500 reward. On the 17th of November (1838) he left Ogdensburg in a boat, with his son, when Deputy Marshal M'ulloch pursued him in a boat over which floated the revenue flag. Johnston was overtaken about two miles above Ogdensburg. He was armed with a Cochran rifle, two large rife-platois, and a bowie-knife. He agreed to surrender on condition that he should give up his arms to his son. He was then conducted back to the village, and delivered into the custody of Colonel (late Major General) Worth. He was taken to Syracuse, tried before Judge Conklin on a charge of violating the neutrality laws of the United States, and acquitted. He was again arrested, and escaped, when a reward of \$200 was offered for his arrest. He gave himself up at Albany, and, after lying three months in jail, was tried, found guilty, and sentenced to one year's imprisonment, and a fine of \$250. His faithful daughter, who had acquired the just title of the "Heroine of the Thousand Islands," hastened to Albany, and shared prison life with her father. After being there six months, with his faithful child at his side, he found means, by making a key of some zinc furnished him by a friend, to escape. The plan was made known to his daughter, who left the prison, and waited for him at Rome. One evening, at eight o'clock, he left the jail, and before daylight had walked forty miles toward Rome. When he arrived there, finally, at the house of a friend, he was dreadfully exhausted. He went home, and was unmolested; but the "Patriots" were determined to drive him into active service, and he received a commission creating him commander-in-chief of all the naval forces in "Patriot service" on the lakes.* This position had been accorded to him by common consent the year before. But he had seen enough of that kind of service, and he declined the office. A year or more afterward, when the agitation on the frontier had pretty

* Johnston's commission as commodore is before me, printed and written on thin paper. On the margin of it, occupying nearly one half of the space, is a rough engraving, a copy of which is given on the opposite page, reduced to half the size. Above this design (in which the American eagle is seen bearing off the British lion, whose crown has fallen; a maple leaf, symbolic of Canada, and two stars representing the two provinces) were little pictures of the arms of the

Johnston's heroic Daughter.

His Birthplace.

His Services in the War of 1812.

We returned to Clayton, and there found "Commodore" Johnston, a hale man, full of spirit, but suffering some from recent illness. I spent two hours pleasantly and profitably with him and his courageous daughter, listening to narratives of the stirring scenes in which they had been engaged twenty-two years before, and of which I have given a meagre outline in note 1, page 662. The "Heroine of the Thousand Islands" was now Mrs. Hawes, an intelligent and interesting woman, and mother of several children. Mr. Johnston is a man of medium size, compactly built, and full of pluck. His life-history was a stirring one previous to the "Patriot War." During the War of 1812 he was employed by Chauncey and Wilkinson in active service on the frontier waters; and he gave the British, whom he cordially disliked, a great deal of trouble. He was a native of Canada.¹ On the breaking out of the war he was residing at Bath, above Kingston, and conveyed some Americans across the lake to Sackett's Harbor in a large bark canoe. Not being satisfied with the militia service, in which he had been engaged, he remained on the American side, and from that time until the close of the war was engaged in the secret service on Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence, with a permit to capture all British public property that he might find afloat. His vessel was a gig, or light, swift boat, called the *Ridgeley*, and his companions were a corporal and five armed seamen. With these he captured bateaux and stores; with these he conveyed Wilkinson down the St. Lawrence, beyond the Longue Sault;² and with these he bore the body of the gallant Covington from Barnhart's to the French Mills.³ On one occasion he captured the Canadian dispatch mail on its way from Governor Prevost at Montreal to the lieutenant governor at Toronto, on delivery to Chauncey, was found to contain information of great value to the American commander. On another occasion he was out in Chauncey's boat, and

much ceased, a petition for his pardon was numerously signed. He took it to Washington himself, and, just at the close of Mr. Van Buren's administration in March, 1841, presented it to the President. "Mr. Van Buren," he said, "scolded me for presuming to come there with such a petition; but I waited ten days, presented it to President Harrison, and he pardoned me."

Mr. Johnston has lived at Clayton ever since. His offense was finally overlooked, and for several years the government that offered a reward of \$500 for him as an outlaw has been paying him \$350 a year for taking charge of one of its light-houses, in sight of the spot (Peel Island) where the offense was committed! Time makes great changes. When the late Rebellion broke out in 1861, Johnston, then about eighty years of age, went to Washington City, called on General Scott, and offered his services to his government.

State of New York, and below two others representing an eagle on its nest arranging its ears of wheat. The commission runs thus:

"Head-quarters, Windsor, U. C., September 5, 1839.

"WILLIAM JOHNSTON, Esq.:

"SIR.—By authority of the Grand Council, the Western Canadian Association, the great Grand Eagle Chapter, and the Grand Eagle Chapter of Upper Canada, on Patriot Executive duty—You are hereby Commissioned to the Rank in Line of a Commodore of the Navy, Commander-in-Chief of all the Naval forces of the Canadian Provinces, on Patriot service in Upper Canada.

"Yours with respect,

H. S. HAND,

"Commander-in-chief of the Northwestern Army on Patriot service in Upper Canada.

"E. J. ROBERTS, Adjutant General, N. W. A. P. S."

This commission is indorsed by "John Montgomery, of the Grand Eagle Chapter of Upper Canada, on Patriot Executive duty.

"ROBERT ROBERTSON, Secretary."

"Sworn to before me, at Windsor, U. C., this 25th day of September, 1839.

"H. S. HAND."

The seal attached to the commission appears to have been impressed by a common glass signet, on which are the words, "*Remember me to all friends.*"



JOHNSTON'S COMMISSION.

These "Chapters" refer to the secret leagues of sympathizers with the insurgents that were formed along the entire frontier, under the name of "Hunters' Lodges." These were suppressed by President Tyler, who issued a proclamation for the purpose on the 5th of September, 1841.

¹ He was born at Three Rivers on the 1st of February, 1782. His father was an Irishman, and his mother was a Dutch girl from New Jersey. After the war he lived at Sackett's Harbor and Watertown, and kept a tavern for a while in the latter village. He finally settled at French Creek (now Clayton), where he and most of his family have since resided.

² See page 661. Johnston was well acquainted with Chrysler, and tried to get the army below his residence, that it might not suffer during the engagement that seemed inevitable. During the battle of Chrysler's Field or Farm, Johnston carried powder from the boats to the dragoons, who delivered it to those in the fight. It is well known that General Wilkinson indulged too freely in spirituous liquors. Johnston assured me that, at the time of the battle of Chrysler's Field, the commander-in-chief was so intoxicated ("indisposed," as charity phrases it) that he could not leave his boat.

³ See page 660.

was wrecked on the Canada shore in a storm. The boat was a ruin. They were discovered. Johnston was identified, and a body of militia and Indians were sent out from Kingston (where he had been hung in effigy) to arrest him. He directed his men not to avoid capture, but to affirm that they had been sent out for deserters, and were returning home when struck by the storm. Their story was believed, and within a week they were sent home on parole. Johnston meanwhile concealed himself in a huge hollow stump, in a field of oats, for several days, and it was three weeks before he found a way to return to Sackett's Harbor.

There was a crowd of visitors at the "Walton House," for it is a favorite place of summer resort for those who love good fishing, boating, and the most picturesque scenery of the Thousand Islands. The St. Lawrence, filled with these islands, is there about nine miles wide. During an afternoon I visited the place of Brown's encampment when attacked by the British,¹ and made the sketch on page 649. Toward sunset the quiet of the little village was disturbed, and the faces of all the inhabitants were turned skyward to observe the passage over them of a man in a balloon, a thousand feet in the air, who had ascended from Kingston, and, as we were informed next day, descended far toward the Sorel, the outlet of Lake Champlain. On the following morning I went down the St. Lawrence to Ogdensburg, and made the visits there and in the vicinity recorded in Chapter XXVIII. On Friday, the 27th, I breakfasted at Malone,² and after a brief interview with Sidney W. Gillett, Esq., whose elegant new mansion stood fronting on Main Street in that village, on the site of the arsenal established there in 1812, I rode out to Fort Covington (French Mills), about fourteen miles northward, in a light wagon drawn by a span of fleet black ponies.



FRENCH MILLS IN 1860.³

The Honorable James Campbell, who was an ensign, and was stationed at French Mills and vicinity during a greater portion of the war, in the service of the Quartermaster's and Commissary Departments, was yet living, and residing with his daughter at Fort Covington. I had been at his house, on the road between Massena Springs and St. Regis, a few years before; and I found him now, as then, able to say that he had never been sick in his life, though almost fourscore years of age. His mental

¹ See page 648.

² Malone is the capital of Franklin County, and is pleasantly situated on the Salmon River. It was the only incorporated village in the county, and had a population of about 2000. The banks of the river there, below the railway bridge, are rugged and picturesque. Settlements were made there at the beginning of this century.

³ The building on the right, with its gable next to the dam, is the original mill erected there by the French Canadians.

Veteran Soldiers at Fort Covington. Journey to Rouse's Point. La Colle. Passage of St. Lawrence Rapids.

vigor seemed perfect, and his memory of events in his experience was vivid. He was stationed at French Mills early in the war, in charge of rations, which were served regularly to the St. Regis Indians in order to keep them quiet.¹ He was assistant store-keeper, and when Wilkinson left there he was placed in charge of all the provisions of the army. He continued in that service until its departure in February, 1814. Judge Campbell kindly accompanied me to places of interest about Fort Covington, namely, the original mill;² the head-quarters of Boyd and Brown;³ the place of debarkation, where the gun-boats were destroyed;⁴ the site of the respective cantonments of the army; and of the block-house on the M'Crea property,⁵ whose well, contained within the building, was yet standing.

James Campbell



THE MAGNANIMOUS WELL.

While on the lower bridge over the Salmon, sketching the picture of the Mills on the opposite page, an old gentleman approached, and was introduced to me by Judge Campbell. He was Colonel Ezra Stiles, the deputy collector of the port at Fort Covington,⁶ who enlisted in the Eleventh Regiment in December, 1812, when a little more than fourteen years of age. He was with Hampton in the affair at Chateaugay, and was with General Brown in all of his military operations on the Niagara frontier during the remainder of the war. He left the service when the army was disbanded in 1815.

I returned to Malone in time to take the cars for Rouse's Point at about three o'clock P.M. It was a bright and very delightful day. In that journey, fifty-seven miles, we crossed the foot of the great Adirondack slope, the northernmost portion of the Alleghany or Appalachian range of mountains, that traverse the sea-board states from Georgia to the St. Lawrence level. The lofty peaks of the Adirondacks were in sight southward, while the eye, glancing northward over an immense wooded prairie, rested upon the Mountain back of Montreal. At near six o'clock I took a hurried meal at the village of Rouse's Point, and hiring a light wagon, fleet horse, and intelligent driver, rode to La Colle River, a tributary of the Sorel, and made a sketch of a block-house there before sunset. By a slight circuit we rode through La Colle village and Odelltown in the twilight. I spent the night at Rouse's Point, and on the following morning journeyed to Champlain, Chazy, and Plattsburg. Of the events which have made all the places just named famous in our history, and of my visit there, I shall hereafter write.

In the summer of 1855 I spent a short time at Massena Sulphur Springs, on the Racquette River, seven miles by road from the St. Lawrence. While sojourning there I visited St. Regis, as already mentioned, and, on leaving, crossed the St. Lawrence from Lewisville, at the head of the Longue Sault, for the purpose of visiting the battle-field on Chrysler's Farm. It was a warm and pleasant day late in August,⁷ and a friend accompanied me. At Lewisville we hired a water-man, who engaged to take us safely across the swift and, in some places, turbulent stream, there divided by two or three islands. We shot obliquely across and down the first channel, rounded the lower cape of an island, went up its farther shore in an eddying current, and in a similar manner shot across to another island. In this zigzag way we made the really perilous passage of the rapids to the village of Chrysler, where we lunched on apple-pie, cheese, and cold water, and hired a conveyance to the battle-ground and Williamsburg beyond.

⁷ August 27, 1855.

¹ See page 373. ² See picture on page 664. ³ See pictures on page 656. ⁴ See page 655. ⁵ See note 2, page 656. ⁶ Fort Covington is a part of entry; but the steam-boats seldom go above Duquesne, a small village a mile below, and about half way between the Mills and the boundary-line between the United States and Canada.

Visit to the Battle-ground on Chrysler's Farm. A British Soldier and his Medal of Honor. Scene on the St. Lawrence

We were kindly welcomed at the Chrysler mansion, delineated on page 652, by Mr. James Croile, the proprietor, who pointed out the various localities of the battle,

and accompanied us to the house of his nearest neighbor, Peter Brouse, who was a soldier in the Dundas militia, and participated in the fight. Mr. Brouse related with much self-satisfaction the exploits of the British on that day, and, with much genuine pride,

Peter Brouse

exhibited a small silver medal, suspended by a ribbon, which he had lately received. These had been presented to the surviving soldiers of that and other battles, from 1793 to 1814, by the British queen as a sort of "Legion of Honor." The picture here given is the exact size of the original, and exhibits both sides. On one side is the effigy of the queen and her name; and on the other a representation of her majesty crowning a soldier with a civic wreath, and the words, "TO THE BRITISH ARMY—1814—1793."

One of Chrysler's barns, pierced and battered by bullets, was yet standing, and appears the larger (though the most remote) in the group of outbuildings in the picture on page 652. In the orchard, between the mansion and the river, may be seen the burial-places of the killed in the battle.



VICTORIA MEDAL.

We dined with Mr. Croile and his family in the Chrysler mansion, and at two o'clock started for Williamsburg, four and a half miles up the river. Our road lay along the margin of the stream, through one of the most fertile districts of Canada. We had not proceeded far before a small cloud, whose gathering we had scarcely noticed, sent down a violent shower of rain. We sought shelter under a wide-spreading tree in front of a plain dwelling, from which came the giggling of girls who were amused at our plight. The tree was no shelter, and we unceremoniously took refuge from the storm in the house, where those who had innocently made merry over our drenching kindly regaled us with strawberries and cream, and made the balance-sheet of courtesy in their favor. The storm was brief. The sun burst forth in sudden splendor, and its rays, wedded to the retiring rain-drops, wove a gorgeous iridescent vail, marked, like the bow on the cloud, with specific curves, but lying prone upon the bosom of the St. Lawrence, and bathing its surface and islands in prismatic beauty. It was a charming spectacle, and has left an ineffaceable picture on the memory.

At four o'clock we reached Williamsburg (whose name had just been changed to Morrisville, in honor of a distinguished officer in the postal department of Canada), where we dismissed our carriage, intending to go by water to Prescott. We were directed to the "Grand Trunk Hotel" as the best in the village, which is remarkable in our recollection for swarms of flies, flocks of spiders, and an obliging host. There we supped and lodged, and before dawn took passage in a Montreal steamer for Prescott, where we breakfasted. Crossing to Ogdensburg, we spent the day and night there, and on the following day made a voyage through the Thousand Islands to Cape Vincent, from whence I journeyed by railway to my home on the banks of the Hudson.

CHAPTER XXX.

"She comes! the proud invader comes
To waste our country, spoil our homes;
To lay our towns and cities low,
And bid our mothers' tears to flow;
Our wives lament, our orphans weep—
To seize the empire of the deep!"—ASGOT UMBREAVILLE.



HASTISE THE AMERICANS INTO SUBMISSION! was the fiat of the British Cabinet at the close of 1812, and it was determined to send out a land and naval force sufficient to do it. It was evident that efforts such as have been recorded in preceding chapters would be made by the Americans for the invasion and conquest of Canada, and that the successes achieved by them on the ocean would stimulate them to the performance of more daring exploits on the waves which Britannia claimed to rule.

These efforts must be met, and Great Britain put forth her strength for the purpose. It was determined to blockade and desolate the coasts of the United States, lay waste their sea-port towns, destroy their dock-yards, and thus not only endeavor to divert their military strength from the Canada frontier, but destroy the centres of their commercial and naval power, dispirit the people, intensify the domestic resistance to the farther prosecution of the war, and secure the absolute submission of the nation to British insolence and greed. Admiral Warren's fleet in American waters was re-enforced, and Sir George Cockburn, a rear admiral in the British navy, and willing instrument in the accomplishment of work which honorable English commanders would not soil their hands with, was made his second in command. He was specially commissioned to wage a sort of amphibious and marauding warfare on the coasts, from the Delaware River southward.

On the 26th of December, 1812, an order in Council declared the ports and harbors in the Chesapeake and Delaware Bays to be in a state of rigorous blockade. Soon afterward additional ships of war and transports arrived at Bermuda, bearing a considerable land force, and well furnished with bomb-shells and Congreve rockets, to be used in the conflagration of sea-board towns.¹ A part of the land force consisted of French prisoners of war, who preferred to engage in the British marine service to risking indefinite confinement in Dartmoor Prison, in England.

The first appearance of blockading vessels was on the 4th of February,² when four 74-gun ships and several smaller armed vessels³ entered the Virginia Capes and bore up toward Hampton Roads. The fleet was under the command of Admiral Cockburn (whose flag-ship was the *Marlborough*), assisted by Commodore Beresford, whose pennant was over the *Poictiers*.³ They bore a land force of about eighteen hundred men, and were well supplied with small surf-boats for landing. Their appearance alarmed all lower Virginia, and the militia of the Peninsula and the region about Norfolk were soon in motion. An order soon went out from the Secretary of

¹ This rocket is a very destructive species of fire-work, invented by Sir William Congreve, an English artillery officer, in 1804, and first used against Boulogne in 1806. The body of the machine is cylindrical, and its head conical. It is filled with very inflammable materials, on the combustion of which, as in the common sky-rocket, the body is impelled with continued acceleration.

² *Marlborough*, Admiral Cockburn; *Dragon*, Captain Berry; *Poictiers*, Commander Beresford; and *Victorious*, Captain Talbot, were the 74's. These were accompanied by the *Acacia*, 44, *Kerr*, *Junon*, 38, *Kerr*, *Stalira*, 38, *Stackpole*; *Maitland*, 36, *Burdett*; *Helvidera*, 36, *Byron*; *Narcissus*, 32, *Aylmer*; *Lauristonius*, 21, *Gordon*; *Tartarus*, 20, *Pasco*. Others soon joined these, making a very formidable fleet.

³ See page 467.

Defenses of Norfolk and Hampton Roads. Discretion of the Blockaders. Patriotism on the Shores of Delaware Bay.

• March 16, 1813, the Treasury^a for the extinguishment of all the beacon-lights on the Chesapeake coast.

It was supposed that Hampton and Norfolk would be attacked. The latter place was pretty well defended by fortifications which General Wade Hampton had caused



INTERIOR OF OLD FORT NORFOLK IN 1853.

to be thrown up on Craney Island, five miles below the city, under the superintendence of Colonel Armistead. The masters and mates of merchant vessels in Norfolk harbor joined themselves into volunteer military companies and garrisoned old Fort Norfolk. The frigate *Constellation*, 38, Captain Tarbelle, was lying near, supported by a flotilla of gunboats. Old Point Comfort soon bristled with bayonets; and the British commanders thought it more prudent at that time to destroy the small merchant craft found in Chesapeake Bay than to enter Hampton Roads. They did little more than this for several weeks, when Commodore Beresford was sent, with the *Poictiers*, *Belvidera*, and some smaller

vessels, to blockade the Delaware Bay and River, and teach the inhabitants along their shores the duty of submission. He found his unwilling pupils very refractory; for when, on the 16th of March, he pointed the guns of the *Poictiers* toward the village of Lewis, near Cape Henlopen, and said, in a note to "the first magistrate" of that little town, "You must send me twenty live bullocks, with a proportionate quantity of vegetables and hay, for the use of his Britannic majesty's squadron," offering to pay for them, but threatening, in the event of refusal, to destroy the place, the "first magistrate" of Lewistown, and all the people, from Philadelphia to the sea, said in substance, as they every where prepared for resistance, "We solemnly refuse to commit legal or moral treason at your command. Do your worst." They had heard of his coming, and had already, on both sides of the bay and river, assembled in armed bodies at expected points of attack to repel the invaders. The spirit of the fathers was aroused, some of whom, full of the fire of the flint, were yet abiding among them. At Dover, on the Sabbath day, the drum beat to arms, and men of every denomination in politics and religion, to the number of almost five hundred, responded to the call. Among them was Jonathan M'Nutt, an age-bent soldier of the Revolution, who exchanged his staff for a musket and engaged in the drill. Pious Methodist as he was, he did not regard the day as too holy for patriotic deeds, and he spent the whole afternoon in making ball-cartridges.¹ This was the spirit every where manifested. At Smyrna, New Castle, and Wilmington, the inhabitants turned out with spades or

muskets, prepared to cast up the earth for batteries and trenches,² or to be soldiers to meet the foe. At the latter place, the venerable soldier of the Revolution, Allan M'Lane, took the direction of military affairs.³ The specie of the banks of

New Castle and Wilmington was sent to Philadelphia for safety; and in the latter city Captain William Mitchell and his *Independent Blues*, and Captain Jacob H. Fis-

¹ Niles's Weekly Register, iv., 68.

² They erected a strong work, to completely command the Christina Creek, at Wilmington, which was called Fort Union. It was believed that it could withstand any force that might approach it by water.—See *Sketch of Military Operations on the Delaware during the late War*.

³ Niles's Weekly Register, iv., 68.

The British threaten and hesitate.

Attack on Lewistown.

Cockburn's Operations.

ler and his *Junior Artillerists*, formed in three days for the occasion, volunteered to garrison Fort Mifflin.

Beresford was astonished by the spirit of the people, and held the thunders of his threat at bay for almost three weeks. Governor Haslet, in the mean time, summoned the militia to the defense of the menaced town, and on his arrival at Lewis on the 23d he reiterated the positive refusal of the inhabitants to furnish the invaders with supplies. Beresford continued to threaten and hesitate; but at length, on the evening of the 6th of April, he sent Captain Byron, with the *Belvidera* and smaller vessels, to attack the village. They drew near, and the *Belvidera* sent several heavy round-shot into the town. These were followed by a flag of truce, bearing from Byron a renewal of the requisition. It was answered by Colonel S. B. Davis, who commanded the militia. He repeated the refusal, when Byron sent a reply, in which he expressed regret for the misery he should inflict on the women and children by a bombardment. "Colonel Davis is a gallant officer, and has taken care of the ladies," was the verbal answer. This correspondence was followed by a cannonade and bombardment that was kept up for twenty-two hours. So spirited was the response of a battery on an eminence, worked by Colonel Davis's militia, that the most dangerous of the enemy's gun-boats was disabled, and its cannon silenced. Notwithstanding the British hurled full eight hundred of these eighteen and thirty-two pound shot into the town, and many shells and Congreve rockets were sent, the damage inflicted was not severe. The shells did not reach the village; the rockets passed over it; but the heavy round shot injured several houses. No lives were lost. An ample supply of powder was sent down from Dupont's, at Wilmington, while the enemy supplied the balls. These fitted the American cannon, and a large number of them were sent back with effect.¹

On the afternoon of the 7th the British attempted to land for the purpose of seizing live-stock in the neighborhood, but they were met at the verge of the water by the spirited militia, and driven back to their ships. For a month the squadron lingered, and then, dropping down to Newbold's Ponds, seven miles below Lewistown, boats filled with armed men were sent on shore to obtain a supply of water. Colonel Davis immediately detached Major George H. Hunter with a few men, who drove them back to the ships. Failing to obtain any supplies on the shores of the Delaware, the little blockading squadron sailed for Bermuda, where Admiral Warren was fitting out re-enforcements for his fleet in the American waters.

The blockaders within the Capes of Virginia were very busy in the mean time. The fleet was under the command of Admiral Cockburn, and took chief position in Lynn Haven Bay.² He continually sent out marauding expeditions along the shores of the Chesapeake, who plundered and burnt farm-houses, carried off negroes and armed them against their masters, and seized live-stock wherever it could be found. The country exposed to these depredations was extensive and sparsely settled, and it was difficult to concentrate a military force at one point in sufficient time to be effective against the marauders. In some instances they were severely punished, but these were rare.

More felicitous and more honorable exploits were sometimes undertaken by the blockaders under Cockburn. On the 3d of April a flotilla of a dozen armed boats from the British fleet, under Lieutenant Polkingthorne, of the *St. Domingo*, 74, entered the mouth of the Rappahannock River, and attacked the Baltimore privateer *Dolphin*, 10, Captain Stafford, and three armed schooners prepared to sail for France. The assault was unexpected and fierce. The three smaller vessels were soon taken, but the struggle for the *Dolphin* was severe. She was finally boarded,



¹ Niles's *Weekly Register*, iv., 118.

² See page 156.

Cockburn's Desires restrained by Fear.

The British capture Frenchtown.

Havre de Grace threatened.

and for fifteen minutes the contest raged fearfully on her deck. Overpowered by numbers, Captain Stafford was compelled to submit.¹ In this affair the loss was much heavier on the British than on the American side. No official account of the casualties were ever given by either party, but contemporary writers agree that the capture of the *Dolphin* cost the victors many lives.

Emboldened by this success, Cockburn resolved to engage in still more ambitious adventures. He thought of attacking Annapolis and Baltimore, and even dreamed of the glory and renown of penetrating the country forty or fifty miles and destroying the national capital. Prudence restrained obedience to his desires. His friends among the "Peace men" of Baltimore doubtless informed him that the vigilance of the people of that city, under the eye of the veteran General Smith, was sleepless; that look-out boats were far down the Patapsco; that riflemen and horsemen were stationed along the shores of the river and bay; that Fort M'Henry was being strengthened by the mounting of thirty-two-pounders; that the City Brigade numbered almost two thousand men; and that an equal number of volunteers for the defense of the place were within trumpet-call. He wisely concluded to pass by the political and commercial capitals of Maryland, and fall upon weaker objects. With a large force he menaced Baltimore as a feint on the 16th of April, and on the 29th, with the brigs *Fantome* and *Mohawk*, and tenders *Dolphin*, *Racer*, and *Highflyer*, he entered Elk River, toward the head of Chesapeake Bay, and proceeded to destroy Frenchtown, on the Delaware shore. It was a village of about a dozen buildings, composed of dwellings, store-houses, and stables. The blockading vessels had driven the trade between Philadelphia and Baltimore from the ordinary line of water-travel, and this place had become an important entrepôt of traffic between the two cities.

Admiral Cockburn made the *Fantome* his flag-ship, and sent First Lieutenant Westphall, of the *Marlborough*, with about four hundred armed men in boats, to destroy the public and private property at Frenchtown. The only defenders were quite a large number of drivers of stages and transportation wagons who were assembled there, and a few militia who came down from Elkton. The former garrisoned the redoubt, which had just been erected, upon which lay three iron four-pounders, first used in the old War for Independence. They fought manfully, but were compelled to retire before overwhelming numbers. The store-houses were plundered and burnt, but no dwelling was injured. The women and children were treated with respect. Property on land to the amount of twenty-five thousand dollars was consumed, and on the water five small trading-vessels.² This incendiary work accomplished, the invaders withdrew, and on the *Fantome*, the following day, Sir George wrote an account of the affair to Admiral Warren, taking care to assure that humane commander that he was following out his orders in giving a receipt for property taken from non-combatants.

Havre de Grace, near the mouth of the Susquehanna River, was the marauding knight's next object for visitation. It was a small town, two miles up from the head of Chesapeake Bay, and contained about sixty houses, built mostly of wood. It was on the post-road between Philadelphia and Baltimore, as it now is upon the railway between the two cities. For some time the enemy had been expected there, not because there were stores or any other seductions for him, but because the love of plunder and wanton destruction appeared to be Cockburn's animating spirit. Several companies of militia had been sent to the vicinity; and upon the high bank of the

¹ Niles's *Weekly Register*, iv., 119.

² Niles's *Weekly Register*, iv., 164. A letter in *The War* (l., 196) says: "On their arrival at the Stage Tavern, which was nearest their landing, the British officer told the landlady not to be frightened, as they would not hurt her or her property, and ordered something to regale himself. Soon afterward some under officers came in and said they had possession of the stores, and asked what they should do with them. The officer replied that if there was any thing they wanted they might take it and then burn the houses. In a few minutes every British sailor was rigged in an American uniform, after which they set the stores on fire, and consumed them and all the goods in them to a considerable amount." A greater portion of the merchandise consumed was private property.

Preparations for the Invaders at Havre de Grace.

Cockburn assails the Village.

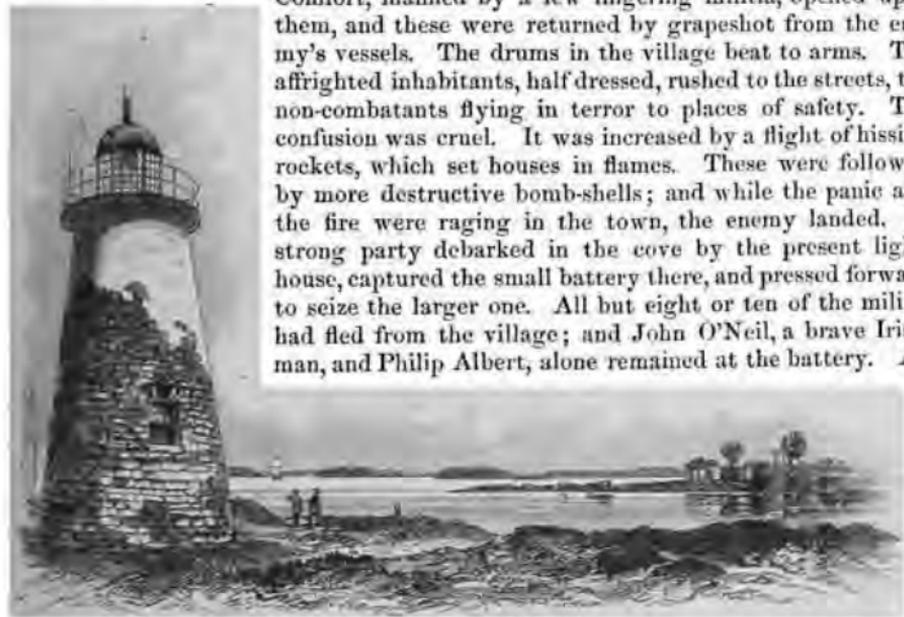
Flight of the Inhabitants.

river, just below the village, near the site of the present (1867) iron-works of Whittaker & Co., a battery was erected, on which one eighteen-pounder and two nine-pounders were mounted. This, for reasons unexplained, was called the "Potato Battery." On the lower, or Concord Point, where the light-house now stands, was a smaller battery, and both were manned by militia exempts. Patrols watched the shores all the way to the Bay looking for the enemy, and for about three weeks this vigilance was unslumbering. The enemy did not appear. All alarm subsided; and the spirit that brought out armed men began to flag. Some returned home, and apathy was the rule.

Cockburn was informed of this state of things at Havre de Grace, and prepared to fall upon the unsuspecting villagers on the night of the 1st of May. A deserter carried intelligence of his intentions to the town, and the entire neighborhood was speedily aroused. The women and children were carried to places of safety, and about two hundred and fifty militia were soon again at their posts. But Cockburn did not come. He purposely lulled them into repose by a postponement of the attack. The deserter's story was disbelieved. It was thought to be a false alarm. What is there to call the British here? common sagacity queried. The militia again became disorganized, and many of them returned home.

On the night of the 2d of May there was perfect quiet in Havre de Grace. The inhabitants went to sleep more peacefully than they had done for a month. They were suddenly awakened at dawn by the din of arms. It was a beautiful serene morning; "not a cloud in the sky nor a ripple on the water," said the venerable Mr. Howtell, of Havre de Grace, to me, in the autumn of 1861, as we stood upon the site of the "Potato Battery." He was there at the time, and participated in the scenes. Fifteen to twenty barges, filled with British troops, were discovered approaching Concord Point, on which the light-house now stands. The guns on higher Point

Comfort, manned by a few lingering militia, opened upon them, and these were returned by grapeshot from the enemy's vessels. The drums in the village beat to arms. The affrighted inhabitants, half dressed, rushed to the streets, the non-combatants flying in terror to places of safety. The confusion was cruel. It was increased by a flight of hissing rockets, which set houses in flames. These were followed by more destructive bomb-shells; and while the panic and the fire were raging in the town, the enemy landed. A strong party debarked in the cove by the present light-house, captured the small battery there, and pressed forward to seize the larger one. All but eight or ten of the militia had fled from the village; and John O'Neil, a brave Irishman, and Philip Albert, alone remained at the battery. Al-



LANDING-PLACE OF THE BRITISH.

bert was hurt, and O'Neil attempted to manage the heaviest gun alone. He loaded and discharged it, when, by its recoil, his thigh was injured, and he was disabled. They both hurried toward the town, and used their muskets until compelled to fly toward the open common, near the Episcopal Church, pursued by a British horse-

Landing of the British at Havre de Grace.

Their cruel Conduct.

Destruction of private Property.

man. There O'Neil was captured, but Albert escaped. The brave Irishman was carried on board the frigate *Maidstone*, and in the course of a few days was set at liberty.

The guns of the captured battery were turned upon the town, and added to the destruction. A greater portion of the enemy (almost four hundred in number) went up to the site of the present railway ferry landing, and debarked there. They rushed up to the open common, separated into squads, and commenced plundering and destroying systematically, officers and men entering into the business with equal alac-

rity.¹ Finally, when at least one half of the village had been destroyed, Cockburn, the instigator of the crime, went on shore, and was met on the common by several ladies who had taken refuge in an elegant brick house, some distance from the village, known as the Pringle mansion. They entreated him to spare the remainder of the village, and especially the roof that sheltered them. He yielded with reluctance, and at length gave an order for a stay of the plundering.²

Meanwhile a large detachment of the enemy went up



THE PRINGLE HOUSE.

the Susquehanna about six miles, to the head of tide-water, and there destroyed the extensive iron-works and cannon foundry belonging to Colonel Hughes. A number of vessels that had escaped from the Bay and were anchored there were saved from the flames by being sunk. At a point below, Stump's large warehouse was burnt. Finally, when all possible mischief had been achieved along the river bank—when farm-houses had been plundered and burnt a long distance on the Baltimore road—when, after the lapse of four hours, forty of the sixty houses in the village had been destroyed, and nearly all the remainder of the edifices, except the Episcopal Church,³ were more or less injured, the marauders assembled in their vessels in the stream,



EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

¹ The late Jared Sparks, LL.D., was an eye-witness of the conduct of the marauders, and has left an record, in the *North American Review* (July, 1817), an account of real barbarities committed by them; and William Charles, the caricaturist, perpetuated their cruelties and robberies with his pencil. A few of the British officers, who did not share in the spirit of Cockburn, remonstrated, but in vain.

² Among those who took shelter there were the wife of Commodore Rodgers, Mrs. William Pinkney, and Mrs. Goldborough. The latter begged the officer who had been sent up with a detachment to burn Mr. Pringle's house to spare it, for she had an aged mother in it. He replied that his orders were from Admiral Cockburn himself, and that she must see him. This was the occasion of the depopulation of women meeting him on the common. When they returned the house was on fire, and men were leaving it with plunder. By great exertions the flames were extinguished. Such was the statement of a lady living near to her brother in Baltimore, published in Niles's *Register*, iv., 196. She mentions several instances of vandalism.

³ This building is of brick, and stands on the corner of Union Street and Congress Avenue. It was two stories in

A Visit to Havre de Grace.

Historical Localities there.

John O'Neil, his Sword and Dwelling.

and at sunset sailed out into the Bay to pay a similar visit to villages on the Sassafras River.¹ Havre de Grace was at least sixty thousand dollars poorer when they left than when they came twelve hours before.

It was a sunny but blustery day^a when I visited Havre de Grace and the scenes around it, made memorable by its woes. I arrived in the evening by railway from Baltimore, where I had spent three days in visiting the battle-ground at North Point and other interesting places hereafter to be described. The town was full of soldiers, many being stationed there to guard the ferry and public property from the violence of the sympathizers with the rebels in Maryland. The only hotel in the place was entirely filled with lodgers, and private houses were in like condition. The prospect for a night's repose was unpromising. For myself, a settee or an easy-chair might have sufficed; but I had a traveling companion (a young woman and near relative) who required better accommodations. The obliging proprietor of the hotel, after much effort, succeeded in placing us in the unoccupied furnished house of his son-in-law, where we passed a dreary night, the windows of my room clattering continually at the bidding of the gusty wind. Early the next morning I went out in search of celebrities, and, after sketching the old residence of Commodore Rodgers, printed on page 182, I fortunately fell in with Mr. Howtell, already mentioned, who became my cicerone. Under his direction I was enabled to find every place sought after.

While sketching the landing-place of the British near the light-house (page 671), the keeper of the pharos came to know my business. He was an aged man, and I soon discovered that he was one of the oldest residents of the place, having been a half-grown boy at the time of the British visitation. "Did you know John O'Neil, who behaved so gallantly at the Potato Battery?" I asked. "I ought to," he replied, "for he was my father." Can you tell me any thing about the sword presented to him by the authorities of Philadelphia for his bravery on that occasion?" I inquired. "If you will go with me to the house," he replied, "it will speak for itself." When I had finished my sketch of the weather-beaten light-house (from which most of the stucco had been abraded) and the cove, with the distant Turkey Point, Spesutia Island, and the Maryland main on the right, I followed Mr. O'Neil to his little cottage near by, and there not only saw and sketched the honorary sword, but from the brave John O'Neil's own family Bible obtained a few facts concerning his personal history. He was born in Ireland on the 23d of November, 1768, and came to America at the age of eighteen years. He was in the military service under General Harry Lee in quelling the Whisky Insurrection in Western Pennsylvania, and in 1798 entered the naval service against the French. He became an extensive nail-maker at Havre de Grace, sometimes employing as many as twenty men. The destruction of the place ruined his business. When the present light-house was built on Concord Point in 1829 he became its keeper; and on the 26th of January, 1838, he died in the house where his son and successor resides. The sword had a handsomely-ornamented gilt scabbard, on which was the following inscription: "PRESENTED TO THE GALLANT JOHN O'NEIL FOR HIS VALOR AT HAVRE DE GRACE, BY PHILADELPHIA—1813." In Charles's caricature just mentioned, a British officer, who has arrested the bold cannonier and con-



JOHN O'NEIL'S
SWORD.

^a height at the time of the destruction of Havre de Grace. Between thirty and forty years ago it was fired by a lightning stroke and partially consumed. The square spaces in the walls over the windows show the lower portions of the old windows in the second story. Although the British did not apply the torch to the church, they amused themselves by hurling stones through the windows.

^b In the affair at Havre de Grace the Americans lost one man (Mr. Webster), killed by a rocket. The British lost three killed and two wounded.

The "Pringle House." Its Owner a Veteran of the War. Plunder and Destruction of Villages by Cockburn.

fronts him, is made to say, "I tell you what, Mr. O'Neil, you are certainly a brave fellow, but as a prisoner of war must go on board with us." They did not keep him long, for on the 10th, seven days after his capture, he wrote to a friend in Baltimore, saying, "I was carried on board the *Maidstone* frigate, where I remained until released three days since." His letter opened with the quaint sentence, "No doubt before this you have heard of my *defeat*," and this was followed by a brief narrative of the affair.

Toward noon I rode up to the "Pringle House," the residence of the Honorable Elisha Lewis, who had just been elected a member of the State Legislature by the Unionists of his district. His estate is called Bloomsbury, an old English title, and contains six hundred acres of land, with a front of a mile on Chesapeake Bay. When the mansion was built in 1808 by Mark Pringle, a wealthy Baltimore merchant, it was the finest country residence in the state, and even when I visited it few rivaled it either in appearance or comfort. It stood upon an eminence overlooking Havre de Grace, the Susquehanna River, and Chesapeake Bay. It was very large, and substantially built of pressed brick. Mr. Lewis was one of the brave defenders of Baltimore in 1814, when that city was threatened by General Ross and his army. He served as a volunteer sergeant in Captain Perring's company, Twenty-seventh Regiment—the brave Twenty-seventh—Maryland Militia, which did such gallant service in the battle of North Point. His gun was disabled by a shot through the stock, when he took the musket of a slain companion by his side, and continued the fight. Founder of a commercial house in Baltimore, he was engaged thirty years in trade, and passed much of his time in England. For sixteen years he had been enjoying the quiet of country life.

After spending an hour pleasantly at Bloomsbury I rode back to the village, and to the quarters of Colonel Rodgers, son of the commodore, who was then raising a Maryland regiment for the war. At half past three we left Havre de Grace, and were with friends in Philadelphia in time for supper.

Let us resume the historical narrative.

Cockburn and his marauders went up the Sassafraz River, that separates Cecil and Kent Counties, Maryland, and attacked the villages of Fredericktown and Georgetown, lying on opposite banks of that stream, about eleven miles from its mouth. The former is in Cecil County, the latter in Kent County. Both of them at that time, and especially Georgetown, had a flourishing trade with Baltimore. These villages contained from forty to fifty houses each, and at Fredericktown several small vessels that had run up from the bay for shelter were moored.

It was on the 6th of May, a warm and beautiful morning, that Cockburn, with six hundred men, in eighteen barges, went up the Sassafraz. He first visited Fredericktown, on the northern shore of the stream. Less than one hundred militiamen, under Colonel Veazy, were there, with a little breastwork, and a small cannon to defend it. When the enemy opened his great guns all but thirty-five of them fled. With these Veazy made stout resistance, but was compelled to retire. The marauders landed, and the entreaties of the women to spare the town, especially the more humble dwellings of the poor, were answered by oaths and coarse jests and the application of the fire-brand. The store-houses, the vessels, and the beautiful village were set in flames after the invaders were glutted with plunder. The marauders then crossed over to Georgetown, and served it in the same way. So delighted was Cockburn with his success in plundering and destroying unprotected towns, that, with characteristic swagger, he declared he should not be satisfied until he had burned every building in Baltimore.

After having plundered and destroyed these quiet villages, and despoiled them of an aggregate of at least seventy thousand dollars, Cockburn and his pirates returned to their ships. This kind of warfare, so disgraceful to a civilized government, created

The blockading Force strengthened.

Norfolk menaced.

Stirring Scenes in Hampton Roads.

the most intense hatred of the enemy, and aroused a war spirit throughout the land that for a time appalled the cowardly "Peace Party," and nearly silenced the newspapers in their interest.

On the 26th of May a British order in Council extended the blockade to New York and all the Southern ports; and on the 1st of June Admiral Warren entered the Chesapeake with a considerable naval re-enforcement for Cockburn and Beresford, bearing a large number of land troops and marines under the command of Sir Sidney Beckwith. The British force now collected within the Capes of Virginia consisted of eight ships of the line, twelve frigates, and a considerable number of smaller vessels, and it was evident that some more important point than defenseless villages would be the next object of attack. The citizens of Baltimore, Annapolis, and Norfolk were equally menaced, but when, at the middle of June,^a three British frigates entered Hampton Roads, and sent their boats up the James River to destroy some ^{June 18.} small American vessels there and plunder the inhabitants, it was evident that Norfolk would be the first point of attack. The *Constellation*¹ and a flotilla of twenty gun-boats, as well as Forts Norfolk and Nelson (one on each side of the Elizabeth River), and Forts Tar and Barbour,² and the fortifications on Craney Island, were all



GENERAL VIEW OF CRANEY ISLAND.

put in the best state of defense possible; while Commodore Cassin, then in command of the station, ordered Captain Tarbell to organize an expedition for the capture of the frigate that lay at anchor at the nearest distance from Norfolk.

Toward midnight on Saturday, the 19th of June,^b Captain Tarbell, with ^{1813.} fifteen gun-boats, descended the Elizabeth River in two divisions, one under Lieutenant J. M. Gardner, and the other under Lieutenant Robert G. Henley. Fifteen volunteer sharpshooters from Craney Island were added to the crews of the boats.

Because of head winds the flotilla did not approach the nearest vessel until half past three in the morning. She lay about three miles from the others, and under

Jos Tarbell

cover of the darkness just before daylight, and a heavy fog, the Americans approached within easy range of the vessel without being discovered. At four o'clock Tarbell opened fire upon her. She was taken by surprise, and her response was so feeble and irregular that a panic on board was indicated. The wind was too light to fill her sails, while the gun-boats, managed by sweeps, had every advantage. They were formed in crescent shape, and during a conflict of half an hour Tarbell was continually cheered by sure promises of victory. It was snatched from his hand by a breeze that suddenly sprung up from the north-northeast, which enabled the two frigates anchored below to come up to the assistance of the assailed vessel, supposed to be

¹ During the spring efforts had been made by officers of the British blockading squadron to capture the *Constellation*, then in command of the now (1867) venerable Admiral Stewart. Some stirring events had occurred in connection with these efforts.

² Fort Tar was a small redoubt south of Armistead's Bridge. Fort Barbour was east of Church Street and south of the Princess Anne Road. These were to defend the land-side approaches of the enemy.

Skirmish in Hampton Roads.

A British Fleet enters the Roads.

Admiral Shubrick's public Life.

the *Juno*, 38, Captain Sanders. These opened a severe cannonade on the flotilla, and the Americans were obliged to haul off. As they retired in good order, they kept up a fire on the British vessels for almost an hour.¹ They damaged their enemy seriously, while some of their own boats were badly bruised. Master's Mate Allison was killed, and two seamen were slightly wounded. These composed the entire loss of the Americans. How much the British seamen suffered is not known.

Sanders



This attack brought matters to a crisis. Efforts for the capture of Norfolk, with its fortifications, the armed vessels there, and the navy yard, were immediately made by the British admiral. The cannonade had been distinctly heard, and with the very next tide after the conflict on that foggy Sunday morning fourteen of the enemy's vessels entered the Roads, ascended to the mouth of the James River, and took position between the point called Newport-Newce and Pig Point, at the mouth of the Nansemond. These vessels had on board the One Hundred and Second Regiment of British Infantry, the Royal Marine Brigade, and two companies of French volunteer prisoners, who, in compliment to their language, were called *Chasseurs Britanniques*. These land troops were commanded by General Sir Sidney Beckwith, assisted by

W. Branford Shubrick

¹ In this affair Lieutenant (now Admiral) W. B. Shubrick performed a gallant part. I was informed by Commodore Tattnall that after the engagement had continued about an hour Captain Tarbell made general signal to withdraw from the contest. The boat commanded by Shubrick at that time happened to be nearest the enemy, and that brave young officer, then twenty-three years of age, satisfied that a few more shots would damage the enemy, obeyed the order very slowly, and continued to blaze away on the frigate. This caused the concentration of the enemy's fire upon his single boat. Still he moved off slowly, firing on his retreat, until a signal made specially for him directed him to leave, and take in tow a disabled gun-boat. This he did without losing a man.—Notes of Conversation with Commodore Tattnall in July, 1860.

William Branford Shubrick was born near Charleston, South Carolina, on the 31st of October, 1790. He was at school in New England about three years, from his twelfth to his fifteenth year, the latter part of the time in Harvard University, from which he was called home, and in Charleston was instructed in the science of navigation. In June, 1806, he entered the navy as midshipman, but continued his studies until 1807, when he joined the sloop of war *Wasp* at Norfolk. She left that port about three days before the attack of the *Leopard* on the *Chesapeake*. He was actively engaged in service until the war broke out, when he made a cruise in the *Hornet* with Commander Lawrence, when he was transferred to the *Constitution*, then under the command of the now venerable Admiral Stewart. He then bore the commission of a lieutenant. He behaved gallantly in the attack on the *Juno* and in the defense of Craney Island. After that he followed Stewart to the *Constitution*, and in that vessel he served until the close of the war, always taking an active part in her brilliant conduct. Pursuant to a resolution of Congress (February 22, 1816), he received a silver medal as one of Stewart's officers. In 1824 the Legislature of South Carolina presented him with an elegant sword in testimony of their appreciation of his gallant services in the *Constitution* when she captured the *Cyane* and *Levant*. He was acting first lieutenant during her remarkable escape from the British squadron, hereafter to be recorded in these pages. At the close of the war he was commissioned first lieutenant, and in the *Washington*, 74, under Chauncey's flag, he cruised in the Mediterranean. He was promoted to master commandant in 1820. Eleven years later, after several well-conducted cruises, he was promoted to captain, and until 1828 was engaged in service on shore. He was afloat again in 1828 as commander of a squadron in the West Indies. In 1840, on the breaking out of the war with Mexico, he was assigned to the command of a squadron in the Pacific, and actively participated in events there. In 1853 he was in command of a squadron on our Eastern coast for the protection of the fisheries, an important and delicate duty. In 1860 he commanded a powerful squadron sent to demand satisfaction for injuries from the government of Paraguay, and having discretionary power to commence hostilities should that satisfaction not be made to the United States Commissioners.

Virginia Militia near Norfolk.	Cranev Island.	American Forces there.	General Taylor.
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Lieutenant Colonel Napier and other eminent leaders. The whole force of the enemy, including sailors, was about five thousand men.

James Barbour was then Governor of Virginia. He was patriotic and active, and by untiring energy he had assembled several thousand militia. A large portion of these, with some United States regulars under Captain Pollard, were at old Fort Norfolk and vicinity. They had been drawn chiefly from the coast districts most immediately menaced by the enemy. The governor had been zealously seconded in his efforts by the Richmond press and leading provincial journals, who, as usual, appealed vehemently to state pride. The appeal was effectual, and gallant men flocked to the standard of their common country.

Cranev Island, then in shape like a painter's pallet, and rising a few feet above the water, was separated from the main by a strait that was fordable at low or half tide. Across this a temporary foot-bridge had been constructed, which led to Stringer's farm-house. The island at that time contained about thirty acres of land. On the southeastern side of it, and commanding the ship channel, were intrenchments, on which two 24, one 18, and four 6 pound cannon were planted. These formed the most remote outpost of Norfolk, and were the key to the harbor. The defense of this island was demanded by stern necessity, and to that end the efforts of the leaders in that vicinity were directed. The chief of these was Brigadier General Robert B. Taylor, the commanding officer of the district. The whole available force on the island when the British entered Hampton Roads consisted of two companies of artillery from Portsmouth, led by Captains Emerson and Richardson, under the command of Major James Faulkner, of the Virginia State Artillery; Captain Roberts's company of riflemen; and four hundred and sixteen militia infantry of the line, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Henry Beatty, assisted by Major Andrew Waggoner. These were so situated that, if attacked and overpowered, they had no means for escape, and yet, as one of the newspapers of the day said, they were "all cool and collected, rather wishing the attack."



Robert B. Taylor

On the arrival of General Taylor¹ at Norfolk he perceived the necessity of reinforcing the troops on Cranev Island,

¹ President Lopez complied with the demand, and he returned in 1859. Before leaving he visited General Urgine, President of the Argentine Republic, who presented him with a splendid sword. The United States Congress by joint resolution authorized him to accept it. This closed his sea service, in which he has held every rank and exercised every command, from midshipman to rear admiral. He has also performed faithful shore service of every kind pertaining to his rank. He has commanded three different navy yards, and held two bureaus in the Navy Department. He has been chairman of the Light-house Board since its establishment in 1853, and in a service of over sixty-one years has been only six years and eight months unemployed. His father was an officer of the Revolution.

² Robert Bernard Taylor was an eminent man. He was born on the 26th of March, 1774, and was educated at William and Mary College, Williamsburg. He studied law with Judge Marshall, and was associated at the bar with William Wirt, L. W. Tazewell, and other eminent lawyers. In 1798-'99 he was a member of the Virginia Assembly, of the Federal school. He was one of the grand jurors (John Randolph, foreman) in 1807 who found a bill of indictment against Aaron Burr, charged with treason. During the same year he was counsel for Commodore Barron, after the affair of the *Chesapeake* and *Leopard*. He took pride in military affairs, and at the breaking out of the War of 1812 he was appointed to the command at Norfolk as brigadier general of the Virginia forces. He was very efficient in defense of that city in the summer of 1813. He retired from the command in February, 1814, when General Parker succeeded to his place. On that occasion the citizens of Norfolk gave him a public dinner, and from the military he received the most flattering testimonies of their esteem and affection. When, as the national guest, General Lafayette visited the

where the first blow of the coming battle was likely to fall. He accordingly sent down thirty regulars under Captain Richard Pollard, from Fort Norfolk, and thirty volunteers under Lieutenant Johnson, of Culpepper, and Ensign Archibald Atkinson (member of Congress in 1849), of Isle of Wight, most of them riflemen. These were

B. J. Neale

followed by about one hundred and fifty seamen, under Lieutenants B. J. Neale, W. B. Shubrick, and James Sanders, and fifty marines under Lieutenant Breckinridge. These, on the solicitation of General Taylor, were sent by Tarbell to work

the heavy guns. The whole force on the island, on the evening of the 21st, numbered seven hundred and thirty-seven men.

At midnight the camp was alarmed by the crack of a sentinel's musket. He thought he discovered a boat in the strait.¹ The troops were called to arms, and stood watching until dawn, when a bush, and not a boat, was found to have been the cause of the commotion. The troops were dismissed, but they had scarcely broken ranks when a horseman came dashing across the fordable strait, and reported that the enemy were landing in force near Major Hoffleur's, a little more than two miles distant. The drum beat the long roll, and as the daylight increased the British were seen passing continually in boats from the ships to the shore. Major Faulkner at once ordered the three heavy guns in the southeastern portion of the island to be transferred to the northwestern part, and had them placed in battery there with the four 6-pounders. These seven pieces constituted a pretty formidable battery. A short distance in the rear of it, the infantry, riflemen, and Richardson's artillerymen acting as infantry, were formed in line, so as to face the strait at the mouth of Wise's Creek.

The command of the 18-pounder was given to Lieutenant B. J. Neale, assisted by Lieutenants Shubrick and Sanders, and about one hundred sailors and marines, chiefly from the *Constellation*. The two 24's and four 6's were under the charge of Captain Emerson, with his company of artillery, and aided by Lieutenants Godwin and Howle, Sergeants Young and Livingston, Corporal Moffatt, and Captain Thomas Rooke, master of the merchantman *Manhattan*, who had been of great service in transferring the heavy guns from one end of the island to the other. These heavy guns were worked chiefly by the men from the navy. The entire battery was under the supreme command of Major Faulkner, a cool and skillful artilleryman.² The whole force on the island was commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Beatty.



J. Faulkner

United States in 1824, and a grand reception was given him at Yorktown, in Virginia, the scene of his warfare and triumph in youth. General Taylor was the chosen orator for the assembled multitude. "In all my time I never heard such eloquence," said a veteran to me in the spring of 1853. "In all my time I never saw so many men in tears."

General Taylor filled the position of judge and legislator with distinction. He was in the Convention in 1829-'30, charged with amending the Constitution of Virginia. In that body he introduced enlightened measures in regard to the elective franchise. In the winter of 1831-'32 he was made judge of the General Court of Virginia, and held the office until his death on the 13th of April, 1834.

¹ This sentinel was William Shutte. He was stationed upon a small island that once lay near the mouth of Wise's Creek. See map on page 679. Shutte made the usual challenge, and, receiving no answer, fired, and continued to fire until the camp was fully aroused.

² James Faulkner was born in Ireland in 1776, and came to America when a boy under the charge of a distant rela-

Advance of the British on Land.

A sharp Conflict.

Advance of the British on Water.

A long pole was procured, the national flag was *nailed* to it, and then it was planted firmly in the redoubt. The gun-boats were anchored in the form of a segment of a circle, extending from Craney Island to Lambert's Point, while the *Constellation* lay nearer the city. Thus prepared, the Americans calmly awaited the approach of the foe.

The British landed about twenty-five hundred men, infantry and marines, at Hofleur's Creek. The morning sky was cloudless; and for more than two hours the flashing of their burnished arms might be seen by the Americans as they manœuvred on the beach and on the edge of an intervening wood. Stealthily they crept through the thick undergrowth of the forest, and appeared suddenly on the point at the confluence of Wise's Creek and the strait. They immediately opened a cannonade from a field-piece and a howitzer, and sent a bevy of Congreve rockets upon the island, to cover the movement of a detachment sent to cross Wise's Creek, and gain the rear of the American left flank in position on the main. They were partially sheltered by the house of Captain George Wise, known as Wise's Quarters, and a thick wood. Some of the heavy guns of the battery on the island were opened upon them with great precision and rapidity, and a show-



PLAN OF OPERATIONS AT CRANEY ISLAND.

er of grape and canister shot soon drove the enemy out of reach of the artillery.

Almost simultaneously with this advance of the British land-force fifty large barges, filled with full fifteen hundred sailors and marines, were seen approaching from the enemy's ships. They hugged the main shore to keep out of range of the gun-boat artillery, and moved in column order, in two distinct lines, in the direction of the strait, led by Admiral Warren's beautiful barge. This vessel was fifty feet in length, painted a rich green, and employed twenty-four oars. Because of her shape and numerous oars she was called the *Centipede*. In her bow was a brass 3-pounder,

the. He established himself in mercantile business in Martinsburg, Berkeley County, Virginia, at the age of twenty-one years, and that was the place of his residence until his death. He long tried in vain to obtain a commission in the regular army of the United States. When war broke out he hastened to Norfolk with the volunteer troops of his adopted state, and was there commissioned a major of artillery. In that capacity he served gallantly on Craney Island, and was the chief factor in the repulse of the British. Major Faulkner married the only daughter of Captain William Mackey, of the Revolutionary Army. He died in 1817 from the effects of exposure and fatigue in camp. His wife was then dead. They left but one child, who thus became an orphan in tender years. This was Charles J. Faulkner, who was an active public man in Virginia, and who was sent to the French court as minister plenipotentiary by President Buchanan. To him I am indebted for the likeness of his father on the opposite page. When the Great Rebellion broke out he took sides with the insurgents, and dishonored the memory of his gallant and patriotic father by abandoning the flag which his ancestor had so nobly defended.

The British Flotilla driven back. Attempt to seize Norfolk and the Navy Yard abandoned. Hampton.

called a "grasshopper," and she was commanded by Captain Hanchett, of the flag-ship *Diadem*, a natural son of George the Third.

As the first division of the fleet of barges approached, the eager Emerson could hardly be restrained by the more prudent Faulkner. At length they reached the fair range of the guns. Faulkner gave a signal, when Emerson shouted, "Now, my brave boys, are you ready?" "All ready," was the quick response. "Fire!" exclaimed Faulkner. The whole battery, except two dismounted guns, managed by Goodwin and Livingston, belched forth fire and smoke, and round, grape, and canister shot. The volley was fearful, yet in the face of it the barges moved steadily forward until the storm of metal was too terrible to be endured. The boats were thrown into the greatest confusion. The *Centipede* was hulled by a heavy round shot that passed through her diagonally, wounding several of the men in her, cutting off the legs of one of them, and severely hurting the thigh of Captain Hanchett. Orders for retreat were given. The *Centipede* and four other barges were sunk in shoal water, and the remainder of the flotilla escaped to the ships. Lieutenant Neale was directed to send some of his bold seamen to seize the admiral's barge and all in it, and haul it on shore. This was gallantly performed under the direction of Lieutenants Tattnell¹ and Geis-

enger, Midshipman Bladen Dulaney, and Acting Master George F. De la Roche. They se-

Josiah Tattnell

secured several prisoners and the admiral's fine barge. This was afterward repaired, and performed good service as a guard-boat during many a cold, dark night in the ensuing autumn.²

Thus ended the battle. "Thus, not long before the time when the Regent of Great Britain congratulated his kingdom on the pitch of grandeur it reached by dictating peace to France in the French capital, a brother of that regent was repulsed by a handful of militia in an attempt to capture a small island in Chesapeake Bay."³ It was a most mortifying result for the British.⁴ So certain was Sir Sidney Beckwith of success, that he promised the troops the opportunity of breakfasting on Craney Island that morning. Some of the officers took their shaving apparatus with them, and others their dogs. At ten o'clock the scene was changed, and before sunset the British commanders abandoned all hope of seizing Norfolk, the *Constellation*, and the navy yard. It was the last attempt there during the war.

Exasperated by their ignominious repulse at Craney Island, the British proceeded to attack the village of Hampton, a flourishing borough on the west side of Hampton Creek, two miles and a half from Old Point Comfort. It was the capital of Elizabeth City County, Virginia, and was a mile from the confluence of the creek with the waters of Hampton Roads. It was defended at the time by about four hundred and fifty Virginia soldiers under Major Stapleton Crutchfield, whose adjutant general was Robert Anderson, Esq., whom I had the pleasure of meeting at Yorktown in 1848. They were composed chiefly of militia infantry,⁵ and a few artillerymen and

¹ See page 615.

² "We waded out to the *Centipede*," said Commodore Tattnell, "and found a Frenchman in her with both legs shot off. Several others were in her, wounded in the legs and feet by the passage of the ball. We carried the Frenchman ashore in a hammock, and he died soon afterward. We also found a little terrier dog sitting upon the small cannon in her bow, and several cutlasses, pistols, et cetera. I had many a cold night's guard duty in the admiral's barge after that."—*Notes of a Conversation with Commodore Tattnell at Sackett's Harbor in the Summer of 1860*. Our little picture of the *Centipede* is from an exact model of it, on a small scale, which was made by order of Commodore Warrington. The black spot near the stern shows the place where the cannon-ball entered it.



THE CENTIPEDE.

³ Ingersoll's *Historical Sketch of the Second War*, etc. He is mistaken as to the locality of Craney Island. It is in the Elizabeth River, and not in Chesapeake Bay.

⁴ The Americans met with no loss. The British, according to their own account, lost 6 killed, 24 wounded, and 114 missing. Of the latter 40 were prisoners and deserters.

Americans at Hampton.

Landing of the British near Hampton.

Armed Boats appear in Front.



VIEW AT HAMPTON CREEK IN 1812.

cavalry. They were encamped on the "Little England" estate of five hundred acres, a short distance southwest from the town, where they had a heavy battery composed of four 6, two 12, and one 18 pounder cannon, in charge of Sergeant William Burke, to defend the water-front of the camp and the village.¹

On Friday night, the 24th of June, twenty-five hundred British land troops, including the rough French prisoners (*Chasseurs Britanniques*), were placed in boats and small sailing vessels, and between dawn and sunrise of the 25th² were landed * June, 1812. behind a wood near the house of Daniel Murphy, a little more than two miles from Hampton, under cover of the guns of the *Mohawk* sloop of war. These were designed to fall upon Hampton and the little American camp in the rear, while Admiral Cockburn, with a flotilla of armed boats and barges, should make a feint in front.

The land troops, under the general command of Beckwith, assisted by Lieutenant Colonels Napier³ and Williams, moved stealthily and rapidly forward toward the doomed town, while the armed boats appeared suddenly off Blackbeard's Point, at the mouth of Hampton Creek. The latter were first discovered by American patrols at Mill Creek, who gave the alarm. The camp was aroused, and a line of battle was formed. At that moment a messenger came in haste with intelligence that the British were moving in force on the rear of Hampton. The woods toward Murphy's were glowing with scarlet, and a grain-field near was verdant with the green uniforms of the French. The inhabitants of the village, who yet remained, fled toward Yorktown, excepting a few who could not leave or who were willing to trust to British honor and clemency.

The brave Crutchfield resolved to stand firm and defend the town against the invaders on land and water. He sent Captain Servant and his rifle company out to ambush on the road leading to Celey's plantation, beyond Murphy's, who were to at-

¹ This picture, sketched in the spring of 1863 from a window of Burcher's Hotel, near the steam-boat wharf in Hampton, is a view of the portion of the "Little England" estate, lying on Hampton Creek, mentioned in the text. A line drawn perpendicularly beneath each numeral on the clouds would touch the locality intended to be indicated by such numeral. Figure 4 shows the place of Crutchfield's encampment, and 1 the place where the four-gun battery was planted. Figure 2, the place of a smaller battery; 3, Blackbeard's Point, at the mouth of Hampton Creek, from behind which the British flotilla came; 5, the forest behind which Beckwith's troops landed; 6, Hampton Road; 7, a portion of the old mansion of the Little England estate; 8, the mouth of the west branch of Hampton Creek; and, 9, Bully's house, that stood there in 1812. The "Little England" estate was the ancestral possession of the family of Commodore Barron. In the foreground of the picture is seen the steam-boat wharf at Hampton, with the creek on the right.

² This was Charles James Napier, afterward a distinguished general in the British Army, who was knighted for his services in the East Indies, where he became commander-in-chief of the British forces. He was born in 1782, and died in August, 1836, bearing the honors of a worthy lieutenant general. He was a sprightly writer, and his biographer says that "when he was not fighting he was writing."

tack and check the enemy; and when Cockburn ventured within Blackbeard's Point, and opened fire on the American camp, Crutchfield's heavy battery responded with so much spirit and effect that the arch-marauder was glad to escape for shelter behind that point, and content himself with throwing a shot or rocket occasionally into the American camp.

Crutchfield gave special attention to the movement in his rear, being convinced that Cockburn's was only a feint. From his camp was a plantation road, that crossed cultivated fields, and by the edge of the woods behind which the British had landed unobserved, to a highway known as Celey's Road, that connected with the public road to Yorktown a short distance from Hampton. Connected with this road was a plantation lane leading to Murphy's, on the banks of the James River. Along this lane or road the British moved from their landing-place, and had reached rising ground and halted for breakfast when they were discovered by the Americans. Captain Pryor, of the artillery in camp, immediately detached Sergeant Parker and a few picked men, with a field-piece, to go up the Yorktown Road to Celey's Junction, to assist the ambushed riflemen. Parker had just reached his position and planted his cannon, when the British moved forward with celerity. They had just crossed the head of the west branch of Hampton Creek, at the Celey Road, when the advanced guard of Servant's corps (Lieutenant Thomas Hope and two others), who were concealed by a large cedar-tree (yet standing when I visited the spot in 1853), opened a deadly fire with sure aim upon the French column in front, led by the British sergeant major, a large and powerful man. That officer and several others were killed; the invaders were checked, and great confusion in their ranks ensued. The main body of the riflemen now delivered their fire, and the commander of the Marines, the brave Lieutenant Colonel Williams, of the British army, fell dead.

The British soon recovered from their temporary panic, and pressed forward, compelling the riflemen to fall back. In the mean time, Crutchfield, hearing the firing, had moved forward from his camp with nearly all of his force, leaving the position on the Little England estate to be defended by Pryor and his artillerymen from the attack of the barges. While he was marching in column by platoons along the lane from the Little England plantation toward Celey's Road and the great highway, he was suddenly assailed by an enfilading fire on his left. He immediately ordered his men to wheel and charge the enemy, who were on the edge of the woods. This was done with the coolness and precision of long-disciplined soldiers, and the foe fell back. The victors were pressing forward, when the British opened a storm of grape and canister shot upon them from two 6-pounders, and some Congreve rockets, and appeared in force directly in front of Crutchfield. The Americans withstood the fire a few minutes, when they fell back, and a part of them broke and fled in confusion across the Yorktown Road and the Pembroke estate.

Parker in the mean time had worked his piece with good effect. Now his ammunition failed. Lieutenant Jones, of the Hampton Artillery, hastened to his relief; but when they saw an overwhelming force of the enemy moving along the Celey Road, they fell back to the Yorktown Pike. Jones now found that his match was extinguished, so he ran to a house near by, snatched a brand from the hearth, and concealed himself in a hollow near a spring. When the British drew near and almost filled the lane, supposing the cannon to be abandoned, he arose and discharged his piece with terrible effect. Many of the foe were prostrated by its missiles, and during the confusion that ensued in the British ranks he attached a horse to his cannon and bore it off toward the camp. When he drew near that camp he saw that it was occupied by the enemy, who had come in force from the barges and compelled Pryor to spike his guns and flee. This he did in safety. He and his command, after fighting their way through the surrounding enemy with their firelocks, swam the West Branch of Hampton Creek, and, making a circuit in rear of the enemy, fled to what is

Americans driven from Hampton. The Village given up to Rapine and Pillage. A Committee of Investigation.

now known as Big Bethel, without losing a man or a musket. Seeing this, Jones turned and fled, after spiking his gun. He followed Pryor's track to the same destination.

Crutchfield, with the remainder of his troops, had rallied on the flank of Servant's riflemen, and renewed the fight with vigor. He soon observed a powerful flank movement by the enemy, which threatened to cut off his line of retreat, when he withdrew in good order, pursued almost two miles across and beyond the Pembroke farm. The pursuit was terminated at what is now known as New-bridge Creek. Thus ended the battle. The British had lost about fifty in killed, wounded, and missing, and the Americans about thirty. Of eleven missing Americans, ten at least had fled to their homes.

The victorious British now entered Hampton by the Yorktown Road, bearing the body of the brave Lieutenant Colonel Williams. Beckwith and Cockburn made their head-quar-



PLAN OF OPERATIONS AT HAMPTON.



HEAD-QUARTERS OF BECKWITH AND COCKBURN.

ters at the fine brick mansion of Mrs. Westwood, which stood upon the street leading to the landing. In her garden the remains of Williams were buried with solemn funeral rites on the same day. Then the village was given up to pillage and rapine. The atrocities committed at that time upon the defenseless inhabitants who remained in Hampton, particularly on the women, have consigned the name of Sir George Cockburn to merited infamy, for he was doubtless the chief author of them.¹ The reports of them at the time

were much exaggerated, but sufficient was proven by official investigation to cause the cheeks of every honest Briton to tingle with the deepest blush of shame. "We are sorry to say," said Commissioners Thomas Griffin and Robert Lively, appointed to investigate the matter, "that from all information we could procure, from sources too respectable to permit us to doubt, we are compelled to believe that acts of violence have been perpetrated which have disgraced the age in which we live. The sex hitherto guarded by the soldier's honor escaped not the rude assaults of superior force."² A correspondence on the subject occurred between General Taylor and Sir

¹ There can be little doubt that Cockburn promised his men "Booty and Beauty" to their hearts' content. It was like him. But no one could suspect the right-minded Admiral Warren, or even the more latitudinarian Sir Sidney, of such a crime against civilization and Christianity.

² In his dispatch to Governor Barbour on the 29th, Major Crutchfield, the American commander at Hampton, said, after giving an account of the battle and the excesses of the soldiery, "The unfortunate females of Hampton who could not leave the town were abused in the most shameful manner, not only by the soldiers, but by the venal savage blacks, who were encouraged in their excesses. They pillaged, and encouraged every act of rapine and plunder, killing a poor man by the name of Kirby who had been lying on his bed at the point of death for more than six weeks, shooting his

Sidney Beckwith, in which the latter, while he did not deny the charges, attempted to justify the atrocities by pleading the law of retaliation, falsely alleging, as was proven, that the Americans had waded out from Craney Island after the battle there, and deliberately shot the crew of a barge which had sunk on the shoal.¹ And while it was not denied that British officers and soldiers had engaged zealously in the business of plundering the private houses at Hampton of every thing valuable that might be easily carried away,² the more horrid crime of ravishing the persons of married women and young maidens, was charged by the British commanders upon the French soldiery. "The apology," said the commissioners just mentioned, "that these atrocities were committed by the French soldiers attached to the British forces now in our waters appeared to us no justification of those who employed them, believing, as we do, that an officer is, or should be, ever responsible for the conduct of the troops under his command." So shameful were these atrocities—too gross to be repeated here—that the most violent of the British partisan writers were compelled to denounce them; and Admiral Warren and General Beckwith, in obedience to the instincts of their better natures and the demands of public opinion, dismissed the *Chasseurs Britanniques* from the service.

At the "ides of March," in the year 1853,³ I visited Norfolk, Craney Island, and Hampton, for the purpose of collecting materials for this work, and I had the good fortune to meet several persons who were well acquainted with places and events in that region pertaining to the War of 1812. I had spent the 4th of March at the national capital, "assisting," as the French say, at the inauguration of President Pierce; a day or two with the late George Washington Parke Custis at his beautiful seat of "Arlington," opposite Washington City; then a few days in Richmond; a little time in a trip and visit to "Monticello," near Charlottesville, the home of the living and the grave of the departed Thomas Jefferson; and then part of a day on the James and Elizabeth Rivers on a voyage to Norfolk. I intended to go to Craney Island the next morning, but the wind was so high that no boatman was willing to venture upon the water, so that day I visited the Navy Yard at Gosport, Old Fort Norfolk, and other places of interest in and around the city. At the former place were seen the skeleton of the famous *Constellation*; the useless monster ship *Pennsylvania*; the work-shops and yards where full eight hundred men found employment, and more than twenty-five hundred huge iron cannon, with a complement of balls. All of this property, valued at several millions of dollars, with other government vessels, was destroyed or seized by the insurgents of Virginia in April, 1861, at the breaking out of the late Civil War.

Old Fort Norfolk, a structure made during the old War for Independence, on the right bank of the Elizabeth River, was in a dilapidated state, and was occupied only by a keeper and his family. That custodian was a queer old man, seventy years of

wife in the hip at the same time, and killing a faithful dog lying under his feet. The murdered Kirby was lying last night weltering in his blood."

Sir Charles Napier (see note 2, page 661), in his diary of these events, in which he bore a part, says, "Every horror was perpetrated with impunity—rape, murder, pillage—and not a man was punished." Again: "Strong is my dislike to what is, perhaps, a necessary part of our job, viz., plundering and ruining the peasantry. We drive all their cattle, and of course ruin them. My hands are clean; but it is hateful to see the poor Yankees robbed, and to be the robber."

¹ General Taylor addressed Admiral Warren, and was answered by Sir Sidney Beckwith as the commander of the land forces. In his note to Admiral Warren General Taylor said: "The world will suppose these acts to have been approved, if not executed by the commanders, if suffered to pass by with impunity. I am prepared for any species of warfare which you are disposed to prosecute. It is for the sake of humanity that I enter this protest." General Beckwith, as we have observed, charged cruelty on the part of the Americans as a palliation; to which Taylor replied that he was satisfied that no such act as charged ever took place, and if it had, it was no excuse for the crimes committed at Hampton against the helpless and innocent. A board of officers was convened to investigate the matter, when it was ascertained that, during the engagement off Craney Island, two of the British boats were sunk by the American guns, and the crews were in danger of being drowned; that, being in line of action, the firing necessarily continued, but that, in order to avoid injuring those in the water and helpless, the firing of grape was discontinued. One man, who had surrendered, but endeavored to escape, was fired upon to bring him back.

² Among other "property," according to the laws of Virginia, taken away by the British, were negroes. Under a promise of freedom, a large number of them flocked to the British standard. Most of those whom Cockburn enticed on board his vessels by these promises were afterward sold into a worse slavery in the British West Indies.

British Consul at Norfolk and his Residence. Thomas Moore and the Lake of the Dismal Swamp. Craney Island.

age. With boundless garrulity he gave me his domestic history, and insisted upon bringing out his last baby, the sixth child by his fourth wife. His third wife appears to have been "a thorn in his side." When speaking of her, he thrust his hands into his pockets, looked upon the grass, sighed, and, in a subdued voice, said, "The Lord was good to me, and took her away soon. I really believe she would have died happy could she have seen *me* die first. I didn't think it best to gratify her, and so she had to give it up." On leaving the fort I went to the residence of Robert E. Taylor, Esq., son of General Taylor, the defender of Norfolk, to whom I am indebted for much information concerning events in that vicinity in 1813. On the following morning² I breakfasted with the British consul, the late G. P. R. James, the eminent novelist. The circumstance is mentioned to introduce the fact that his residence was the same (118 Main Street) as that occupied by Mr. Hamilton, the British consul at Norfolk in 1807, at the time of the affair of the *Chesapeake* and *Leopard*, whose personal popularity alone saved his house from demolition by the exasperated people.¹ In that house Thomas Moore, the Irish poet, lodged in 1804, and there he wrote his beautiful poetic paraphrase of a popular legend connected with the Lake of the Dismal Swamp. I passed the morning delightfully with Mr. James and his interesting family, and at ten o'clock started for Craney Island in a skiff manned by a negro seventy years of age, and a mulatto boy of sixteen, both slaves. The air was balmy. Scarcely a ripple appeared on the water, and the sun was pleasantly obscured by a slight haziness of the atmosphere.

² March 14, 1863.



ILLUSTRATION OF THE HOUSE.

Just after passing Fort Norfolk we came abreast Lambert's Point, and, stretching far to the right, toward the Rip Raps, was seen Sewell's Point, made famous to this generation by the stirring events of the late Civil War with which it is associated.



OYSTER FISHING.

The waters in that vicinity were dotted with oyster-vessels at anchor, engaged in receiving cargoes from numerous small boats that were hovering over the oyster-beds in every direction, each bearing two men with fishing rakes. As we neared the head of Craney Island, I hailed a brace of these fishermen in a boat, and asked them for a "bip's

worth" of oysters for my watermen. To my astonishment, they dropped two rake's-full—at least a peck—into our boat, and on them the oarsmen feasted while I strolled over the island, viewing and sketching the remains of military works erected there during the War of 1812. These are seen rising above the common surface of the island in the little sketch on page 675. These works were erected immediately after the repulse of the British from the island in June,³ and were quite formidable.³ They consisted of a fort on the southeast part of the island, and a magazine

³ 1813.

¹ See page 158.
² This is from a sketch made by the author on New Year's Day, 1865.
³ The troops on the island at the time here mentioned were without any shelter excepting indifferent tents, and suffered much for lack of water. They dug hollows on the island in which they caught rain, and then strained the muddy water for use.

The Fortifications on Craney Island.



REMAINS OF FORTIFICATIONS ON CRANEY ISLAND.

and breast-works on the northwestern side, on the spot where Faulkner's efficient battery was planted. There was an intervening and connecting line of intrenchments along the channel side of the island, with embrasures for cannon. These had

almost disappeared, but the embankments of the fort were ten or twelve feet in height. They inclosed a hexagonal block-house, built of brick, and surrounded by an arcade below the ports. It was two stories in height, but the upper floor does not appear to have been laid. Near the block-house was a magazine, also built of brick. Nothing remained of the old main gate, on the land side, but an iron hinge, and of the gateway a broken arch. This block-house, or citadel, when I was there, was perfectly preserved.



BLOCK-HOUSE ON CRANEY ISLAND.

The magazine on the opposite end of the island was also built of brick, and was well preserved. Around it were some remains of breastworks, but many had perished from the encroachments of the sea. These and the whole island were almost wholly submerged during a very high tide



MAGAZINE ON CRANEY ISLAND.

a few weeks before my visit there. Much of the old embankments was washed away, but the solitary cedar, mentioned as being there in 1813, remained unharmed on the southern slope of the island.¹ From the magazine we had a fine view of the entire scene of action on the 22d of June. The schooner on the right, in the annexed picture, designates the place of the barges at the time of their repulse; and the distant point between the vessel and the shore by the magazine shows the landing-place of the British, who moved through the woods up to Wise's Creek. Just

¹ This tree is seen in the sketch on page 675.

A Slave's Freedom purchased by his Wife.

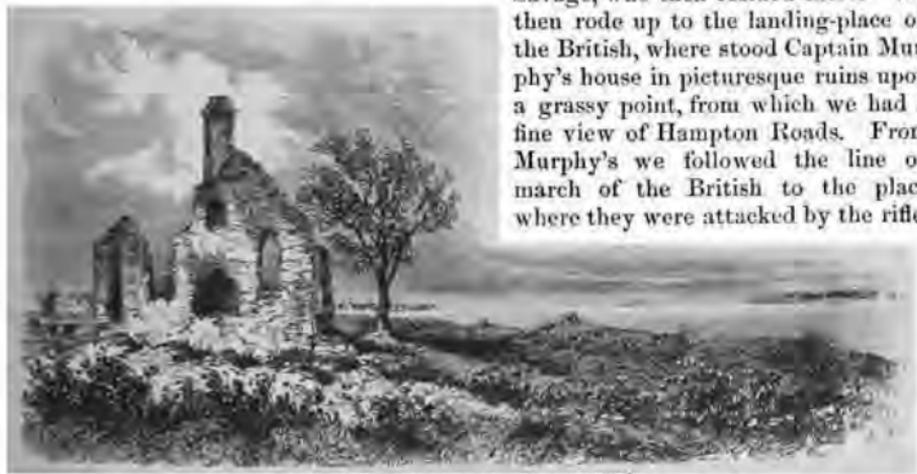
A Visit to Hampton and Vicinity.

Landing-place of the British.

at the left of the magazine, across the strait, is seen a small house, at the mouth of Wise's Creek. It was near the site of "Wise's Quarter," which was demolished many years ago. In the more modern house we found an intelligent colored man, about eighty years of age, rejoicing in the fact that his freedom had just been purchased by his wife, a woman almost as old as himself. She earned money by midwifery, in which profession she was very proficient. "Bress de Lord!" said the old man, "for de day when I married Dinah. She allers said Pomp shouldn't die a slave, but she's worked hard almost fifty years afore she made her promise sure." He was living near there at the time of the fight, and assisted in the erection of the fortifications on Craney Island.

It was about four o'clock when I returned to Norfolk. I spent the remainder of the afternoon in strolling about the city, and on the following morning departed in the steamer *Selden* for Hampton, eighteen miles distant. There I had the good fortune to meet Colonel Wilson W. Jones, brother of the lieutenant who went to the assistance of Parker with his cannon, and so gallantly took it from the field.¹ The colonel was a sergeant in Servant's rifle company, and was in the battle on Celey's Road when the British sergeant major and Lieutenant Colonel Williams were killed. He kindly accompanied me to places of interest around Hampton. First we visited the head-quarters of Beckwith and Cockburn (printed on page 683), and were kindly shown the rooms occupied by them, and the grave of Williams in the garden, by Mrs.

Savage, who then resided there. We then rode up to the landing-place of the British, where stood Captain Murphy's house in picturesque ruins upon a grassy point, from which we had a fine view of Hampton Roads. From Murphy's we followed the line of march of the British to the place where they were attacked by the rifle-



LANDING-PLACE OF THE BRITISH AT MURPHY'S.

men, and afterward by Jones with his field-piece, and then went to the mansion of the Pembroke farm, over which the Americans fled toward Little Bethel. In that mansion lived an aged couple at the time, named Kirby, whose treatment by the pursuing British soldiers who entered the house was the cause of the invoking of many an imprecation throughout the land upon the head of the enemy.² Near it stood the mansion of the Bethel estate, the dwelling of another aged man, named Hope, under whose roof great atrocities were committed.³ From these we returned to Hampton

¹ See page 682.

² Mr. Kirby was an aged man, very sick, and at the point to die when the soldiers entered the house. His wife was by his bedside, when they shot him through the body and wounded her in the hip. This was proclaimed as a wanton murder, and excited the greatest indignation. Colonel Jones knew Mrs. Kirby well, and her version of the story was that, with vengeful feelings, the soldiers chased an ugly dog into the house, which ran under Mr. Kirby's chair, in which he was sitting, and, in their eagerness to shoot the dog, shot the aged invalid, the bullet grazing the hip of Mrs. Kirby. Mrs. Kirby always considered the shooting of her husband an accident.

³ The conduct of the British at Mr. Hope's was barbarous in the extreme. He was sixty-five years of age. They stripped him entirely naked, wounded him intentionally with a bayonet, and tortured him with menaces of death. They would doubtless have killed him had not their attention been directed to a woman who had sought refuge in his



KIRBY HOUSE.¹

she died in January, 1862.

I spent the evening with Colonel Jones and his excellent wife, and saw in their little parlor two original crayon drawings by the eminent Sharpless, the faithful delineator from life of the profiles of Washington and his wife. These were profiles of Jefferson and Monroe. I made a careful copy of the former. Early the next morning I drew the sketch from my window at the hotel presented on page 681, and at the appointed hour left Hampton for Richmond in the James River steamer.

This was my second visit to Hampton, with an interval of five years, and both times I carried away with me pleasant remembrances of courteous inhabitants and a charming village. All is now changed. Hampton has been made a desolation by the smittings of civil war. Very few of its inhabitants were faithful to the old flag, and that county of which Hampton was the capital furnished no less than six companies to the rebel army. Colonel Jones remained a staunch Union man—faithful among the faithless—and was the last man to leave the doomed village when, at a few minutes past midnight on the 7th of August, 1861, the torch was applied by order of the rebel General Magruder during the maudlin delirium of intoxication. He (the aged veteran of 1812) was not allowed to take any thing from his house—the house in which the family of Commodore Barron long resided—and he and his equally aged companion had scarcely left it when they saw it in flames. Within twelve hours, four churches and four hundred and seventy dwellings were laid in ashes. Among the churches was one of the most ancient in Virginia,² which stood apart from the town. Its destruction was an act of purest barbarism.

¹ June, 1812. The British remained in Hampton until the 27th,³ when they re-embarked, and on the morning of the 29th Major Crutchfield entered the plundered village and took possession. On the 1st of July the blockading squadron, consisting at that time of seven ships of the line, seven frigates, and eleven smaller vessels, left Hampton Roads and entered the mouth of the Potomac River. A portion of the fleet went up that stream, exciting the most intense alarm at Alexandria, Georgetown, and the national capital. The only fortification on which those cities could rely at that time for the arrest of the invading squadron was old Fort Warburton, then called Fort Washington,³ situated on the Maryland side of the Potomac, a few miles below Alexandria. This was strengthened and its garrison increased by call-

house. They left him, seized her, and subjected her to indignities of which savages would be ashamed. Because of these atrocities, M'Laws, of the Veteran Corps at Wilmington, used the word HAMPTON, in place of *Attention*, when calling them to order.

¹ This house was of brick, and beautifully situated. At the time of the British invasion it belonged to John S. Westwood. When I visited it it was the property of his family. In front of it were some tomb-stones, near the site of the old Pembroke church.

² For a drawing and full historical description of this ancient church, see Lossing's *Pictorial Field-book of the Revolution*, II., 326.

³ This fort had been put in good condition. It had about twenty 18 and 32 pounder cannon mounted, that bore immediately upon the channel; also a water battery of eight 32-pounders advantageously placed.

Cockburn in the Potomac and on the Coast of North Carolina.

Alarm in South Carolina.

ing in the militia from the surrounding country. Breastworks were thrown up at Alexandria, Georgetown, and Washington, and vigorous measures were taken to meet the foe. The alarm soon subsided. The British did not approach nearer to Washington than seventy miles, and then withdrew, went around to the Chesapeake, and created equal alarm at Annapolis and Baltimore. Assured that those cities were amply defended, they withdrew, and a portion of the fleet, under Admiral Cockburn, went southward to plunder, destroy, and spread alarm along the coasts of the Carolinas and Georgia. His vessels were the *Sceptre*, 74 (flag-ship); *Romulus*, *Fox*, and *Nemesis*.

On the 12th of July Cockburn anchored off Ocracoke Inlet, and dispatched Lieutenant Westphal, with about eight hundred men in barges, to the waters of Pamlico Sound. They found within the bar the *Anaconda*, of New York, and *Atlas*, of Philadelphia, both private armed vessels. They fell upon the *Anaconda*, whose thirteen men, after stout resistance, blew holes in her bottom with her own guns and escaped. The British plugged the holes and saved her. They captured the *Atlas* and some smaller craft, but a revenue cutter escaped, and gave timely warning at Newbern. Westphal proceeded to attack that place, but it was too well defended by the newly-rallied militia to warrant an attack, so he proceeded to Portsmouth, not far off, took possession of the town, and for two or three days engaged in the pastime of plundering and desolating the surrounding country. The rapid-gathering of the militia caused them to decamp in haste on the 16th, carrying with them cattle and other property, and many slaves, to whom freedom was falsely promised. These Cockburn, it is said, sold in the West Indies.

Leaving Pamlico Sound, the arch-marauder went down the coast, stopping at and plundering Dewees's and Capers's Islands, and filling the whole region of the Lower Santee with terror. Several plantations on Dewees's were desolated, and from Capers's a large quantity of live-stock was taken away, with a few slaves. Other exposed places along the coast expected a similar visitation. Breastworks were thrown up around Charleston; Fort Moultrie and other fortifications were strengthened, and a considerable body of militia were assembled on Haddrell's Point, or Point Pleasant, where might have been seen, before the late Civil War, a monument erected to the memory of some soldiers who perished there by disease.¹ No battle was fought on South Carolina soil during the war. Her politicians were among the most clamorous for hostilities, and some of her citizens made fortunes by privateering; but few of her sons were found in the ranks of their country's defenders. She suffered most from the fear of losing property, especially slaves, which her state law declared to be property; and during the time



SOLDIERS' MONUMENT, POINT PLEASANT.

¹ This monument was built of brick, having in shallow recesses in the base of the crowning pyramid marble tablets bearing the following inscriptions:

East Side.—"On the 15th of June, 1812, the United States of America declared war against Great Britain. At the first sound of the trumpet the patriot soldiers who sleep beneath this monument flew to the standard of Liberty. Here they fell beneath the scythe of Death. The sympathies of the brave, the tears of the stranger, and the slow dirge of the camp attended them to the tomb.

"How sleep the brave, who sink to rest
With all their country's wishes blest.
The laurel wreath of shining green
Will still around their tomb be seen."

West Side.—"Sacred to the memory of Sergeant Truman Goodrich and Adam C. Spencer. Also of David Aarant,

when Cockburn was hovering along the coast the large slaveholders were agitated by the deepest anxiety lest a force of the British should land and declare freedom to all serfs who should join their standard. Had they done so, no doubt an army of many thousand colored people would have flocked to that standard, for the negroes had heard of the liberation of their brethren in Virginia by the British, but not of the infamous treachery of their seducer, who sold them into worse servitude in the West Indies. All along the coast, and far into the interior, secret organizations existed among the negroes for united efforts to obtain their freedom; and, in anticipation of the coming of a British army of liberation, they were prepared to rise in large numbers, at a given signal, and strike for freedom.¹ But Cockburn was content to fill his pockets by plundering, and a petty slave-trade on his own account; so, after keeping the Carolinas in a state like fever and ague for many weeks,² he went down to the Georgia coast, and at "Dungeness House," the seat of the fine estate of General Nathaniel Greene, of the Revolution, on Cumberland Island, he made his head-quarters for the winter. His marauders went out in all directions upon the neighboring coast, spreading desolation and alarm. Among the estates visited was that of Bonaventure, a few

William Rutland, John Williams, William McLellan, Henry Kilgore, John Taylor, John Bruce, and Harris Lancaster, private soldiers of the Third Regiment of State Troops."

When I visited the spot a few years before the late war, the tablets were much defaced by the effects of bullets which had been fired at them for the sport of some young men of Charleston. It was sad to see such evidences of utter carelessness of the memory of those whom another and better generation had delighted to honor. And yet there was testimony not far off—just across a broad channel—that respect for a really great man, though ranked in history as a savage, was not wanting. I refer to Osceola, the celebrated Seminole warrior, who for a long time outgeneraled some of the best commanders of the republic—Scott, Taylor, Gaines, and Jesup—in their attempts to expel his people from the Everglades of Florida, which had belonged to his fathers from time immemorial. A stone slab marks his last resting-place on earth, just at the entrance-gate to Fort Moultrie; and when I was there not even a pencil-mark defaced the surface, on which was inscribed, in large letters, OSCEOLA. And so it remained through the late Civil War, unscathed amid the ruins around it. I saw it, well preserved, in the spring of 1866. Osceola was made a prisoner by treachery, having been arrested in the camp of General Jesup, whither he had been invited to a conference under the generally sacred protection of a flag of truce. He was imprisoned, and his great heart was broken. The warrior became like a little child, and died at the close of January, 1829. No one can look upon that simple monument, just outside of the gate of a powerful fortress, without flinching in it and the huge walls near significant emblems of the comparative strength of the European and the native American on the continent; nor can an American citizen, acquainted with the history of the latter years of that warrior's life, avoid the blush of shame for the government



OSCEOLA'S GRAVE.

that sanctioned such treachery.

¹ I am indebted to an accomplished American scholar and professor in one of our colleges for an account of one of these secret organizations, which met regularly during the summer of 1813 upon an island in the vicinity of Charleston. The leader was a man of great sagacity and influence, and their meetings were opened and closed by singing the subjoined hymn, composed by that leader. They held meetings every night, and had arranged a plan for the rising of all the slaves in Charleston when the British should appear. At one of their meetings, the question "What shall be done with the white people?" was warmly discussed. Some advocated their indiscriminate slaughter as the only security for liberty, and this seemed to be the prevailing opinion, when the author of the hymn came in and said, "Brothers! you know me. You know that I am ready to gain your liberty and mine. But not one needless drop of blood must be shed. I have a master whom I love, and the man who takes his life must pass over my dead body." The following is a copy of the hymn—a sort of parody on the national song "*Hail, Columbia!*"

Repeat.—
{Hail! all hail! ye Afric clan!
Hail! ye oppressed, ye Afric band!
Who toil and sweat in slavery bound,
And when your health and strength are gone,
Are left to hunger and to mourn.
Let independence be your aim,
Ever mindful what 'tis worth;
Pledge your bodies for the prize,
File them even to the skies!
Chorus.—Firm, united let us be,
Resolved on death or liberty!
As a band of patriots joined,
Peace and plenty we shall find.

Repeat.—
{Look to heaven with manly trust,
And swear by Him that's always just
That no white foe, with impious hand,

Shall slave your wives and daughters more,
Or rob them of their virtue dear!
Be armed with valor firm and true,
Their hopes are fixed on Heaven and you,
That Truth and Justice will prevail.
Chorus.—Firm, united, etc.

Repeat.—
{Arise! arise! shake off your chains!
Your cause is just, so Heaven ordains;
'Tis you shall freedom be proclaimed!
Raise your arms and bare your breasts,
Almighty God will do the rest.
Blow the clarion's warlike blast;
Call every negro from his task;
Wrest the scourge from Buckra's hand,
And drive each tyrant from the land!
Chorus.—Firm, united, etc.

² Cockburn landed at Hilton Head and one or two other places, from which he carried off some cattle and a number of slaves; and Savannah was much agitated for a time with the fear of his grasp.

Cockburn on the Coast of Georgia.

Decatur runs the Blockade at New York.

He is driven into the Thames.

miles from Savannah, the property of the Tattnall family, on which, in a grove of live-oak draped with the Spanish moss, is one of the most picturesque cemeteries in the world, the entrance to which is seen in the picture, made from a sketch by the artist T. Addison Richards.

While Cockburn, the marauder, was on the Southern coast, Hardy, the gentleman, was blockading a portion of the New England coast. The



ENTRANCE TO BONAVENTURE.

harbors from the Delaware to Nantucket were regularly watched, and ingress and egress were very difficult.

We have given an account of the arrival at New York of the frigates *United States* and *Macedonian*,¹ the former in the American service, under Decatur, and the latter a prize captured by him from the British in the previous autumn. These had been repaired and fitted for sea, and the gallant Captain Jones had been placed in command of the *Macedonian*. At this time the *Poictiers*, Captain Beresford, and a number of other vessels, were carefully guarding the entrance to New York Harbor through the Narrows, but Decatur, anxious to get out upon the ocean, resolved to run the blockade. He found it unsafe to attempt it at the Narrows; so, with his two frigates, accompanied by the sloop of war *Hornet*, Captain Biddle, which was anxious to join the *Chesapeake* at Boston, he passed up the East River and Long Island Sound for the purpose of escaping between Montauk Point and Block Island.² For a month

J. M. Parley Captain

Sir Thomas Hardy, with his flag-ship the *Ramillies*, the *Orpheus*, Captain Sir Hugh Pigot, the *Valiant*, *Acasta*, and smaller vessels, had been

keeping vigilant watch in that region. During that time Sir Thomas had won the good opinion of the inhabitants along the coast because of his honorable treatment of them.

When Decatur approached the mouth of the Thames,³ he was met by the *Valiant* and *Acasta*, and, knowing that the *Ramillies* and *Orpheus* were near, he deemed it prudent to run into New London Harbor. He was pursued by the enemy as far as Gull Island, at which point the British anchored in position to command the mouth of the Thames. Then commenced a regular blockade of New London, which continued full twenty months, and was raised only by the proclamation of peace. The squadron in sight of New London was soon strengthened, and when, at the latter part of June, Hardy assumed command of it, it consisted of two 74's, two frigates, and a number of smaller vessels.

¹ See page 456.

² This is out at sea, south of Rhode Island, and forms a part of that State's jurisdiction. The British had now raised their standard on this island.

June 1,
1813.



The presence of this fleet created much anxiety. The more aged inhabitants, who remembered Arnold's incursion in 1781, were filled with apprehensions of a repetition of the tragedies of that terrible day. It was generally expected that the enemy would enter the river and attack Decatur's squadron, and the neighboring militia were summoned to the town; the specie of the banks was conveyed to Norwich, at the head of tide-water; and women, and children, and portable property were sent into the interior. The character of Sir Thomas was a sufficient guaranty that neither life nor private property would be wantonly destroyed; but, in the event of the bombardment of the ships, the town could not well escape destruction by fire. Decatur, in anticipation of such bombardment of his vessels, after lightening them, took them five or six miles up the river, beyond the reach of the enemy, and upon an eminence near Allyn's Point, from which he had a fine view of the Sound and New London Harbor, he cast up some intrenchments, and placed his cannon upon them. The spot was named Dragon Hill.²

At about this time an event occurred off New London which caused great exasperation in the blockading squadron, and came near bringing most disastrous effects upon the New England coast. It was the use of a torpedo, or submarine mine, whose invention, construction, and character have already been given in these pages.³ The government of the United States, it will be remembered, refused to employ them. It was left for private enterprise to attempt the promotion of the public good by their use in weakening the power of the enemy. One of these enterprises was undertaken in New York city. In the hold of the schooner *Eagle*, John Scudder, junior, the originator of the plot, placed ten kegs of gunpowder, with a quantity of sulphur mixed with it, in a strong cask, and surrounded it with huge stones and other missiles, which, in the event of explosion, might inflict great injury. At the head of the cask, on the inside, were fixed two gun-locks, with cords fastened to their triggers at one end, and two barrels of flour at the other end, so that when the flour should be removed the

¹ In this view, looking down the river, the old court-house, yet standing on State Street, is seen near the centre of the picture. Upon the rocky peninsula farther to the right (erroneously made to appear like an island) is seen Fort Trumbull. Beyond it, in the distance, at the mouth of the river, is seen the light-house, and in the open sound the British blockading squadron. In the extreme distance is seen, as if in connecting line, Gull and Fisher's Island. On the extreme left are the Heights of Groton, east of the Thames.

² *History of New London*, by Miss Frances Manwaring Caultkins, author of a *History of Norwich, Connecticut*. These volumes justly rank among the best arranged and most interesting of the local histories of our country.

³ See pages from 238 to 240 inclusive.

A Torpedo Vessel off New London.

Alarm and Precautions of the British.

Other Torpedo Vessels.

locks would be sprung, the powder ignited, and the terrible mine exploded. Thus prepared, with a cargo of flour and naval stores over the concealed mine, the *Eagle*, Captain Riker, late in June, sailed for New London, where, as was expected and desired, she was captured by armed men sent out in boats from the *Ramillies*. The crew of the *Eagle* escaped to the shore at Millstone Point, and anxiously awaited the result. The wind had fallen, and for two hours unavailing efforts were made to get the *Eagle* alongside the *Ramillies* for the purpose of transferring her cargo to that vessel. Finally boats were sent out as lighters, the hatches of the *Eagle* were opened, and when the first barrel of flour was removed the explosion took place. A column of fire shot up into the air full nine hundred feet, and a shower of pitch and tar fell upon the deck of the *Ramillies*. The schooner, and the first lieutenant and ten men from the flag-ship on board of her, were blown into atoms, and most of those in the boats outside were seriously, and some fatally injured.

The success which this experiment promised caused others to be tried. A citizen of Norwich, familiar with the machine used by Bushnell in attempts to blow up the *Eagle*, British ship-of-war, in the harbor of New York during the Revolution, invented a submarine boat in which he voyaged at the rate of three miles an hour. In this he went under, the *Ramillies* three times, and on the third occasion had nearly completed the task of fixing a torpedo to her bottom, when a screw broke, and his effort was foiled. He was discovered, but escaped. A daring fisherman of Long Island, named Penny, made attempts on the *Ramillies* with a torpedo in a whale-boat, and Hardy was kept continually on the alert. So justly fearful was he of these mines, that he not only kept his ship in motion, but, according to Penny, who was a prisoner on the *Ramillies* for a while, he caused her bottom to be swept with a cable every two hours night and day. He finally issued a warning to the inhabitants of the coasts that if they did not cease that cruel and unheard-of warfare, he should proceed to destroy their towns and desolate their country.¹

An attempt of Mr. Mix, of the navy, in July, to blow up the *Plantagenet*, 74, lying off Cape Henry, Virginia, was almost successful. The torpedo was carried out, under cover of intense darkness, in a heavy open boat called *The Chesapeake Avenger*, and dropped so as to float down under the ship's bow. It exploded a few seconds too soon. The scene was awful. A column of water, twenty-five feet in diameter, and half luminous with lurid light, was thrown up at least forty feet, with an explosion as terrific as thunder, and producing a concussion like the shock of an earthquake. It burst at the crown. The water fell in profusion on the deck of the *Plantagenet*, and at the same moment she rolled into the chasm made by this sudden expulsion of water, and nearly upset. Torpedoes were also placed across the Narrows, below New York, and at the entrance to the harbor of Portland. This fact made the British commanders exceedingly cautious in approaching our harbors, and they and their American sympathizers expressed great horror at this mode of warfare. It was replied that the wanton outrages committed on the defenseless inhabitants of the coast, from Havre de Grace to Charleston, fully justified *any* mode of warfare against such marauders, and that stratagem in the horrid business of war was always justifiable.²

¹ Hardy had been in the habit of allowing trading vessels to pass, the blockade being chiefly against Decatur's little squadron; but on the morning after the explosion of the *Eagle* he informed General Isham, the commander of the militia at New London, that no vessel would thereafter be allowed to pass the British squadron except flags of truce. And on the 28th of August, after an attempt upon the *Ramillies* by Penny from the south side of Long Island, Hardy wrote to Justice Terry, of Southold, desiring him to warn the inhabitants along the coast that if they allowed a torpedo boat to remain another day among them, he would "order every house near the shore to be destroyed." The leniency and courtesy extended to the inhabitants by Captain Hardy gave him claims to their respectful consideration.

² The Philadelphia *Aurora* said, in speaking of the complaints of the mischievous "Peace party" of that day, "We would respectfully solicit the pious men to explain to us the difference between waging war with submarine machines and with aerial destructive weapons—fighting under water or fighting in the air? The British, too cowardly to meet us on shore (except when they are certain of finding little or no opposition) like men and soldiers, send us Congreve rockets to burn our towns and habitations; we, in turn, dispatch some of our torpedoes to rub the copper off the bottoms of their ships."

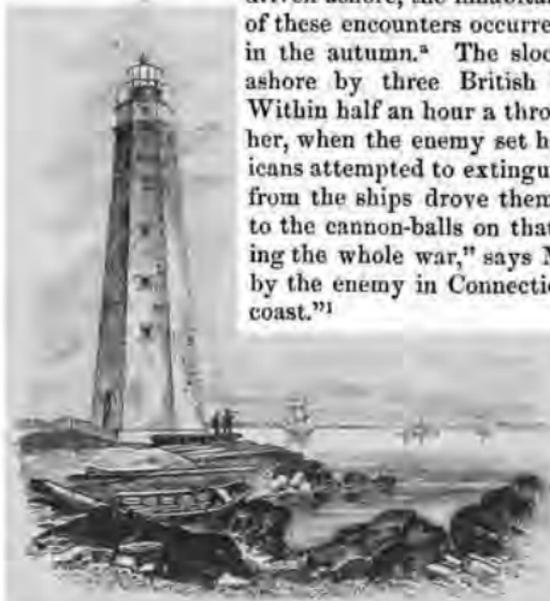
Vigorous Blockade of the Coast of Connecticut.

The local Militia.

Colonel Burbeck.

Although Hardy did not execute his threats, he made the blockade more rigorous than ever, and many trading vessels became prizes to the British cruisers. A tiny warfare was kept up along the Connecticut coast, for, whenever a chased vessel was driven ashore, the inhabitants would turn out to defend it. One of these encounters occurred a little west of the light-house late in the autumn.¹ The sloop *Roxana* was chased ashore by three British barges, and grounded.

Within half an hour a throng of people had assembled to rescue her, when the enemy set her on fire and retreated. The Americans attempted to extinguish the flames, but a heavy cannonade from the ships drove them off. Although many were exposed to the cannon-balls on that occasion, not one was hurt. "During the whole war," says Miss Caulkins, "not a man was killed by the enemy in Connecticut, and only one in its waters on the coast."²



LIGHT-HOUSE AT NEW LONDON.

At near the close of June, the veteran colonel of artillery in the regular service, Henry Burbeck, who had been stationed at Newport, arrived at New London to take charge of that military department.³ He found the militia, who were strongly imbued with the mischievous doctrine of state supremacy, unwilling to be transferred, according to late orders

from the Secretary of War, from the service of the state to the service of the United States. He accordingly, under instructions from Washington, dismissed them all. The people, misconstruing the movement, were alarmed and exasperated. They regarded themselves as unwarrantably deprived of their defenders, and betrayed to the enemy, who might come and plunder and destroy to his heart's content. At the same time, it was known that Hardy's fleet had been re-enforced by the arrival of the *Endymion* and *Statira*, vessels equal in strength to the *United States* and *Macedonian*. A panic of mingled fear and indignation prevailed, and it was only allayed by the quick response of the Governor of Connecticut to the invitation of Colonel

¹ *History of New London*, page 634.

² Henry Burbeck was born in Boston on the 8th of June, 1754. He was a soldier of the Revolution, and in 1787, under the Confederation, he was commissioned a captain. He was appointed captain of artillery in 1789, and promoted to major in 1791. He was raised to lieutenant colonel of artillery and engineers in 1798, and to colonel in 1802. During his service at New London, on the 10th of September, 1813, he was breveted a brigadier general, and held that commission until the close of the war, when, after thirty-eight years of military service, he re-



BURBECK'S MONUMENT.

tired from the army, and took up his abode in New London. He died there on the 2d of October, 1848, at the great age of ninety-four years. He was buried in the Cedar Grove Cemetery at New London, and over his grave the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati, of which, at the time of his death, he was president, and last survivor but one of the original members, erected a handsome granite monument, under the direction of Honorable R. G. Shaw, of Boston, the late General H. A. S. Dearborn, of Roxbury, and the Reverend Alfred L. Baur, of Newton Lower Falls, a committee of the society. Upon the front of the obelisk, on a shield, is the following inscription: "Brigadier General HENRY BURBECK, born in Boston, Mass., June 8, 1754. Died at New London, October 2, 1848." Upon the cube on which the obelisk stands the following words are deeply engraven: "The Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati dedicate this monument to the memory of their late honored President. He was an officer of the United States from the commencement of the Revolutionary War until near the close of his life. By a patriotic and faithful discharge of the high and responsible duties of a Gallant Soldier, and an Exemplary Citizen, he became as justly and eminently distinguished as he was righteously and universally respected. Erected MDCCCL."

Decatur endeavors to get to Sea. The Blue-lights and the "Peace Party." A Challenge. Tour in New England.

Burbeck to call out the militia for the temporary defense of the menaced town. Brigadier General Williams was appointed to the command of the militia, and the alarm subsided.

Decatur watched continually during the summer and autumn for an opportunity to escape to sea with his three vessels; and hoping, as the severely cold weather came on, to find the enemy at times somewhat lax in vigilance, he slowly dropped down the river, and at the beginning of December was anchored in New London Harbor, opposite Market Wharf. With great secrecy he prepared every thing for sailing. He fixed on Sunday evening, the 12th,^a for making the attempt to run the blockade. Fortunately for his plan, the night was very dark, the wind was favorable, and the tide served at a convenient hour. When all things were in readiness, and he was about to weigh anchor, word came from the row-guard of the *Macedonian* and *Hornet* that signal-lights were burning on both sides of the river, near its mouth. They were *blue-lights*, and Decatur had no doubt of their being signals to warn the enemy of his movement, which was known in the village that evening. Thus exposed by "Peace Men," of whom there were a few in almost every community, he at once abandoned the project, and tried every means to discover the betrayers, but without effect. The Opposition, as a party, denied the fact, while others as strongly asserted it. In his letter to the Secretary of the Navy^b on the subject, Decatur said, "Notwithstanding these signals have been repeated, and have been seen by twenty persons at least in this squadron, there are men in New London who have the hardihood to affect to disbelieve it, and the effrontery to avow their disbelief." The whole Federal party, who were traditionally opposed to war with Great Britain, were often unfairly compelled to bear the odium of actions which justly pertained only to the "Peace" faction. They were compelled to do so in this case, and for more than a generation members of that party were stigmatized with the epithet of "Blue-light Federalist."

The *United States* and *Macedonian* were imprisoned in the Thames during the remainder of the war.¹ In the spring of 1814 they were dismantled, and laid up about three and a half miles below Norwich, and their officers and men made their way by land to other ports and engaged actively in the service. The *Hornet* lay at New London almost a year longer, when she slipped out of the harbor and escaped to New York.

Of the more stirring operations of the blockading fleet in this vicinity the following year I shall hereafter write, and it remains for me now only to make brief mention of the circumstances of my visit at New London and its vicinity late in the autumn of 1860. I had been on a tour East as far as Castine, at the mouth of the Penobscot, and up that river to Bangor, and was thus far on my way homeward, after spending Thanksgiving-day with the acting surgeon of Perry's fleet, Dr. Usher Parsons, at his house in Providence, Rhode Island. I had reached New London at an early hour, and, with a pleasant day before me, went out to visit places of historic interest in the town and its neighborhood. Before doing so, I called on the accomplished author of the History of New London (Miss Caulkins²), and, after the brief in-

¹ In January, 1814, Captain Moran, master of a sloop that had been captured by the blockaders, reported that Hardy, in his presence, expressed a desire that the *Macedonian* and *Stattira* should have a combat, they being vessels of equal power, but that he would not permit a challenge to that effect to be sent. Decatur at once informed Hardy (17th of January, 1814) that he was ready to have a meeting of the *Macedonian* and *Stattira*, and the *United States* and *Endymion*, and invited him to the contest. This message was sent by Captain Biddle, of the *Hornet*, who was informed that an answer would be sent the next day. The crews of the two American frigates were assembled, and when the proposition was submitted to them they received it with hearty cheers. They were eager for release, and did not doubt their ability to secure a victory. On the following day an answer came. The challenge was accepted so far as the *Macedonian* and *Stattira* were concerned, but a meeting between the *United States* and *Endymion* was declined because of an alleged disparity in strength, which would give great advantage to the American vessel. Decatur, being under sailing orders, and anxious to get his little squadron to sea, would not consent to its separation by detaching the *Macedonian* for a duel, so the matter dropped.

² Miss Caulkins is also the author of an admirable History of Norwich, Connecticut.

interview which limited time allowed, I was well prepared to find the places (and appreciate the interest attached to them) in and around that pleasant little city of ten thousand inhabitants. I shall ever remember that interview with pleasure.

Near New London is the "Cedar Grove Cemetery," in which are the graves of many of the honored dead. Among these, over which affection has reared monuments, may be found those of General Burbeck and Commodore George W. Rodgers.



COMMODORE RODGERS'S MONUMENT.

I made sketches of the monuments erected to the memory of each, and present them to the readers of these pages. Commodore Rodgers was a gallant officer of the navy, and died in the service of his country at Buenos Ayres, in South America, on the 21st of May, 1832, at the age of forty-six years. He was then in command of an American squadron on the coast of Brazil. He was a veteran officer, having been a midshipman in 1804, and a lieutenant in active service during the War of 1812.¹ By order of the Navy Department, his remains were brought home in the ship *Lexington* in 1850, and conveyed to New London in charge of Commodore Kearney. Their re-interment in "Cedar Grove Cemetery"² was the occasion of a great civic and military display, in which the Governor of Connecticut and his suite joined.³

His monument is a plain obelisk of freestone, on which is a simple inscription.

From the cemetery I rode back to the town by another way, which passed by the older part of the place, and the "Hempstead House," the last remaining of the three original houses built at New London. It was erected and occupied by Sir Robert Hempstead, whose descendants yet own it. It was fortified against the Indians at one time, and was the nearest neighbor to the mansion of Governor Winthrop, at the head of the Cove—that cove out of which, within twenty rods of the "Hempstead House," sailed the first vessel that went from New London to the West Indies.

From the "Hempstead House" I rode down to the light-house at the mouth of the Thames, sketched the view of it on page 694, and, returning, visited Fort Trumbull, so called in honor of the first Governor of Connecticut of that name. It is a most delightful drive along the river from the light-house and Pequot House to the city, and it is much traveled for pleasure during the summer season. Outward is seen the broad expanse of the Sound, with Fisher's and Gull Islands in the distance; while up the river is seen the fort and city on one side, and Fort Griswold, the Groton Monument and village, and the green hills stretching away toward Norwich on the other. Fort Trumbull is a strong work, built chiefly of granite from the quarry at Millstone Point. It is the third fortress erected on the spot. In 1775 a strong block-house was built upon that rocky point, some embankments were cast up around it, and the whole was named Fort Trumbull. In 1812 these embankments were only green mounds. These were cleared away, and a more formidable work was erected, leaving the old block-house within the lines. This fort, retaining the original name, fell into decay, and all but the ancient block-house was demolished preparatory to the commencement of the present structure. There the block-house still stands, a monument to the memory of the patriotism of our fathers of the Revolution. The

¹ He was made master commandant in 1816, and captain in 1825. One of his sons (Lieutenant Alexander P. Rodgers) was killed at the battle of Chapultepec, in Mexico, in September, 1847.

² This cemetery was laid out by Dr. Horatio Stone for an association in 1850, and consecrated in 1851. The first interment of a person living when it was laid out was that of Joseph S. Squire.—Miss Caulkina.

³ Caulkina's *History of Connecticut*, 662.

Block-house erected in 1812.

The old Court-house and its Associations.

Peace.

new fort was built under the superintendence of (then) Captain George W. Cullum, of the United States Engineers, and was completed in 1849, at a cost of about two hundred and fifty thousand dollars. The views from its battlements are extensive; and from the grassy esplanade sloping to the water



ANCIENT BLOCK-HOUSE, FORT TRUMBULL.



NEW LONDON HARBOR FROM FORT TRUMBULL.

southward may be obtained a very pleasant view of the harbor, the mouth of the river, and Long Island Sound beyond.

The last object of interest visited in New London was the old court-house built in 1784, three years after its predecessor was burnt at the time of Arnold's invasion.¹

It stands at the head of broad State Street, upon a rocky foundation. It had an external gallery around it at the second story, but this was removed at the beginning of the present century, and it now bears the appearance that it did at the close of the Second War for Independence, when it was the scene of joyous festivities immediately after the President's proclamation of peace reached the town in February, 1815.² Friendly greetings between the British blockading squadron and the citizens then took place. The latter soon went to sea, and the *United States* and *Macedonian* departed for New York after an imprisonment of about twenty months. Then "the last shadow of war departed from the town."



THE OLD COURT-HOUSE.

I left New London for Stonington by railway at evening, whither I shall invite the reader before long.

We have now considered the military events during the year 1813 in the North and West, on the Lakes, and along the Atlantic coast; let us now look out upon the ocean, and observe the hostile movements of the belligerents there. In the mean time sounds of war with the Indians come up from the Gulf region.

¹ See Miss Caulkins's *History of New London*, page 626.

² Admiral Hotham, whose flag-ship was the *Superb*, then commanded the blockading squadron off New London. On the 21st of February the village was splendidly illuminated. Hotham determined to mingle in the festivities. Announcing the parole on the *Superb* to be "America," and the countersign "Amity," he and his officers went ashore and mingled freely and cordially with the inhabitants. The admiral was received with distinguished courtesy, for, like Hardy, he had won the merited esteem of the citizens by his gentlemanly conduct. At about this time the *Factotum* and *Narcissus* came into the harbor, bringing Commodore Decatur and Lieutenant (now Admiral) W. B. Shubrick, who had been captured in the frigate *President*. A public reception, partaking of the character of a ball, was held at the court-house, to which all the British officers on the coast were invited. Several were present, and the guests were received by Commodores Decatur and Shaw.

CHAPTER XXXI.

"O, Johnny Bull, my joe, John, your *Peacocks* keep at home,
And ne'er let British seamen on a *Frotie* hither come,
For we've *Hornets* and we've *Wasps*, John, who, as you doubtless know,
Carry stingers in their tails, O, Johnny Bull, my joe."

BROTHER JONATHAN'S EPISTLE TO JOHNNY BULL, 1814.

"Then learn, ye comrades of the illustrious dead,
Heroic faith and honor to revere;
For Lawrence slumbers in his lowly bed,
Embalm'd by Albion's and Columbia's tear."

MONODY ON THE DEATH OF LAWRENCE.



AFTER the destruction of the *Java* off the coast of Brazil in December, 1812, Commodore Bainbridge, as we have observed, sailed for the United States,¹ leaving the *Hornet*, Captain James Lawrence, to blockade the *Bon Citoyenne*, a vessel laden with treasure, in the harbor of San Salvador.² On the 24th of January, the British ship of war *Montagu*, 74, made her appearance. She came up from Rio Janeiro to raise the blockade. The *Hornet* was driven into the harbor, but escaped during the very dark night that followed, and went cruising up the coast. She was thus employed for a month, and captured a few prizes. Finally, on the 24th of February, at half past three o'clock in the afternoon, while chasing an English brig off the mouth of the Demerara River, Lawrence suddenly discovered a vessel, evidently a man-of-war, with an English ensign set, just without the bar.² He determined to attack her. The Carobana bank lay between the *Hornet* and this newly-discovered enemy. While she was beating around this another sail was discovered, bearing down cautiously on her weather quarter. When she drew near she proved to be a man-of-war brig, displaying British colors. The men of the *Hornet* were called to quarters. The ship was cleared for action, and as the American ensign was flung out she tacked, contended for the weather-gage unsuccessfully, and then stood for her antagonist. The latter was on a like errand, and both vessels, with their heads different ways, and lying close to the wind, passed within half pistol-shot of each other at twenty-five minutes past five, delivering their broadsides from larboard batteries as the guns bore. Immediately after passing, the stranger endeavored to wear short round, so as to get a raking fire at the *Hornet*. Lawrence closely watched the movement, and promptly imitating it, and firing his starboard guns, compelled the stranger to right his helm. With a perfect blaze of fire the *Hornet* came down upon her, closed, and in this advantageous position poured in her shot with so much vigor for fifteen minutes that her antagonist not only struck her colors, but raised the union down in the fore rigging as a signal of distress. Very soon afterward the mainmast of the vanquished fell, and went over her side. Lieutenant J. T. Shubrick was sent to take possession of her, and ascertain her name and condition. She was the British man-of-war brig *Peacock*, 18, Captain William Peake. Her commander was slain, a great portion of her crew had fallen, and she was in a sinking condition. She already had six feet of water in her hold. Lieutenant David Connor and Midshipman Benjamin Cooper were immediately dispatched with boats to bring off the wounded, and endeavor to save the vessel. For this purpose both vessels were an-

January 6,
1813.

¹ See page 461.

² She was the *Espergle*, mounting sixteen 32-pound carronades and two long 9's.

The Destruction of the *Peacock*.

Conduct of Captain Lawrence.

Prowess of the Americans respected.

chored. The guns of the *Peacock* were thrown overboard, the holes made by shot were plugged, and every exertion was made to keep the battered hulk afloat until the wounded could be removed. Their efforts were not wholly successful. The short twilight closed before the work of mercy was accomplished. The vessel filled rapidly; and while thirteen of her crew and several men belonging to the *Hornet* were yet on board of her, she suddenly went down. Nine of the thirteen, and three of the *Hornet's* men,¹ perished. Connor and several other Americans, and four of the *Peacock's* crew, had a narrow escape from death. The latter saved themselves by running up the rigging to the foretop, which remained above water when she settled on the bottom, for she sunk in only about five fathoms. Four prisoners, in the confusion of the moment, had lowered the *Peacock's* stern boat and escaped to the shore. Those who were saved received every attention from the victors. The crew of the *Hornet* cheerfully divided their clothing with those of the *Peacock*; and so sensible were the officers of the latter of the generosity of the American commander and his men, that, on their arrival in New York, they expressed their gratitude in a public letter of thanks to Captain Lawrence.²

The loss of the British in this engagement, besides ship and property, is not exactly known. Captain Peake and four men were known to be killed, and four officers and twenty-nine men were found wounded. Nine others were drowned. The entire loss of life on the part of the enemy was probably not less than fifty. The *Hornet* was scarcely touched in her hull, but her sails and rigging were considerably cut, and her mainmast and bowsprit were wounded. Of her crew only one man was killed³ and two wounded in the fight, and three, as we have observed, went down with the *Peacock*.⁴ Two others were injured by the explosion of a cartridge. The strength of the *Hornet* in men and metal was slightly greater than that of the *Peacock*. She carried eighteen 32-pound carronades and two long 12's. The *Peacock* was armed with sixteen 24-pound carronades, two long 9's, one 12-pound carronade in the fore-castle, one 6-pounder, and two swivels. Her men numbered one hundred and thirty, and those of the *Hornet* one hundred and thirty-five.

Captain Lawrence found himself with two hundred and seventy-seven souls on board, and short of water. He determined to return immediately to the United States; and he did not cast anchor until he reached Holmes's Hole, Martha's Vineyard, on the 19th of March. On that day he wrote an official letter to the Secretary of the Navy giving an account of his success, and on the 25th he arrived at the Brooklyn Navy Yard. Intelligence of the exploits of the *Hornet* went over the land, and produced the liveliest joy, as well as the most profound sensation in both countries. The prowess and skill of American seamen were fully vindicated and acknowledged, and the "Mistress of the Seas" found it necessary to move with the humiliating caution of a doubter conscious of danger. "If a vessel had been moored for the sole purpose of experiment," said a Halifax (British) newspaper, "it is not probable she could have been sunk in so short a time. *It will not do for our vessels to fight theirs single-handed.* The Americans are a dead nip." The President of the United States, in his message to Congress at the special session in May, said, "In continuance of the brilliant achievements of our infant navy, a signal triumph has been gained by Cap-

¹ John Hart, Joseph Williams, and Hannibal Boyd.

² "So much," they said, "was done to alleviate the uncomfortable and distressing situation in which we were placed when received on board the ship you command, that we can not better express our feelings than by saying we ceased to consider ourselves prisoners; and every thing that friendship could dictate was adopted by you and the officers of the *Hornet* to remedy the inconvenience we otherwise should have experienced from the unavoidable loss of the whole of our property and clothes by the sudden sinking of the *Peacock*." This was signed by the first and second lieutenants, the master, the surgeon, and the purser of the *Peacock*.

³ John Place, who was in the top. It is a singular fact that there was scarcely a mark of a ball seen below the main-top. The captain's pennant was shot from the mainmast at the beginning of the action.

⁴ To this fact a poet of the time, in an elegy on the death of Lawrence, wrote:

"For 'twas the proud *Peacock* to the bottom did go;
He lost more in saving than conquering his foe."

Honors to Captain Lawrence and his Men.

Public Dinner in New York.

The Lawrence Medal.

tain Lawrence and his companions, in the *Hornet* sloop-of-war, with a celerity so unexampled, and with a slaughter of the enemy so disproportionate to the loss in the *Hornet*, as to claim for the conqueror the highest praise.¹

The Common Council of New York resolved to present the "freedom of the city," with "a piece of plate with appropriate devices and inscriptions," to Captain Lawrence, and to give a public dinner to the officers and crew of the *Hornet*.² Afterward, on January 4, 1814, when Lawrence was slain, the Congress of the United States requested³ the President to present to his nearest male relative a gold medal commemorative of his services,³ and a silver medal to each of the commissioned officers



MEAL AWARDED TO CAPTAIN LAWRENCE BY CONGRESS.

who served under him in the *Hornet*. Every where throughout the land the name of Lawrence was honored; and, as usual after a victory, Art and Song made contributions to the garland of praise with which the people delighted to crown the chief victor.⁴

¹ Message to Congress, Special Session, May 25, 1813. In the Memoirs of Sir Charles Napier may be found the following paragraph: "When in Bermuda, in 1813, with his regiment, Colonel Napier, writing to his mother, says: 'Two packets are quite fine, and we fear they have been taken, for the Yankees swarm here; and when a frigate goes out to drive them off by force they take her! Yankees fight well, and are gentlemen in their mode of warfare. Decatur refused Carden's sword, saying, 'Sir, you have used it so well I should be ashamed to take it from you.' These Yankees, though so much abused, are really fine fellows.'"

² This dinner was given at Washington Hall, on Tuesday, the 4th of May. I have before me one of the original invitations issued by Augustus H. Lawrence, Elisha W. King, and Peter Mesier, Corporation Committee. It has a small wood-cut at the head representing a naval battle, which was drawn and engraved by Dr. Alexander Anderson, who is yet (1867) engaged in his profession, though in the ninety-third year of his age. "In the evening the gallant tars were treated to a seat in the pit of the theatre," says *The War*, "by the managers, and roused the house by their jollity and applause during the performance. The representations were adapted to suit the taste of the visitors and gratify the patriotic enthusiasm of the audience. Captain Lawrence, with General Van Rensselaer, General Morton, and a number of other official characters, filled one of the side boxes, and made the house ring with hurrahs on their appearance."

³ The above is a picture of the medal, proper size. On one side is seen the bust of Captain Lawrence, with the legend "LAWRENCE DIGNI ET DECORUM EST PRO PATRIA MORI." On the reverse is seen a vessel in the act of sinking—her mizzen mast shot away; a boat rowing toward her from the American ship. Legend—"MANSUETUS MAU QUAM VICTORUM." Exergue—"INTER HORNET NAV. AMERI. ET PEACOCK NAV. ANG. DIE XXIV. FEB. MDCCCXIII."

⁴ Amos Doolittle, an engraver of New Haven, Connecticut, who engraved on copper, immediately after the skirmishes at Lexington and Concord, four illustrations of the events of that day, drawn on the spot by Earl, engraved and published a caricature concerning the fight of the *Hornet* and *Peacock*, of which the annexed picture is a miniature copy. An immense hornet, crying out "Free trade and sailors' rights, you old rascal," is seen alighting on the head of a bull (John Bull) with the wings and tail of a peacock, and, by piercing his neck with his sting, makes the mongrel animal roar "Boo-o-o-hoo!!!"



HORNET AND PEACOCK.

Cruise of the <i>Chesapeake</i> .	Her Character.	Lawrence in Command of her.	A Challenge.
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While the *Hornet* was making her way homeward, the *Chesapeake*, 38, Captain Evans, which had been lying in Boston Harbor for some time, was out on an extensive cruise. She left Boston toward the close of February, passed the Canary and Cape Verd Islands, crossed the equator, and for six weeks cruised in that region.



She then went to the coast of South America, passed the spot where the *Peacock* went down, sailed through the West Indies, and up the coast of the United States to the point of departure. During all that long cruise she met only three ships of war, and accomplished nothing except the capture of four merchant vessels. As she entered Boston Harbor in a gale she lost a top-mast, and several men who were aloft went overboard with it and were drowned. The *Chesapeake* had the reputation of being an "unlucky" ship before the war, and this unsuccessful cruise and melancholy termination confirmed the impression. A superstitious notion prevailed in the navy concerning "lucky" and "unlucky" vessels, and officers and seamen were averse to serving in the *Chesapeake* on account of her "unlucky" character.¹

Captain Evans was compelled to leave the service at the close of this cruise on account of the loss of the sight of one of his eyes, and danger that menaced the other. Lawrence, who had just been promoted from master commandant to captain, was assigned to the command of the *Chesapeake*. He accepted it with reluctance, because the seamen would not sail in her with the spirit that promised success.

British vessels were now blockading the harbors of Massachusetts. Hitherto that blockade had been very mild on the New England coast, for the British Cabinet believed that the people of that section, being largely opposed to the war, would, if properly cajoled, prove recreant to patriotism, and either join the enemy outright, or separate from and thus materially weaken the remainder of the States. This delusion now began to yield to the stern arguments of events, and the blockade was made more rigorous every hour. Blockading ships hovered like hawks along the New England coast, and the *Shannon*, 38, and *Tenedos*, 38, were closely watching Boston Harbor at the close of May.

The *Hornet* was now commanded by Captain Biddle, and had been placed under the orders of Captain Lawrence. They were to cruise together if possible, going eastward and northward from Boston for the twofold purpose of intercepting the British vessels bound to the St. Lawrence, and ultimately to seek the Greenland whale-fisheries. Every thing was in readiness at the close of May, when the *Shannon*, the complement in strength of the *Chesapeake*, appeared alone off Boston, in the attitude of a challenger. She was observed by Lawrence, and on Tuesday, the 1st day of June, that commander wrote as follows to the Secretary of the Navy:

"Since I had the honor of addressing you last I have been detained for want of men. I am now getting under weigh, and shall endeavor to carry into execution the instructions you have honored me with. An English frigate is now in sight from my deck. I have sent a pilot boat out to reconnoitre, and should she be alone I am in hopes to give a good account of her before night. My crew appear to be in fine spirits, and, I trust, will do their duty."² (See fac-simile on page 702.)

At a later hour Captain Philip Vere Broke, the commander of the *Shannon*, wrote a challenge to Captain Lawrence, saying: "As the *Chesapeake* appears now ready for sea, I request you will do me the favor to meet the *Shannon* with her, ship to ship, to try the fortunes of our respective flags. To an officer of your character it requires some apology for proceeding to farther particulars. Be assured, sir, it is not from

¹ "In the navy, at this particular juncture, the *Constitution*, *Constellation*, and *Enterprise* were the lucky vessels of the service, and the *Chesapeake* and *President* the unlucky. The different vessels named went into the War of 1812 with these characters, and they were singularly confirmed by circumstances."—Cooper, II., 246.

² Autograph letter in the Navy Department, Washington City. This was the last letter written by Captain Lawrence.

Frigate is now in sight
from my deck, I have
sent a pilot boat out to
reconnoiter, and should she be
alone I am in hopes to give
a good account of her before
night,

any doubt I can entertain of your wishing to close with my proposal, but merely to provide an answer to any objection which might be made, and very reasonably, upon the chance of our receiving any unfair support."

Captain Broke then, in a long appendix to his challenge, explained his object, mentioned his own strength, the disposition of other British vessels in the neighborhood,

Captain Broke's Challenge.

The Shannon.

Sir,

His Britannic Majesty's Ship
Shannon of Boston June 1813

As the Chesapeake appears now
ready for sea, I request you will do me the favor
to meet the Shannon with her, Ship to Ship, to try
the fortune of our respective flags,

FACSIMILE OF CAPTAIN BROKE'S CHALLENGE.



designated the place of combat,¹ asked for a plan of mutual signals, offered arrangements concerning the presence of other vessels, and assured him that the *Chesapeake* could not get to sea without "the risk of being crushed by the superior force of the British squadron" then abroad.²

The *Shannon* ranked as a 38-gun ship, but mounted fifty-two guns.³ According

¹ "I will send all other ships beyond the power of interfering with us, and meet you wherever it is most agreeable to you, within the limits of the under-mentioned rendezvous, viz., From six to ten leagues east of Cape Cod Light-house, from eight to ten leagues east of Cape Ann's Light, on Cashe's ledge, in lat. 43° N., at any bearing and distance you please to fix, off the south breakers of Nantucket, or the shoal on St. George's Bank."—*MS. Challenge*.

² MS. Letter, with Captain Broke's signature, in the Navy Department, Washington City. This letter was sent by the hand of Captain Slocum, of Salem. He was landed at Marblehead, and made his way to Boston as speedily as possible. The *Chesapeake* had gone to sea, and he placed the letter in the hands of Commodore Bainbridge, the commandant of the station.

³ The *Shannon* was built at Chatham, in England, in 1806. She was also known as "unlucky" by the British seamen because two ships of the same name had been previously lost. One, a 82-gun frigate, was built in 1796, and lost by shipwreck in 1800; the other, of thirty-six guns, was built in 1803, and in the same year struck the ground in a gale, and was wrecked under the batteries of Cape la Hogue.—James's *Naval Occurrences*.

Condition of the *Chesapeake*.

A mutinous Feeling discovered.

Lawrence accepts Broke's Challenge.

to Broke's challenge, she "mounted twenty-four guns on her broadside, and one light boat-gun; 18-pounders on her main-deck, and 32-pound carronades on her quarter-deck and fore-castle; and was manned with a complement of three hundred men and boys, besides thirty seamen" who had been taken out of captured vessels.¹ She was perfectly equipped, and her men were thoroughly disciplined; and officers and men had unwavering confidence in each other. Quite different was the case of the *Chesapeake*. The seamen, as we have observed, naturally superstitious, regarded her as "unlucky," and this opinion was disheartening. Captain Lawrence had been in command of her only about ten days, and was unacquainted with the abilities of her officers and men. Some of the former were absent on account of ill health. First Lieutenant Octavius A. Page, of Virginia, a very superior officer, was sick with a lung fever, of which he died in Boston soon afterward. Second Lieutenant Thompson was absent on account of ill health, and Acting Lieutenants Nicholson and Pearce were also absent from the same cause. The consequence was that Lieutenant Augustus Ludlow, who was the third officer under Evans in the last cruise of the *Chesapeake*, became Lawrence's second in command. He was very young, and had never acted in that capacity, yet he was an officer of merit, and already distinguished. There was but one other commissioned sea officer in the ship.

Captain Lawrence was beset with other difficulties. The crew were almost mutinous because of disputes concerning the prize-money won during the last cruise. There were also a large number of mercenaries on board, among them a troublesome Portuguese, who was a boatswain's mate. Many of the crew had but recently enlisted; and in every way the *Chesapeake* was wholly unprepared for a conflict with an equal in men and metal. But in armament she was almost equal to the *Shannon*. She mounted twenty-eight long 18-pounders on the main-deck, sixteen 32-lb. carronades on the quarter-deck, and four carronades of equal weight and a long 18-pounder on the fore-castle.²

After Captain Broke had dispatched his challenge to Salem he prepared his ship for combat, displayed his colors in full, and lay off Boston light-house under easy sail. Captain Lawrence understood this as a challenge, and when the pilot-boat, sent out to reconnoitre, returned with the assurance that the *Shannon* was alone, he determined to accept it. He well knew his disabilities, and told his officers that he would rather fight the *Shannon* and *Tenedos* in succession, after a twenty days' cruise, than to fight either alone on first putting to sea, when the thoughts of homes just left, seasickness, and other depressing circumstances would seriously affect his men. Yet, innately brave, and always self-reliant, he acted upon his own impulses, and, without consulting any one on shore, he weighed anchor toward noon.³

Captain Lawrence attempted to conciliate his crew by giving them checks for their prize-money, and addressed them eloquently for a few minutes. He then ran up three ensigns, one on the mizzen-royal-mast-head, another on the peak, and a third in the starboard main-rigging, and attempted to stimulate the quickened enthusiasm of his men by unfurling at the fore a broad white flag bearing the words first used on the *Essex*,⁴ FREE TRADE AND SAILORS' RIGHTS. Yet they still murmured, for the Portuguese was rebellious, and active in fomenting discontent.

¹ Captain Broke's MS. Letter to Captain Lawrence. Lieutenant George Budd, who became a purser on board the *Shannon*, said, in his dispatch from Halifax to the Secretary of the Navy, that she had, in addition to her complement, "an officer and sixteen men belonging to the *Belle Poule*, and a part of the crew of the *Tenedos*."

² The guns of the *Chesapeake* were all named. James, in his *Naval Occurrences*, page 232, has preserved the names of those composing one broadside of the main-deck, and some of those on the quarter-deck and fore-castle, as follows: MAIN-DECK—*Brother Jonathan, True Blue, Yankee Protection, Putnam, Raging Eagle, Viper, General Warren, Ma^o Anthony, America, Washington, Liberty for Ever, Dreadnought, Defiance, Liberty or Death.* QUARTER-DECK—*Bull-dog, Spit-fire, Nancy Dawson, Revenge, Bunker's Hill, Pocahontas, Towser, Willful Murderer.*

The *Chesapeake* was built at Norfolk, Virginia, in 1797, at a cost of \$221,000, and was considered one of the finest vessels of her class.

³ At nine o'clock the *Shannon* captured a small schooner off Boston Light. The *Chesapeake* saw this, fired a gun, and loosed her foretop-sail as a signal for putting to sea.

⁴ See page 441.

The *Chesapeake* goes out to fight.

Great Excitement in Boston.

Beginning of the Battle.

It was now noon—a pleasant day in early summer,^a after a chilling mist had brooded for a week over Boston Harbor. The anchor of the *Chesapeake* was lifted, and she rode gallantly out into the bay in the direction of her menacing foe, followed by the eager eyes of thousands.¹ As her antagonist was in sight, her decks were immediately cleared for action, and both vessels, under easy sail, bore away to a position about thirty miles from Boston Light, between Cape Cod and Cape Ann.²

At four o'clock the *Chesapeake* fired a gun, which made the *Shannon* heave to. She was soon under single-reefed top-sails and jib, while the *Chesapeake*, under whole top-sails and jib, was bearing down upon her with considerable speed. The breeze was freshening, and as the latter approached her movements were watched on board the *Shannon* with great anxiety, because it was uncertain on which side she was about to close upon her antagonist, or whether she might not commence the action on her quarter. Having the weather-gage the *Chesapeake* had the advantage; and "the history of naval warfare," says Mr. Cooper, "does not contain an instance of a ship's being more gallantly conducted than the *Chesapeake* was now handled."³

Onward came the *Chesapeake* until she lay fairly along the larboard side of the *Shannon*, yard-arm and yard-arm, within pistol-shot distance. It was now between half past five and six o'clock in the evening. The *Chesapeake* was luffed, and ranged up abeam, and as her foremast came in a line with the *Shannon's* mizzen mast the latter discharged her cabin guns, and the others in quick succession from aft forward. The *Chesapeake* was silent for a moment until her guns bore, when she poured a destructive broadside into her antagonist. Now came the tug with heavy metal. For six or eight minutes the cannonade on both sides was incessant. In general effect the *Chesapeake* had the best of the action at this juncture, but she had suffered dreadfully in the loss of officers and men. Compared with that of the foe, it was as ten to one.⁴

While passing the *Shannon's* broadside, after a contest of twelve minutes, the *Chesapeake's* foretop-sail-tie and jib-sheet were shot away. Her spanker-brails were also loosened, and the sail blew out. Thus crippled at the moment when she was about to take the wind out of the *Shannon's* sails, shoot ahead, lay across her bow, rake her, and probably secure a victory, the *Chesapeake* would not obey her helm; and when the sails of her antagonist filled, she by some means got her mizzen rigging foul of the *Shannon's* fore-chains. Thus entangled, the *Chesapeake* lay exposed to the raking fire of the foe's carronades. These almost swept her upper decks. Captain Lawrence was slightly wounded in the leg; Mr. White, the sailing-master, was killed; Ludlow, the first lieutenant, was badly wounded in two places by grape-shot; and Mr. Brown, the marine officer, Mr. Ballard, the acting fourth lieutenant, and Peter Adams, the

¹ There was great excitement at Boston and in its neighborhood when it was known that the *Chesapeake* had gone out to meet the *Shannon*. Thousands of hearts beat quicker with the desire that Captain Lawrence should add new laurels to those he had already won in his combat with the *Peacock*, and the harbor was soon swarming with small craft making their way out to the probable scene of action. Yet there were those who were moved by opposite feelings. The party opposed to the war was strong in Massachusetts, and when, a fortnight afterward, it was proposed in the Legislature of that state to pass a vote of thanks to the then slain Lawrence for his gallantry in the capture of the *Peacock*, a preamble and resolution were adopted by the Senate declaring that similar attentions already given to military and naval officers engaged in a like service had "given great discontent to many of the good people of the Commonwealth, it being considered by them as an encouragement and excitement to the continuance of the present unjust, unnecessary, and iniquitous war. The resolution was as follows:

"Resolved, as the sense of the Senate of Massachusetts, that in a war like the present, waged without justifiable cause, and prosecuted in a manner which indicates that conquest and ambition are its real motives, it is not becoming a moral and religious people to express any approbation of military or naval exploits which are not immediately connected with the defense of our sea-coast and soil."—June 15, 1813.

² From the high grounds near Salem the inhabitants had a distant view of the engagement, and the booming of the cannon was heard far inland.

³ Cooper's *Naval History of the United States*, ii., 248.

⁴ "Of one hundred and fifty men quartered on the upper deck," said Lieutenant Ludlow to an officer of the *Shannon*, "I did not see fifty on their legs after the first fire." The *Shannon's* topmen reported "that the hammocks, splinters, and wrecks of all kinds driven across the deck formed a complete cloud."—Statement of Captain R. H. King, of the *Royal Navy*.

Battle of the *Chesapeake* and *Shannon*.

Captain Lawrence mortally wounded.

"Don't give up the Ship."



THE CHESAPEAKE DISABLED BY THE SHANNON'S BROADSIDES.¹

boatswain, were all mortally wounded. The latter was boatswain of the *Constitution* in her action with the *Guerriere*.

When Captain Lawrence perceived the entanglement of the ships he ordered his boarders to be called up. Unfortunately, a negro bugler was employed to give the signal instead of the drummer, as usual. Dismayed by the aspect of the fight, the bugler skulked under the stern of the launch, and when called to duty he was so terrified that he could not give even a feeble blast.² Oral orders were immediately sent to the boarders, but these were imperfectly understood amid the din of battle. At that moment, while Captain Lawrence was giving directions concerning the damaged foresails, that the ship might be rendered manageable, he was fatally wounded by a musket-ball, and carried below by Lieutenant Cox, aided by some of the men.³ His last words when he left the deck were in substance, "Tell the men to fire faster and not give up the ship. Fight her till she sinks!" These words of the dying hero were remembered, and "*Don't give up the Ship*" was the battle-cry of the American Navy during the whole war. It was the motto upon the banner borne by Perry's flag-ship in battle three months later, and is still a proverbial word of encouragement to the struggling and faltering in life's various battles.⁴

The keen and experienced eye of Captain Broke quickly comprehended the weak-

¹ This is from a sketch by Captain R. H. King, of the Royal Navy, who was with Captain Broke in the *Shannon* from 1806 until 1814, excepting a short time in the spring of 1813. He rose to the rank of commander in 1828, and to captain in 1839, when he withdrew from service afloat.

² His name was George Brown. He was exchanged. Afterward he was tried at New London, found guilty of cowardice, and sentenced to the punishment of three hundred lashes on his bare back.

³ Lieutenant Cox commanded the middle division of the gun-deck. He heard the oral orders for the boarders, and ran up at the moment when Lawrence fell.

⁴ The following are the first and last stanzas of a stirring poem by R. M. Charlton :

"A hero on his vessel's deck
Lay weltering in his gore,
And tattered sail and shattered wreck
Told that the fight was o'er;
But e'en when death had glazed his eye,
His feeble, quivering lip
Still uttered, with life's latest sigh,
'Don't, don't give up the ship!'

"Oh, let these words your motto be,
Whatever ills befall;
Though foes beset, and pleasures flee,
And passion's wiles enthrall.
Though danger spreads her ready snare
Your erring steps to trip,
Remember that dead hero's prayer,
And 'don't give up the ship!'

A desperate Struggle.

Treachery of a Portuguese.

Capture of the *Chesapeake*.

ness of the *Chesapeake* at this moment, she having no officer on the quarter-deck above the rank of midshipman. He immediately ordered his boarders forward. Placing himself, with his first lieutenant, at the head of twenty of them, and passing cautiously from his fore-channels, he reached the quarter-deck of the *Chesapeake* without opposition, for the gunners, finding all their officers fallen, and themselves exposed to a raking fire without the means of returning a shot, had left the guns and fled below. Meanwhile Lieutenant Budd had ordered the boarders to follow him up. Only fifteen or twenty obeyed, and with these he gallantly attacked the British at the gangways. He was almost instantly disabled by a severe wound, and thrown down on the gun-deck. His followers were driven toward the fore-castle. These disasters aroused the severely-wounded young Ludlow. Having laid his commander in the guard-room, he hurried upon deck, where he almost instantly received a fatal sabre-wound, and was carried below.

Broke now ordered about sixty marines of the *Shannon* to join him. These kept down the Americans who were ascending the main hatchway. Provoked by a shot from below by a boy, they fired down the hatches, and killed and wounded a great many men. The victory was soon made easy by treachery. The boatswain's mate (the mutinous Portuguese already mentioned) removed the gratings of the berth-deck, and then, running below, followed by a large number of the malcontents of the morning, he shouted, maliciously, "So much for not paying men prize-money!" This act gave the British complete control of the vessel; and while a few gallant marines, animated by the injunctions of the bleeding Lawrence, were yet defending the ship, First Lieutenant Watts, of the *Shannon*, hauled down the colors of the *Chesapeake* and hoisted the British flag. At that instant he was slain by a grape-shot from one of the foremast guns of his own ship, which struck him on the head.¹

History has recorded but few naval battles more sanguinary than this. It lasted only fifteen minutes, and yet, as Cooper remarks, "both ships were charnel-houses." They presented a most dismal spectacle. The *Chesapeake* had lost forty-eight men killed, and ninety-eight wounded. The *Shannon* had lost twenty-six killed, and fifty-eight wounded. Among the killed were Lieutenant Watt, already mentioned, Mr. Aldham, the purser, and Mr. Dunn, the captain's clerk.²

Both ships presented a most dismal appearance. Marks of carnage and desolation every where met the eye.³ Captain Broke, who had ordered the slaughter to cease when the victory was gained, had become delirious. Lawrence, too severe-



PHILIP ROWES VERE BROKE.

¹ Captain Broke behaved most gallantly in this conflict. He received, according to his report, "a severe sabre-wound at the first onset while charging a part of the enemy who had rallied on the fore-castle," yet he continued his orders until he was assured of victory, when he partly fainted from loss of blood. While a seaman was tying a handkerchief around the captain's wounded head, there was a cry, "There, sir, there goes up the old ensign over the Yankee colors!" Washington Irving, in an account of the engagement, in the *Analytic Magazine*, says that Samuel Livermore, of Boston, who, from personal attachment to Lawrence, had accompanied him as chaplain, attempted to avenge his fall. He shot at Captain Broke, but missed him. Broke made a stroke at Livermore's head with his sword, which the latterwarded off, but in so doing received a severe wound in the arm.

² Captain Broke's Report.

³ There is a curious coincidence in the history of the *Shannon* and the American frigate *Constitution*. Within a few days of each other, in the summer of 1800, these two vessels, whose names are dear to their respective nations, and both, in maritime parlance, ranking as *invincible*, were equipped and sailed on a cruise. The conqueror of the *Chesapeake* left Portsmouth, England, and at about the same time the *Constitution* left Portsmouth, Virginia, on a short cruise, prepara-

ly wounded to be carried to his shattered cabin, was left in the ward-room with his own surgeon, seldom uttering a word except to indicate his wants. White lay dead,¹ Ballard,² Broome,³ and Adams were dying, and the gallant Ludlow was suffering severely from a mortal wound.



THE SHANNON AND CHESAPEAKE ENTERING THE HARBOR OF HALIFAX.⁴

As soon as the two ships were disentangled, the *Shannon* started for Halifax with her prize, where she arrived on the 7th.⁵ Lawrence had expired the day before, and his body, wrapped in the flag of the *Chesapeake*, lay upon the quarter-deck.⁵ As the ships entered the harbor, the men-of-war there manned their yards

tory to her taking her station at Annapolis as a school-ship. Each was about to be broken up many years ago, and each was saved by poetical remonstrances—*one* by Tennyson, and the other by Holmes. The stirring poem by Holmes may be found on page 437.

¹ William Augustus White was a native of Rutland, Vermont, and was only twenty-six years of age. He was represented as a noble and generous young man. His loss was greatly deplored by his friends, who regarded him as a young man of great promise. A friendly hand wrote:

"Columbia's page in gen'rous strain shall tell
Those deeds of courage where her Lawrence fell;
Honor shall gild the hero's spotless shrine,
And thine, O WHITE! with kindred lustre shine."

² Edward J. Ballard was an active and very promising young man. He was appointed a midshipman in February, 1809, and was commissioned a lieutenant on the day after the action in which he lost his life. The commission was issued before news of the action reached the Department. "Anxious to render himself useful, and to share in the glory acquired by our naval heroes," wrote a friend, "he left (though scarcely recovered from an indisposition of several months) the peaceful asylum of friendship for his home on the ocean, and terminated with honor a well-spent life of virtue."

³ James Broome, the commander of the marines, was a native of New Jersey. He was appointed a midshipman in July, 1807. Of the forty-four marines under his command on board the *Chesapeake*, twelve were killed and twenty wounded.

⁴ From a sketch by Captain R. H. King, R. N.

⁵ James Lawrence was born at Burlington, New Jersey, on the 1st of October, 1781. He was left to the tender care of two sisters, his mother having died a few weeks after his birth. He exhibited a passion for the sea at the age of twelve years, but his father designed him for the profession of the law. He entered upon a course of studies with his brother John at Woodbury at the age of fourteen years, and soon afterward lost his father. Law was distasteful to him. He longed for the sea, and his brother gave him the opportunity of acquiring preparatory knowledge. He applied for a situation in the navy at the age of eighteen years, and entered the service as a midshipman in the ship *Ganges*, Captain Tingey, in the autumn of 1798. He was transferred to the *Adams*. He was commissioned a lieutenant, and was first officer of the *Enterprise* in the war with Tripoli. Decatur, in his official reports, acknowledges his services in the bombardment of Tripoli. After his return from the Mediterranean he was for some time attached to the Navy Yard at New York. He became first lieutenant on the *Constitution*, and in succession commanded the *Vixen*, *Waep*, *Argus*, and *Hornet*. He married in New York in 1808. At the commencement of the war in 1812 he sailed in

Joy of the British.

Admiral Warren's Thanks to Captain Broke.

Effect of the Victory in England.

in honor of the conqueror. The eager inhabitants crowded to the water-side, and covered the wharves and houses. Shout after shout went up from the multitude, and joy filled every heart on shore, except of those who mourned friends among the slain.¹

The capture of a single ship of war probably never produced a greater effect upon the contending parties than this victory of the *Shannon* over the *Chesapeake*. The recent almost uninterrupted success of the little navy of the United States had made the Americans believe that it was invincible, and a similar idea was taking hold of the British mind. The spell was now broken. The Americans were desponding, the British jubilant. In his letter of thanks to Captain Broke and the men of the *Shannon*, Sir John Borlase Warren, the commander-in-chief of the British Navy on the American station, observed that they had "restored the renown which had ever accompanied the British Navy from the foul and false aspersions endeavored to be



John Lawrence

John Borlase Warren

SIGNATURE AND SEAL OF ADMIRAL WARREN.

thrown upon it by an insidious enemy, and had by their exertions added one of the brightest laurels to the wreath which had hitherto encircled the British arms."

The joy in England was intense. It was evinced by public speeches in and out of Parliament,² bonfires, and illuminations. The Tower guns were fired as in the event of a victory like those of the Nile and Trafalgar. The freedom of the city of London and a sword of the value of one hundred guineas (\$500) were voted to Captain Broke³ by the Corpora-



command of the *Hornet*, having been made master commandant in November, 1810. Off Demerara he fought the *Prezel* and sunk her. He returned to New York, where he was soon ordered to Boston to take command of the *Chesapeake*. In her he died on the 5th of June, 1813.

¹ Cooper's *Naval History of the United States*; Thomson's *Sketches of the War*; Parkins's *History of the late War*; James's *Naval Oceanography*; Memoir of Captain Broke, in *Naval (London) Chronicle*; Irving's *Memoir of Lawrence*; *Asiatic Magazine*; Niles's *Register*; *The War*; Captain Broke's Report of the Battle; Auchincloss's *History of the War*; Lieutenant Budd's Report to Secretary of the Navy; O'Byrne's *Naval Biography*; *The Essex Register*, *Boston Chronicle*, and *National Intelligencer*.

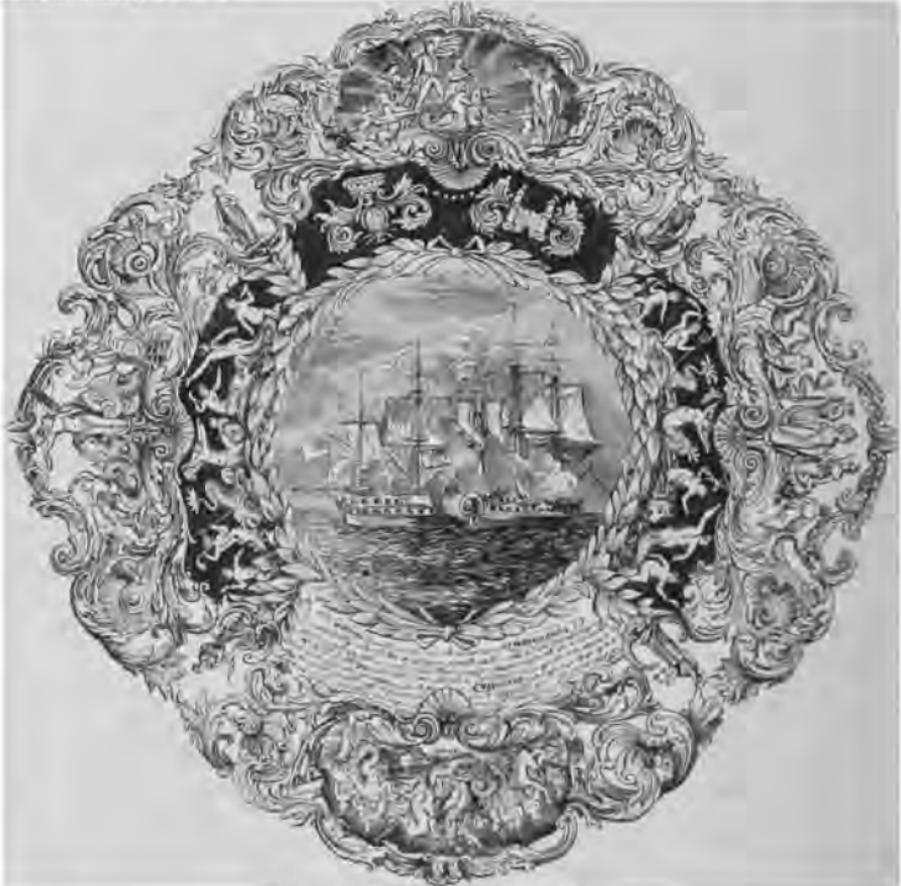
² Mr. Croker, principal secretary to the Lords of the Admiralty, said in his place in the House of Commons, "It was not—and he knew it was a bold assertion which he made—to be equalled by any engagement which graced the naval annals of Great Britain."

³ Philip Bowes Vere Broke was born in Suffolkshire, England, on the 9th of September, 1776. He was educated at the Royal Academy in Portsmouth, and entered the navy in 1792. He served in the war between France and England, and commanded the *Shannon* in cruises for the protection of the British whale fisheries in the Greenland seas. He was in that service when war between the United States and Great Britain was declared. He was then dispatched with a small squadron to blockade the New England ports. Because of his services in the capture of the *Chesapeake* he was raised to the dignity of baronet, and made Knight Commander of the Bath. Sir Philip married in early life Sarah Louisa, daughter of Sir William Fowle Middleton. He was one of the most active and useful officers of the British Navy un-

Honors to Captain Broke.

Silver Plate presented to him by his Neighbors.

tion of that city. He was knighted by the Prince Regent; compliments were showered upon him from every quarter; and the inhabitants of Suffolk, his native county, presented him with a gorgeous piece of silver plate as a testimonial of their sense of his eminent services.¹



SILVER PLATE PRESENTED TO CAPTAIN BROKE.

til his retirement, bearing the commission of Rear Admiral of the Red. He died in Suffolk County on the 3d of January, 1841, at the age of sixty-five years.

¹ A picture of this plate was published in London on the 2d of December, 1816, a copy of which, on a reduced scale, is given above. The plate is described as being made of silver, and forty-four inches in diameter. It was enriched with emblematical devices commemorative of the acts of the recipient on the occasion of his capture of the *Chesapeake*. These devices are described as follows: The centre, enriched with a wreath of palm and laurel leaves, with groups of Nereids and Tritons, presents the spectacle of the battle between the *Shannon* and *Chesapeake*. A deep and highly-finished border composes the exterior of the circle, in which are significant devices in four principal divisions. In the first compartment, in the form of an escalop-shell, is seen Neptune receiving the warrior. The former is issuing from the sea with his attendants, and presenting to the hero (who is borne in a triumphal car, attended by Britannia and Liberty bearing the British flag) the naval coronet. In the compartment opposite Britannia is seen on a sea-horse, holding the trident of Neptune in one hand, and with the other hurls the thunder of her power at the American eagle, which is expiring at her feet in the presence of ocean deities. In a third compartment the device represents the triumph of Victory. The winged goddess, bearing a coronal, approaches in her shell-car drawn by ocean steeds, and offers peace to the vanquished. In the fourth compartment is represented the four quarters of the world, in the form of figures, assembled under the protection of the British lion, commerce having been secured to the world by British prowess. Besides these are the figures of Fortitude, Justice, Wisdom, and Peace, intended to represent the characteristics of the British nation.

On the plate the following inscription was engraved: "Struck with the gallantry, skill, and decision displayed by Sir Philip Bowes Vere Broke, Baronet, K.C.B., commander of his Majesty's frigate, the *Shannon*, in the attack, boarding, and capture of the American frigate, the *Chesapeake*, of superior force in men and metal, and under the command of a distinguished captain of light horse, on the 1st of June, 1813, achieved in the short space of fifteen minutes, the inhabit-

Respect for the Remains of Lawrence and Ludlow. Funeral Ceremonies. The Bodies of the Slain taken to Salem.

The most gratifying respect was paid to the remains of Captain Lawrence on their arrival at Halifax, and also to those of Lieutenant Ludlow, who died there on the 13th of the month.¹ The garrison furnished a funeral party from the Sixty-fourth Regiment three hundred strong. The navy also furnished a funeral party, with pall-bearers, and at the appointed hour the body was taken in a boat from the *Chesapeake* to the King's Wharf, where it was received by the military under Sir John Wardlaw. Six companies of the Sixty-fourth Regiment preceded the corpse. The officers of the *Chesapeake* (headed by Lieutenant Budd,² who became the commander after the fall of his superiors) followed it as mourners. The officers of the British Navy were also in attendance. These were followed by Sir Thomas Saumarez, the staff, and officers of the garrison. The procession was closed by a number of the inhabitants of the town. The funeral services were performed by the rector of St. Paul's Church, and three volleys were discharged by the troops over the grave.

George Budd

The feeling of depression in the American mind passed away as soon as reflection asserted its dignity. All the circumstances were so unfavorable to the *Chesapeake* that it was reasonable to suppose that such a misfortune would not occur again. The deep mortification that assumed the features of censure was momentary, and the gallant Lawrence and his companions were honored with every demonstration of respect. The most remarkable of these was exhibited in the patriotic and successful efforts of Captain George Crowninshield, Jr., of Salem, Massachusetts, to restore the bodies of Lawrence and Ludlow to their native land. He, with others, had seen the contest in the distance from the heights around Salem, and the feelings then excited were deepened by the intelligence of the fate of the gallant Lawrence and Ludlow, and some of their companions. He opened a correspondence with the United States government, asking permission to proceed to Halifax in the brig *Henry*, of which he was master, with a flag of truce, to solicit from the authorities there the remains of the honored dead. Permission was granted. The President of the United States gave him a passport for the purpose,³ and on the 7th of August he and some associates sailed in the *Henry* from Salem for Halifax.³ He arrived there on ^{July 28,} 1813. the 10th. His errand was successful, and on the 13th of the same month he sailed from Halifax for Salem with the remains of Lawrence and Ludlow. The *Henry* reached Salem on the 18th of August, and on the following day Captain Crowninshield wrote to the Secretary of the Navy informing him of the fact, and saying, "The relatives of Captain Lawrence have requested that his remains might ultimately rest in New York, but that funeral honors might be paid here, and, accordingly, the ceremonies will take place on Monday next at Salem. Commodore Bainbridge has been consulted on the occasion."

The funeral obsequies were performed at Salem on Monday, the 23d of August. The morning was beautiful. The brig *Henry* lay at anchor in the harbor bearing her precious freight, and near her the brig *Rattlesnake*. Almost every vessel in the wa-

ants of Suffolk, the victor's native county, anxious to evince their sense of his spirited, judicious, and determined conduct in thus adding another brilliant trophy to the unrivaled triumphs of the British Navy, with a spontaneous burst of feeling voted him this tribute of their affection, gratitude, and admiration."

¹ Augustus C. Ludlow was son of Robert Ludlow, Esq., and was born at Newburg, New York, in 1792. He entered the navy as a midshipman in April, 1804, and in the summer of that year sailed in the *President* for the Mediterranean Sea. He returned home in the *Constitution*, then commanded by Captain Campbell, in 1807. He remained in her, under Commodore Rodgers, until promoted to lieutenant, in June, 1810, when he was placed in the *Hornet*. When Lawrence became her commander he was charmed with Ludlow's character, and his knowledge of his young friend's worth made him cheerfully continue him in his service on the *Chesapeake* as his first lieutenant.

² For Lieutenant Budd's dispatch to the Secretary of the Navy from Halifax, June 15, 1813, see Brannan's *Official Letters, Military and Naval*, Washington, 1823, page 167. He was appointed midshipman in the autumn of 1805, commissioned a lieutenant in May, 1812, and master commandant in March, 1820. He died on the 3d of September, 1837.

³ These were Holton J. Breed, first officer; Samuel Briggs, second officer; and John Sinclair, Jeduthan Upton, Stephen Burchmore, Joseph L. Lee, Thomas Bowditch, Benjamin Upton, and Thorndike Proctor, all masters of vessels. Mark Messurey, cook, and Nathaniel Cummings, steward.

ters, and flag-staff in the town, exhibited the American ensign at half-mast, and numerous flags were displayed in the streets through which the funeral procession was to pass. Thousands poured into the town from the surrounding country at an early hour. The streets were thronged. The Boston South End Artillery were there with the "Adams" and "Hancock," brass cannon of the Revolution, and men of distinction in every pursuit of life participated in the funeral obsequies.

At a little past meridian the bodies were taken from the *Henry* and placed in barges, accompanied by a long procession of boats manned by seamen in blue jackets and white trousers, their hats bearing the words on Lawrence's white flag, FREE TRADE AND SAILORS' RIGHTS. At India Wharf hearses were ready to receive them, and at the same time the *Henry* and *Rattlesnake* were firing minute-guns alternately.¹ The bells commenced tolling at one o'clock,² and an immense procession moved to slow and solemn music, escorted by a company of light infantry under Captain J. C. King. They passed through the principal streets to the Rev. Mr. Spalding's meeting-house.³



THE COFFINS.

The corpses were received by the clergy at the door, and placed in the centre of the large aisle by the sailors who bore them to the shore. These stood leaning upon the coffins during the services. The coffins were covered with black velvet, with the monograms of the heroes inclosed in wreaths, swords crossed, and a marginal border all embroidered in silver. The interior of the church was hung in black, and decorated with cypress and evergreens; and in front of the sacred desk the names of LAWRENCE and LUDLOW appeared in letters of gold. An eloquent and touching funeral oration was delivered by the Honorable Joseph Story, and the rites of sepulture were performed by the Masonic societies and the military, when

the bodies were placed in a vault.⁴

Preparations were soon made for removing the remains of Lawrence and Ludlow to New York. Because of some delay in procuring an extension of the passport of the *Henry* (so as to allow her to go to New York) from Acting Commander Oliver, of the British blockading squadron off New London, they were conveyed to the navy yard at Charleston on the 3d of September, and from thence taken to New York by land. They were placed on board the United States sloop of war *Alert*, lying in New York Harbor, while the city authorities made arrangements for a public funeral.⁵

¹ A company under Captain Peabody fired minute-guns in Washington Square.

² The bells in Boston, fifteen miles distant, were tolled at the same time, and the flags upon the shipping in the harbor were displayed at half-mast. Minute-guns were fired by the *Constitution* and other vessels there.

³ The committee of arrangements applied for the use of the North Meeting-house (Dr. Barnard's), "particularly on account of its size and the fine organ which it contained." They were refused, the committee of the proprietors saying that they had no authority "to open the house for any other purpose than public worship."

⁴ The death of Lawrence was the theme of several elegiac poems written and published in different parts of the country. Some of them were printed on satin, with emblematic devices, and were framed and hung up in houses. The annexed rough picture is a fac-simile of one of these devices, one third the size of the original, designed and engraved by A. Bowen, of Boston, and printed at the head of an elegy, on satin, at the office of the *Boston Chronicle*. I am indebted to the kind courtesy of Miss Caroline F. Orne, of Cambridgeport, for a copy of the original, and for other interesting papers made use of in this work.

⁵ In the arrangements made for the funeral a substantial testimonial of regard was agreed to, in the form of an appropriation of one thousand dollars each for the two children of Captain Lawrence, to be vested in the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund of the Corporation, the interest to be applied to the use of the recipients, and the principal to be given to the daughter when she should arrive at the age of eighteen years, and to the son at the age of twenty-one years.



LAWRENCE MEMORIAL.

Funeral Ceremonies in New York. Monuments to the Memory of Lawrence and Ludlow. The Inscriptions on them.

These were completed on the 14th, and on Thursday, the 16th, the remains of the gallant dead were laid in their resting-place near the southwest corner of Trinity Church burying-ground, far removed from public observation.¹ Soon after the war the Corporation of the City of New York erected an elegant marble monument over the remains of Lawrence, bearing appropriate inscriptions.² In the course of time it became dilapidated, and in 1847 the Corporation of Trinity Church resolved to remove the remains to a more conspicuous place. They were deposited near the southeast corner of the church, a few feet from Broadway, and over them the vestry erected a handsome mausoleum of brown freestone in commemoration of both Lawrence and his lieutenant.³ Eight trophy cannon were placed around the mausoleum, which, with chains attached, form an appropriate inclosure.⁴



LAWRENCE AND LUDLOW'S MONUMENT.

¹ This was the third time that funeral honors had been paid to the remains of the hero. On this occasion the procession, composed of members of both branches of the military service and civilians, was very large, and moved from the Battery through Greenwich Street to Chambers, up Chambers to Broadway, and down the latter street to Trinity Church-yard.



LAWRENCE'S MAR-
TIR MONUMENT.

² The design of the monument was simple and appropriate, for Lawrence was a young man at the time of his death. It was a broken column of white marble, of the Ionic order, the capital broken off and lying on the base. The inscription, simple and dignified, was as follows:

"In memory of Captain James Lawrence, of the United States Navy, who fell on the 1st day of June, 1813, in the thirty-second year of his age, in the action between the frigates *Chesapeake* and *Shannon*. He distinguished himself on various occasions, but particularly when he commanded the sloop of war *Hornet*, by capturing and sinking his Britannic Majesty's sloop of war *Peacock* after a desperate action of fourteen minutes. His bravery in action was only equalled by his modesty in triumph and his magnanimity to the vanquished. In private life he was a gentleman of the most generous and endearing qualities; and so acknowledged was his public worth, that the whole nation mourned his loss, and the enemy contended with his countrymen who most should honor his remains."

On the reverse were the words: "The hero whose remains are here deposited, with his expiring breath expressed his devotion to his country. Neither the fury of battle, the anguish of a mortal wound, nor the horrors of approaching death could subdue his gallant spirit. His dying words were, 'DON'T GIVE UP THE SHIP!'"

I saw fragments of this old monument lying by the side of a small building in Trinity Church-yard late in the autumn of 1862. The slabs bearing the above inscriptions were afterward deposited in the Library of the New York Historical Society, where they may now be seen carefully preserved.

³ It bears the following inscriptions: *North Side.*—"In memory of Captain James Lawrence, of the United States Navy, who fell on the 1st day of June, 1813, in the thirty-second year of his age, in the action between the *Chesapeake* and *Shannon*. He was distinguished on various occasions, but especially when, commanding the sloop of war *Hornet*, he captured and sunk his Britannic Majesty's sloop of war *Peacock* after a desperate action of fourteen minutes. His bravery in action was equaled only by his remarkable modesty in triumph and his magnanimity to the vanquished. In private life he was a gentleman of the most generous and endearing qualities; the whole nation mourned his loss, and the enemy contended with his countrymen who should most honor his remains." *East*

Side.—"The heroic commander of the frigate *Chesapeake*, whose remains are here deposited, expressed with his expiring breath his devotion to his country. Neither the fury of battle, the anguish of a mortal wound, nor the horrors of approaching death could subdue his gallant spirit. His dying words were, 'DON'T GIVE UP THE SHIP!'" *West Side.*—"A low-relief sculpture representing the hull of a double-decked ship of war. *South Side.*—"In memory of Lieutenant Augustus C. Ludlow, of the United States Navy. Born in Newburg, 1792. Died at Halifax, 1813. Scarcely was he twenty-one years of age when, like the blooming Euryslus, he accompanied his beloved commander to battle. Never could it have been more truly said, '*Etis amor unius erat pariterque in bella ruabant.*' The favorite of Lawrence, and second in command, he emulated the patriotic valor of his friend on the bloody decks of the *Chesapeake*, and when required, like him, yielding with courageous resignation his spirit to Him who gave it."

⁴ These cannon were purchased from the government by General Prosper M. Wetmore, then Navy Agent at New York, and by him presented to the Corporation of Trinity Church for the use to which they are devoted. They were

Stirring Scene in Chesapeake Bay.

Capture of the *Asp*.

The *Argus* bears Minister Crawford to France.

The loss of the *Chesapeake* was followed by the capture of the little schooner *Asp* and the sloop of war *Argus*, the former in the waters of Virginia, and the latter off the British coast. The career of each was brilliant—the former in its death-struggle, and the latter in its bold cruise just previous to its capture. Their misfortunes were so tempered, in the estimation of the American mind, with deeds of great prowess, that they did not seriously affect the hopeful feelings of the nation.

The *Asp* was one of the small vessels fitted out by the United States government for the purpose of defending the harbors and tributary streams of the Chesapeake from the British marauders. She carried three small guns, and was commanded by Midshipman Segauy. She and the *Scorpion* were in the Yeocomico Creek at the middle of June, and went out together on the morning of the 14th on a cruise of observation. At ten o'clock they were discovered by a flotilla of British light vessels, which immediately gave chase. Their number was overpowering. The *Scorpion* fled up the Bay, and escaped; but the *Asp*, being a slow sailer, ran back to the Yeocomico, hoping to find shelter in shallow waters beyond the reach of the enemy. She was followed by two hostile brigs. They anchored at the mouth of the stream, and sent armed boats after the little fugitive. She was overtaken by three of them, when a sharp fight occurred. The assailants were repulsed, and retreated to the brigs. In the course of an hour, five boats, filled with three times as many armed men as the officers and crew of the *Asp*, attacked her. A desperate engagement followed. Midshipman Segauy and one half of his companions were disabled by death or wounds. Fifty of the enemy boarded the little vessel, overpowered her people, and refused to give quarter to those who remained. The unhurt fled from her, when the enemy, in full possession, set her on fire and returned to the brigs. On their departure, Midshipman M'Clintock, the second officer of the *Asp*, who had escaped to the shore, returned to her, and, after great exertion, extinguished the flames.¹ Her commander's body was consumed on the deck where he was barbarously murdered.²

The *Argus* sailed from New York on the 18th of June,^a bearing William H. Crawford, of Georgia, who had recently been appointed resident minister at the French Court in place of Joel Barlow, deceased. She had lately returned from a cruise under the command of Lieutenant Commanding Arthur St. Clair, and was now in charge of Lieutenant William Henry Allen, a brave Rhode Islander, who had recently served in the *United States* frigate as Decatur's second in command. She was a fine vessel of her class, and carried twenty 32-pound carronades and two bow guns. She eluded the British cruisers, and, after a voyage of twenty-three days, landed

^b July 11. Mr. Crawford in safety at L'Orient.^b

At that time the merchant marine in the waters around the British Islands was under no apprehensions of danger from American cruisers, and there was no naval force in the British or Irish Channels for the protection of commerce there. Informed of this, Allen resolved to repeat the exploits of Paul Jones in the *Bonhomme Richard*. He tarried only three days at L'Orient, and then sailed on a cruise in Brit-

selected by him from among the cannon at the navy yard which had been captured from the English during the war, as most appropriate for the purpose. The strict requirements of the law were complied with in the transaction. Each gun bore its national insignia, with an inscription declaring the time and place of its capture. When the cannon were planted in the place they now occupy, the vestry of the church, with singular courtesy, put them so deep in the ground that the insignia and trophy-marks are out of sight. The reason given was that, in a community like New York, where there are so many English residents, it might seem like an unfriendly act to parade such evidences of triumph before the public eye.

¹ Midshipman M'Clintock's Letter to the Secretary of the Navy, July 13, 1813.

² Thomson, in his *Historical Sketches of the War*, page 225, says that Commander Segauy was shot through the body with a musket-ball, and was sitting on the deck against the mast when the British brought down his colors. In this attitude, and while suffering severely, he animated his men in the fight around him to repel the boarders. Seeing this, a cowardly British marine stepped up and shot him through the head, killing him instantly. Observing this, and concluding no quarter was to be given, M'Clintock ordered a retreat for shore. This was safely accomplished by about half of the twenty-one defenders of the *Asp*.

J. B. Segauy was from Boston, and had served under Lawrence in the *Hornet*. He was only about twenty-one years of age at the time of his death, and had been five years in the service.

The *Argus* in British Waters.

Her Destruction of Property there.

Her Combat with the *Pelican*.



WILLIAM HENRY ALLEN.

ish waters. He roamed the "chops" of the Channel successfully. When satisfied with operations there, he sailed around Land's End, and by celerity of movement, audacity of action, and destructive energy, spread consternation throughout commercial England.¹ In the course of thirty days he captured and destroyed no less than twenty valuable British merchantmen, valued at two millions of dollars. Too far away from friendly ports into which he might send his prizes, Allen burned them all. He was a generous foe, and elicited from the enemy voluntary acknowledgments of justice and courtesy. He allowed all non-combatant captives to remove their private property from the captured vessels before he applied the torch. All prisoners were paroled, and sent on shore as speedily as possible.

The *Argus*, after playing a winning game for a month, became the loser. On the 13th of August she captured a ship from Oporto laden with wine. Some of her cargo was taken secretly on board the *Argus* in the evening, and was so freely partaken of by her exhausted crew that many of them were disabled for a time when their best energies were required. She had set fire to her prize, and was moving away under easy sail, just before dawn, when a British brig, which had discovered her by the light of the blazing vessel, was seen bearing down upon her under a cloud of canvas. The British authorities had been aroused to vigorous action by the daring of the *Argus*, and had fitted out several cruisers to attempt her capture. The hostile vessel that now appeared was one of them, the *Pelican*, 18,² Captain J. F. Maples. She came dashing gallantly on, and Commander Allen (then master commandant by a commission dated July 24, 1813), finding it impossible to get the wind of his enemy, shortened the sail of the *Argus* to allow the brig to close. He flung out her colors, and at six o'clock wore and delivered a larboard broadside at grape-shot distance. The fire was immediately returned, and Commander Allen's left leg was carried away by a round-shot. He bravely refused to be carried below, but in a few minutes, when unconscious from loss of blood, he was taken to the cock-pit. First Lieutenant Watson took command. He too was soon disabled and carried below, having been stunned by a grape-shot that struck his head. Only one lieutenant (William Howard Allen) now remained. He continued to fight the brig gallantly under the most discouraging circumstances. Her main-braces, main-spring-stay, gaff, and try-sail mast were shot away, yet never was a vessel more admirably handled. The enemy attempted to get under the stern of the *Argus* so as to give her a raking broadside, but young Allen,³ by a skillful manœuvre, gave his antagonist a complete and damaging one. The

¹ Her operations were so alarming that for a while very few vessels left British ports, and the rates of insurance rose to ruinous prices. In several instances insurances could not be effected at all, so great was the risk considered.

² She carried one 12 and sixteen 32 pound carronades, and four long 6's.

³ William Howard Allen was not nearly, if at all, related to Commander Allen. His career in the navy was an honorable one. He was in command of the United States schooner *Alligator* in 1822, and in the autumn of that year he lost his life in a contest with pirates. The main incidents of his life are given briefly in the following inscriptions on his monument, a structure eighteen and a half feet in height, erected to his memory in the Hudson Cemetery, in the city of Hudson, Columbia County, New York, his birth-place.

West Side.—"To the memory of WILLIAM HOWARD ALLEN, Lieutenant in the United States Navy, who was killed in the act of boarding a piratical vessel on the coast of Cuba, near Matanzas, on the 9th of November, 1822, *Æ. 32.*"

⁴ On her way home, after this encounter with the pirates, the *Alligator* was wrecked. This accident was the occasion of a poem by John G. C. Brainerd.

Surrender of the *Argus*. Her Loss in Men. Monument to the Memory of Lieutenant Allen. Commander Allen.

Argus was sadly wounded, and began to reel. All her braces were shot away, and she could not be kept in position. The *Pelican* now crossed her stern and raked her dreadfully, and at twenty-five minutes past six, her wheel-ropes and nearly all her running rigging being gone, the *Argus* became unmanageable. Five minutes later Lieutenant Watson came on deck, when the *Pelican*, lying under the *Argus's* stern, was pouring in a terrific fire without resistance. Farther contest seemed useless, yet an effort was made to lay the crippled American alongside of the vigorous enemy for the purpose of boarding her. The effort failed, and, after a most determined combat for about three fourths of an hour, when the *Sea Horse*, the *Pelican's* consort, hove in sight, the colors of the *Argus* were struck. At that moment the enemy boarded her at the bow and took possession.

The loss of the *Argus* was six killed and seventeen wounded. Of the former were Midshipmen Delphy and Edwards, and of the latter Commander Allen, Lieutenant Watson, Boatswain McLeod, and Carpenter White. The *Pelican* lost two killed and five wounded. Commander Allen survived until the next day, having in the mean time been taken into Plymouth, and placed in the Mill Spring Prison Hospital with the rest of the wounded of the *Argus*. On the 21st his remains were buried in a Plymouth church-yard with military honors.¹

A month before the intelligence of the loss of the *Argus* reached the United States, a naval victory had been gained by the Americans within sight of the New England coast, which compensated, in a measure, for the loss of the *Chesapeake*. Among the smaller vessels of war, such as the *Nautilus* and *Vixen*, each 14, was the *Enterprise*, 14, whose reputation for being "lucky" has already been mentioned. Her sisters, with the *Siren*, 16, of the class of the *Argus*, had been unfortunate. The *Nautilus*, as we have observed, was captured by the enemy at the beginning of the war. The



LIEUTENANT ALLEN'S MONUMENT.

in the *Washington*. In 1805 he was acting lieutenant in the *Constitution*, under Rodgers, and was the lieutenant of the *Chesapeake* when she was attacked by the *Leopard* in 1807, who touched off, by means of a live coal, the only gun fired at the enemy on that occasion. See page 168. He was with Decatur in the capture of the *Macedonian*, and gained great credit at that time as executive officer of the ship, and for his skill and celerity in repairing the damage to the prize. See page 456. He was esteemed as one of the best men of his class in the navy. He was very gentle in his deportment, and, as we have observed in the text, he won the esteem of the British nation while spreading consternation throughout its commercial circles. That esteem won for him an honorable burial among those who were his enemies only in war. He was not quite twenty-nine years of age at the time of his death.

A London paper of August 27, 1813, contained a long account of the ceremonies on the occasion of the funeral of Commander Allen. Officers of the Royal Marines formed a guard of honor, attended by the Royal Marine Band. Eight captains of the Royal Navy were pall-bearers. Allen's own officers were chief mourners. The American vice-consul was in attendance, and a large procession of the inhabitants followed the hearse. The coffin was covered with the American flag. In the church (St. Andrew's) to which it was taken the vicar read the funeral service of the Anglican Church.

South Side.—"WILLIAM HOWARD ALLEN. His remains, first buried at Matanzas, were removed to this city by the United States government, and interred, under the direction of the Common Council of this city, beneath this marble erected to his honor by the citizens of his native place, 1833."

East Side.—"William Howard Allen was born in the city of Hudson, July 5, 1790; appointed a midshipman in 1801 and a lieutenant in 1811, he took a conspicuous part in the engagement between the *Argus* and *Pelican* in 1813, and was killed while in command of the United States schooner *Alligator*."

North Side.—"Pride of his country's banded chivalry,
His fame their hope, his name their battle-cry;
He lived as mothers wish their sons to live—
He died as fathers wish their sons to die!"

A beautiful model of this monument may be seen in the navy yard at Charlestown, Massachusetts.

William Leggett wrote a poem on the death of Allen, in which occurs the following stanza:

"Mother of Allen, weep not for your son!
His race was glorious, but too soon 'twas run.
Yet weep not! Vengeance sleeps. She is not dead;
She yet will thunder on his murderer's head.
Sisters of Allen, dry your tearful eyes;
The hero's soul hath flown to yonder skies,
And long his name, in memory's holiest shrine,
Will wear the wreath which matchless virtues twine!"

¹ William Henry Allen was born at Providence, Rhode Island, on the 21st of October, 1784. His father was an officer in the Revolution. He entered the navy in his eighteenth year (April, 1800), and made his first cruise with Bainbridge

Cruise of the *Enterprise*.

Her Combat with the *Boxer*.

Death of the two Commanders.

Vixen, after cruising a while on the Southern coast and among the islands, commanded first by Captain Gadsden, of South Carolina, and Captain Washington Reed, was captured by the *Southampton*, 74, Commodore Sir James Lucas Yeo, of Lake Ontario fame. Both vessels were soon afterward wrecked on the coast of one of the Bermuda Islands, where Captain Reed perished by the yellow fever. The *Siren* performed very little service, and in the summer of 1814, while cruising far southward, under Lieutenant Nicholson (her commander, Captain Parker, having died on the voyage), she was captured by the British ship *Medway*, 74, Captain Bruce, and taken into Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope. These, as we have seen, had won renown in the Mediterranean Sea.¹

Better was the fortune of the "lucky" *Enterprise*. She cruised for a long time off the New England coast, the terror of British provincial privateers, under Johnston Blakeley, until he was promoted to the command of the new sloop of war *Wasp*, when Lieutenant William Burrows became her commander. She continued on her old cruising ground, watching for the enemy from Cape Ann to the Bay of Fundy.

On the morning of the 1st of September^a the *Enterprise* sailed from Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and chased a schooner, suspected of being a British privateer, into Portland Harbor on the morning of the 3d. The next day she put to sea, steering eastward in quest of British cruisers reported to be near Manhegan Island, off Lincoln County, Maine. When approaching Pemaquid Point on the 5th, Burrows discovered in a bay what he supposed to be a vessel of war getting under way. He was not mistaken. She was a British brig. On observing the *Enterprise* she displayed four British ensigns, fired several guns as signals for boats that had been sent ashore to return, and, crowding canvas, bore down gallantly for the *Enterprise*. Burrows accepted the challenge, cleared his ship for action, and after getting at proper distance from land to have ample sea-room for conflict, he shortened sail and edged toward the stranger.

It was now three o'clock in the afternoon. At twenty minutes past three the brigs closed within half pistol-shot, and both vessels opened fire at the same time. The wind was light, there was little sea, and the cannonading was destructive. Ten minutes later the *Enterprise* ranged ahead of her antagonist, and, taking advantage of her position, she steered across the bows of the stranger, and delivered her fire with such precision and destructive energy that, at four o'clock, the British officer in command shouted through his trumpet that he had surrendered, but his flag, being nailed to the mast, could not be lowered until the *Enterprise* should cease firing. It was done. The brig was surrendered, and proved to be the *Boxer*, 14, Captain Samuel Blyth, who, in the engagement, had been nearly cut in two by an 18-pound ball. Almost at the moment when Blyth fell on the *Boxer*, Burrows, of the *Enterprise*, was mortally wounded. He was assisting the men in running out a carronade, and, in doing so, placed one foot against the bulwark to give lever power to his efforts. While in that position, a shot, supposed to be a canister ball, struck his thigh, and, glancing from the bone into his body, inflicted a painful and fatal wound.

Both commanders were young men of great promise, and were highly esteemed in the service to which they respectively belonged. Blyth was killed instantly. Burrows lived eight hours.² He refused to be carried below until the sword of the com-

¹ See Chapter VI.

² Portland *Argus*, September 8, 1813; Perkins, page 181.

William Burrows was born at Kenderton, near Philadelphia, on the 6th of October, 1785. His father was wealthy, and he was left mostly to the guidance of his own inclinations concerning life pursuits. He gave early indications of a love for the naval service. In November, 1799, he entered the service as a midshipman. He was in active service until the close of difficulties on the Barbary coast, and applied himself diligently to the study of his profession. He continued in service until the breaking out of the war, when, on his way to the United States from the East, he was made a prisoner. He reached home in June, 1813, and went immediately into the service. His movements with the *Enterprise* are recorded in the text. His death was a cause for sincere grief throughout the land. No portrait of the young hero was ever painted, and for that reason the medal struck in honor of the victory of the *Enterprise* does not contain his effigy, as usual.

mander of the vanquished vessel should be presented to him. He grasped it eagerly, and said, "Now I am satisfied; I die contented." Both received their death-wounds at the beginning of the action; and the command of the *Enterprise* devolved upon the gallant Lieutenant Edward R. M'Call, of South Carolina, who conducted his part of the engagement to the close with great skill and courage.¹ He took both vessels into Portland Harbor on the morning of the 7th, and on the following day the remains of both commanders were conveyed to the same cemetery, and buried side by side, with all the honors which their rank and powers could claim. The remains of Midshipman Kervin Waters, of the *Enterprise*, the only one of her people mortally wounded except her commander, were laid by the side of those of his gallant leader in less than twenty days afterward, and over the graves of all commemorative monuments have been erected.²

¹ Edward Rutledge M'Call was born at Charleston, South Carolina, on the 5th of August, 1790, and was five years the junior of his commander. He entered the navy as a midshipman at the age of fifteen years, and was first on duty in the *Hornet*, Captain Dent. He joined the *Enterprise*, under Blakeley, in 1811, as a lieutenant, and was serving in that capacity under Burrows at the time of the battle above recorded. He wrote to Commodore Hull a very interesting account of that engagement. He was afterward transferred, first to the *Ontario*, and then to the *Jana*, Commodore Perry, and with that officer cruised in the Mediterranean Sea until 1817. On his return he took command of the sloop of war *Peacock*, also preparing to cruise in the Mediterranean. In March, 1825, he was promoted to master commandant, and in March, 1835, he received the commission of captain.

² The funeral ceremonies on the occasion were solemn and imposing. I am indebted to the Honorable William Willis, of Portland, who participated in them, for much information concerning the event. At his solicitation, Mr. Charles E. Beckell, of the same city, kindly furnished me with the sketch of the tombs of Burrows, Blyth, and Waters printed below.

The two bruised vessels lay at the end of the Union Wharf, and from them the coffins of the two deceased officers were received by the civil and military procession, which had been formed at the court-house at nine in the morning of the 9th of September, under the direction of Robert Isley and Levi Cutter, assisted by twelve marshals. The coffins containing the bodies were landed from the vessels in barges of ten oars each, rowed by minute strokes of ship-masters and mates, accompanied by most of the barges and boats in the harbor. When the barges commenced to move, and during the solemn march of the procession from the wharf up Fore and Pleasant Streets to High Street, thence down Main and Middle Streets to the Rev. Mr. Payne's meeting-house, minute-guns were fired by the artillery companies of Captains Bird and Varnum. These were continued while the procession marched from the meeting-house to the Eastern Cemetery, about a mile distant. The chief mourners who followed the corpse of Lieutenant Burrows were Dr. Washington, Captain Hull, and officers of the *Enterprise*. Those who followed the corpse of Captain Blyth were the officers of the *Boxer*, on parole. Both were followed by naval and military officers in the United States service, the crews of the two vessels, civil officers of the state and city, military companies, and a large concourse of citizens. Captain Blyth was one of the pall-bearers at the funeral of Lawrence, at Halifax, a few weeks before.

The remains of Burrows, Blyth, and Waters were buried by the side of each other. Over their graves stand oblong monuments about six feet in length, two and a half feet in width, and about the same in height. Blyth's, seen nearest in the accompanying sketch by Mr. Beckell, is a brick foundation covered with a marble slab, on which is the following inscription: "In memory of Captain SAMUEL BLYTH, late commander of his Britannic Majesty's brig *Boxer*. He nobly fell, on the 6th day of September, 1813, in action with the United States brig *Enterprise*. In life, honorable; in death, glorious! His country will long deplore one of her bravest sons, his friends long lament one of the best of men! A. E.

29. The surviving officers of his crew offer this feeble tribute of admiration and respect."

Burrows's monument is composed of red sandstone, forming deep, broad panels on sides and ends, and bearing a recumbent marble slab. It is the middle one in the sketch. On the slab is the following inscription — "Beneath this stone moulders the body of WILLIAM BURROWS, late commander of the United States brig *Enterprise*, who was mortally wounded on the 5th of September, 1813, in an action which contributed to increase the fame of American valor, by capturing his Britannic Majesty's brig *Boxer* after a severe contest of forty-five minutes. A. 28. A passing stranger has erected this memento of respect to the manes of a patriot who, in the hour of peril, obeyed the loud summons of an injured country, and who gallantly met, fought, and conquered the foe-man."



GRAVES OF BURROWS, BLYTH, AND WATERS.

Medals awarded to Burrows and M'Call.

The Grave of Burrows.

On the 6th of January following,² the Congress of the United States, by joint resolution, requested the Chief Magistrate of the Republic to present to the nearest male relative of Lieutenant Burrows "a gold medal, with suitable emblems and devices, in testimony of the high sense entertained by Congress of the gallantry and good conduct of the officers and crew in the conflict with the British sloop *Boxer* on the 4th of September, 1813."¹ By the same joint resolution Congress re-



THE BURROWS MEDAL.

quested the President to present to Lieutenant M'Call, "as second in command of the *Enterprise* in the conflict with the *Boxer*, a gold medal, with suitable emblems and devices."²

In this engagement the *Boxer* was very much cut up both in hull and rigging, while the *Enterprise* suffered very little. The battle was a fair test of the comparative nautical skill and good gunnery of the combatants. Justice accords the palm for both to the Americans. A London paper, speaking of the battle, said, "The fact seems to be but too clearly established that the Americans have *some superior mode*

The "passing stranger" above mentioned was Silas M. Burrows, of New York, who, being in Portland, visited the cemetery, saw the neglected condition of the young hero's grave, and ordered a monument to be built. A poet unknown to the author afterward wrote thus:

"I saw the green turf resting cold
On Burrows's hallowed grave;
No stone the inquiring patriot told
Where slept the good and brave.
Heaven's rains and dew conspired to blot
The traces of the holy spot.
At length a 'passing stranger' came,
Whose hand its bounties shed;
He bade the sparkling marble claim
A tribute for the dead;
And, sweetly blending, hence shall flow
The tears of gratitude and woe."

The tomb of Midshipman Waters is a marble slab resting on four round sandstone pillars. On the slab is the following inscription: "Beneath this marble, by the side of his gallant commander, rest the remains of Lieutenant Kervin Waters, a native of Georgetown, District of Columbia, who received a mortal wound, September 5, 1813, while a midshipman on board the United States brig *Enterprise*, in an action with his Britannic Majesty's brig *Boxer*, which terminated in the capture of the latter. He languished in severe pain, which he endured with fortitude, until September 25th, 1813, when he died with Christian calmness and resignation, aged eighteen. The young men of Portland erect this stone as a testimony of their respect for his valor and virtues."

¹ The picture above given is the exact size of the medal. On one side is seen an urn standing upon an altar, around which are grouped military and other emblems, on one of which (a trident) hangs a victor's chaplet of laurel leaves. Upon an elliptical panel on the side of the altar is seen "W. BURROWS," in prominent letters. Around the whole is the legend "VICTORIAM TIBI CLARAM PATRIE MERUIT." On the reverse is seen the two brigs engaged in combat, the main-top-mast of the *Boxer* shot away. Over them the legend "VIVERE SUI VINCERE." Below, "ENTERPRISE NAV. AMER. BY BOXER NAV. BRIT. DIE IV SEPT. MDCCCXIII." The date should be the 5th instead of the 4th.

² On one side the bust of Lieutenant M'Call and the legend "EDWARD R. M'CALL NAVIS ENTERPRISE PRÆFECTUS." Below, "SIC ITER AD ASTRA." The reverse the same as on that of Burrows.



THE M'CALL MEDAL.

of firing, and we can not be too anxiously employed in discovering to what circumstances that superiority is owing." The loss of the *Boxer* was a great mortification; and there can be no doubt that Captain Blyth felt full assurance of victory when he went into the contest. Indicative of this was the nailing of the flag to the mast, always a most foolish and perilous boast in advance.¹ The loss of the *Boxer* was several killed besides her commander, and seventeen wounded. The *Enterprise* lost only one killed besides her commander, and ten wounded. This was the *Boxer's* last cruise as a war vessel. She was sold in Portland, and sailed from that port for several years as a merchantman. The *Enterprise* made only one more cruise during the war, under the command of Lieutenant Renshaw. She sailed southward as far as the West Indies in company with the fast-sailing brig *Rattlesnake*, Lieutenant Creighton. While off the coast of Florida she captured a British privateer, and both vessels were chased by an English seventy-four. The *Rattlesnake* soon fled from the sight of both consort and pursuer, while the *Enterprise* was hard pressed by the Englishman for seventy hours. Renshaw cast all her guns overboard in order to increase her speed. It was of little avail. Nothing saved the "lucky" little brig from capture but a favorable shifting of the wind. Not long afterward she sailed into Charleston Harbor, and was there made a guard-ship. She did not appear again at sea during the war.

The melancholy tolling of the funeral bells over the slain Burrows and Blyth had scarcely died away when merry peals of joy were heard all over the land in attestation of the delight of the people caused by Perry's victory on Lake Erie, already fully recorded in these pages. With that victory ceased rejoicings over the exploits of the vessels of the regular navy during the remainder of the year, because, with a single exception, they were not remarkable; but the privateers then swarming upon the ocean were doing excellent service every where. The history of their doings may be found toward the close of the volume.

¹ Cooper relates (II., 260, note) that, when the *Enterprise* hailed to know if the *Boxer* had struck, as she kept her flag flying, one of the officers of the British vessel leaped upon a gun, shook both fists at the Americans, and shouted "No, no, no!" at the same time using some strong opprobrious epithets. The excited gentleman's superiors were compelled to order him down. His movement created much merriment on board the *Enterprise*.



CHAPTER XXXII.

"War-doom'd the wide expanse to plow
Of ocean with a single prow,
Midst hosts of foes with lynx's eye
And lion fang close hovering by,
You, Porter, dared the dangerous course,
Without a home, without resource,
Save that which heroes always find
In nautic skill and power of mind;
Save where your stars in conquest shone,
And stripes made wealth of foes your own."

ONE TO DAVID PORTER, 1814.



When we take a survey from a stand-point at mid-autumn, 1813, we observe with astonishment only three American frigates at sea, namely, the *President*, 44; the *Congress*, 38; and the *Essex*, 32. The *Constitution*, 44, was undergoing repairs; the *Constellation*, 38, was blockaded at Norfolk; and the *United States*, 44, and *Macedonian*, 38, were prisoners in the Thames above New London. The *Adams*, 28, was undergoing alterations and repairs, while the *John Adams*, 28, *New York*, 36, and *Boston*, 28, were virtually condemned. All the brigs, excepting the *Enterprise*, had been captured, and she was not to be trusted at sea much longer. The *Essex*, Commodore Porter, was the only government vessel of size which was then sustaining the reputation of the American Navy, and she was in far distant seas, with a track equal to more than a third of the circumference of the globe between her and the home port from which she sailed. She was then making one of the most remarkable cruises on record. Let us here consider it.



We have observed the *Essex* starting from the Delaware in the autumn of 1812,² with orders to seek a junction with the *Constitution* and *Hornet*, under Commodore Bainbridge, at designated places, but allowed, in the event of failure to do so, to follow the dictates of the judgment of her commander.¹ She did not fall in with her consorts of Bainbridge's little squadron, and she sailed on a long cruise in the South Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. In anticipation of such cruise Captain Porter took with him a larger

David Porter

¹ See page 458.

The *Nocton* a Prize to the *Essex*.

A Search for Bainbridge.

An English Governor deceived.

number of officers and crew than was common for a vessel of that size. Her muster-roll contained three hundred and nineteen names; and her supplies were so ample that she sank deep in the water, which greatly impaired her sailing quality.

The *Essex* took a southeast course for the purpose of crossing the tracks of vessels bound from England to Bermuda, but met only a few Portuguese traders with whom she had no hostile business. On the 27th of November she sighted the bold mountains of St. Jago, and ran into the harbor of Port Praya in search of the commodore. There Porter received unbounded hospitalities from the Portuguese governor; and when he had waited a proper time for the expected arrival of Bainbridge, he departed with his ship loaded with pigs, sheep, fowls, and tropical fruits of every kind. He concealed his destination from the governor, and, sailing eastward when he left port, gave the impression that he was bound for the coast of Africa. When beyond telescopic range he changed his course, stood to the southwest, and crossed the equator on the 11th of December in longitude 30° west. On the following day he captured his first British prize, the *Nocton*, 10, a government packet, with a crew of thirty-one men, bound for Falmouth. She had fifty-five thousand dollars in specie on board. This treasure and her crew were transferred to the *Essex*, and Lieutenant Finch (afterward Captain William Compton Bolton), with a crew of seventeen men, was directed to go to the United States with her. She was captured by a British frigate between Bermuda and the Capes of Virginia. Only the specie of the *Nocton* was secured by Porter.

December 14,
1812. Two days after this victory* the pyramidal mountain peak of the dreary penal island of Fernando de Noronha, whereon no woman was allowed to dwell, loomed up sullenly from the waste of waters. This was one of the specified places of rendezvous of Bainbridge's squadron. Disguising the *Essex* as a merchantman, and hoisting English colors, Porter sailed close to the island, anchored, and sent Lieutenant Downes to the governor with a polite message, asking the privilege of procuring water and other refreshments. Downes soon returned with a present of fruit from the governor, and intelligence that only the week before the British ships *Acasta*, 44, and *Morgiana*, 20, had sailed from the island, and left with the magistrate a letter for Sir James Yeo, of His Majesty's ship *Southampton*. Porter was satisfied that the "British ships" spoken of were the *Constitution* and *Hornet*; that the writer of the letter was Commodore Bainbridge, and the Sir James Yeo addressed was himself. With this conviction, he sent Downes back to the governor with the truly English present of porter and cheese, and the assurance that a gentleman on board his vessel, intimately acquainted with Sir James, and who intended to sail directly to England from Brazil, would be happy to carry the letter to the baronet. The governor sent the letter to Porter. The latter broke the seal and read as follows:

"MY DEAR MEDITERRANEAN FRIEND,—

"Probably you may stop here. Don't attempt to water; it is attended with too much difficulty. I learned before I left *England* that you were bound to the Brazil coast; if so, we may meet at St. Salvador or Rio Janeiro. I should be happy to meet and converse on our old affairs of captivity. Recollect our secret in those times.

"Your friend of His Majesty's ship *Acasta*,
KERR."

The last clause in this letter gave Porter a needed hint. He called for a lighted candle, and, holding the sheet of paper near the flame, the following note, written in sympathetic ink,¹ was revealed by the heat:

"I am bound off St. Salvador, thence off Cape Frio, where I intend to cruise until

¹ Sympathetic ink is composed of compounds which, when written with, will remain invisible until heated. Solutions of cobalt thus become blue or green, lemon-juice turns brown, and a very dilute sulphuric acid blackens.

Failure to find Bainbridge.

The *Essex* sails for the Pacific Ocean.

Her Arrival at Valparaiso.

the 1st of January. Go off Cape Frio, to the northward of Rio Janeiro, and keep a look-out for me.
YOUR FRIEND."¹

With these instructions Porter sailed for Cape Frio. He came in sight of it three days before the *Constitution* captured the *Java*,² and for some time cruised up and down the Brazilian coast between Cape Frio and St. Catharine. He met many Portuguese vessels, but could obtain no reliable information concerning the squadron. His situation was becoming more and more perplexing. English influence was powerful all along the coasts of the South American continent, while the power of his own government was little known or respected. He was, in a degree, in an enemy's waters, with no friendly port into which he might run for shelter, carry prizes if he should catch them, or procure necessary supplies. He was compelled, as he says in his Journal, to choose between "capture, a blockade, or starvation." He was left to his own resources, for he could not find the commodore, and he resolved to sweep around Cape Horn, pounce upon the English whalers in the Pacific Ocean, and live upon the enemy. The specie obtained from the *Nocton* would be a reliable resource in an hour of need, and he could not doubt his success. With this determination he spread the sails of the *Essex* to the breeze in the harbor of St. Catharine on the 26th of January, 1813, and after a most tempestuous and périlous voyage made Cape Horn on the 14th of February. At the close of that month the pleasant southwest breezes came over the calmer ocean, and under their gentle influence the inhospitable coasts of Patagonia and Lower Chili were soon passed. On the 5th of March the glittering peaks of the Andes were seen hundreds of miles distant, and on the evening of that day the anchor of the *Essex* was cast at the island of Mocha, off the coast of Araucania, for the first time after leaving St. Catharine. Its solitary mountain peak towered more than a thousand feet in the clear blue firmament; immense flocks of birds hovered over its unpeopled shores, and in its surrounding waters shoals of seals were sporting in the surf. A joyous hunt for a day by the delighted crew brought to the ship an ample supply of coveted fresh meat, for the island, inhabited by Spaniards before the reign of the buccaneers in that region, abounded with fat wild hogs and horses. The flesh of the latter proved more savory than that of the former, and was preferred by the people of the *Essex*.

Porter had now spent two months without falling in with a hostile vessel. His supplies of naval stores were portentously diminishing, and he anxiously hoped for prey by which he might replenish his exhausted materials. With that hope he cruised northward, enveloped for several days in thick fogs, when suddenly, on the 14th of March, as the *Essex* swept around the Point of Angels, the city of Valparaiso, the chief sea-port town of Chili, burst upon the vision like the creation of a magician's wand. She had been running gallantly before a stiff breeze; now she was suddenly becalmed under the guns of a battery, so unexpectedly and near had the turning of that point brought her to the town. The harbor and its shipping were in full view. Several Spanish vessels were about departing; and an armed American brig, heavily laden, seeing the English colors at the mast-head of the *Essex*, had tried up her ports and prepared for action. Unwilling to have a knowledge of the arrival of an American frigate in those waters spread by the Spanish vessels along the coast, and perceiving a British whaler preparing for sea, Porter bore off to the northward, and in an hour or two lost sight of the town. He returned on the following day, ran into port and anchored, and soon learned two important facts, namely, that Chili had just become independent of Spain, and the people were prepared to give him a cordial reception; and that the Viceroy of Peru had sent out cruisers against the American shipping in that quarter. Porter's appearance with a strong frigate was there-

¹ *Journal of a Cruise made to the Pacific Ocean by Captain David Porter, in the United States Frigate Essex, in the Years 1812, 1813, and 1814, 1., 36.*

² See page 460.

fore exceedingly opportune, for American commerce lay at the mercy of English privateers among the whalers, and the Peruvian corsairs.

The *Essex* was welcomed by the Chilian authorities by a salute of twenty-one guns at the forts, and of nine guns from the American brig, which proved to be the *Coll*, 18; and Mr. Poinsett, the American Consul General, hastened from Santiago, the capital of Chili, to join in the festivities which had been arranged for giving Porter a formal reception. Dinners, balls, excursions on land and water followed, and the officers of the *Essex* never forgot the delightful hours which they spent with the Chilian beauties, by whom they were exceedingly petted. In this welcome, these entertainments, and the bright prospects of usefulness to their countrymen and a profitable cruise for themselves, the people of the *Essex* found full compensation for all their hardships during the terrible voyage from the stormy Atlantic around the dark cape into the Pacific Sea.

As soon as she was tolerably victualled the *Essex* put to sea, and on the 25th fell in with an American whaler, from whom Porter learned that two other vessels, the *Walker* and *Barclay*, had just been captured by a Peruvian corsair off Coquimbo, accompanied by an English ship. Porter pressed on up the coast, and soon overhauled the corsair. She was the *Nereyda*. He took from her all her captured Americans, and, after casting her cannon, ammunition, and small-arms overboard, sent her to Callao with a letter to the Peruvian viceroy, in which he denounced the piratical conduct of the commander of the cruiser, and asked for punishment due for his crime. The *Essex* then looked into Coquimbo, but, seeing nothing discernible, sailed for Callao. As she neared the harbor she recaptured the *Barclay*, and, making her her consort, sailed for the Galapagos Islands, the alleged resort of English whalers. From the master and crew of the *Barclay* Porter ascertained that there were twenty-three American and about twenty English whale-ships in that region. The latter were, in general, fine vessels of between three and four hundred tons burden, and would afford good prizes for the *Essex*. The most of them were armed, and bore letters of marque.

On his way over the quiet Pacific toward the Galapagos, Porter made preparations for fierce struggles with the armed English whalers. The ships were put in perfect order, and then seven small boats were arranged as a flotilla and placed under the command of Lieutenant Downes.¹ They made Chatham Island on the 17th of April, but found no enemy there. Similar disappointment awaited them at Charles Island on the following day. Lieutenant Downes went ashore, and found a box nailed to a post, over which was a black sign with the words HATHAWAY'S POST-OFFICE painted on it in white letters. The contents of the post-office were conveyed on board the *Essex*, and gave, by a list of English whalers that had touched there a few months before, positive evidence that those islands were a resort for British vessels in that service. With this assurance Porter cruised eagerly among the Galapagos, but almost a fortnight was spent without seeing a single vessel. On the morning of the 29th^a the welcome cry of "Sail, ho!" was heard, and a ship was seen to the westward. Soon afterward two others were observed a little farther to the south. Porter immediately gave chase to the first-seen vessel, and at nine o'clock in the morning she was his prize. She was the English whale-ship *Montezuma*, with fourteen hundred barrels of oil on board. Placing a prize-crew in her, he made sail after the other two vessels. The wind fell, and there was a dead calm. The flotilla of small boats under Downes pushed forward. They pulled for the larger of the two

¹ John Downes was born in Massachusetts. He entered the naval service as midshipman in 1802, and was active in the attack on the shipping in the harbor of Tripoli. He accompanied Porter, as lieutenant, in the entire cruise of the *Essex*, and became commander of the *Essex Junior*. In 1831 he was promoted to captain, and commanded the *Potomac* in the punishment of the Quallah Battoo people for outrages on American commerce. His last sea service was in 1834. He died in Boston on the 11th of August, 1854, and was buried with the honors due to his rank. Secretary Dobbin directed the officers of the Navy and Marine Corps to wear crape on the left arm for thirty days.

Capture of the *Georgiana* and other English armed Whaling-ships.

Porter in Command of a Squadron.

vessels, which kept training her guns upon the flotilla as it approached; but between two and three in the afternoon she surrendered without firing a shot. She was the English whale-ship *Georgiana*. Her companion was captured in like manner. She was the *Policy*, also a whaler. These three prizes furnished Porter with many needed supplies. Among these were beef, pork, cordage, water, and a large number of the huge Galapagos turtles, whose flesh is delightful to the appetite and healthful to the stomach.

Captain Porter fitted up the *Georgiana* as a cruiser. She had been built for the service of the East India Company, and had the reputation of being a fast sailer. She was pierced for eighteen guns, and had six mounted when taken. The *Policy* was also pierced for eighteen guns, and had ten mounted. These were added to the armament of the *Georgiana*, and she became a fitting consort of the *Essex*, with sixteen light guns, under the command of the gallant Lieutenant Downes, with forty-one men. He raised the American pennant over her on the 8th of May,^a and it was saluted by seventeen guns. The crew of the *Essex*, officers and men, was ^a 1813. now reduced to two hundred and sixty-four souls.

The reputation of the *Georgiana* for fleetness was unmerited, yet Porter expected to make her useful. She and the *Essex* parted company on the 12th of May, with a clear understanding concerning places for rendezvous at specified times. The *Essex*, accompanied by the *Policy*, *Montezuma*, and *Barclay*, did not cruise far from the Galapagos, and it was sixteen days before a strange sail was seen by her. On the afternoon of the 28th^b one was seen ahead, and a general chase was made. At sunset she was visible from the frigate's deck, and she was still in sight on the following morning. It was not long before the *Essex* got alongside of and captured her. She was the English whale-ship *Atlantic*, mounting eight 18-pounder carronades, and manned by twenty-three men, under the command of a renegade Nantucket captain. She was pierced for twenty guns. ^b May.

During this chase another vessel was seen. With characteristic energy, Porter placed Lieutenant McKnight, of the *Montezuma*, in command of the *Atlantic*, and ordered him to chase the newly-discovered stranger. The *Essex* also joined in the pursuit, and the *Greenwich*, a vessel little lighter than the *Atlantic*, mounting ten guns, and manned by twenty-five men, was added to the list of prizes in Porter's hands. The *Atlantic* and *Greenwich* had letters of marque, and, being fast sailers, were very dangerous to American commerce.

With all his prizes but the *Georgiana*, now five in number, Porter sailed for the mouth of the Tumbez, in the Gulf of Guayaquil, on the South American Continent, where he anchored on the 19th of June, off the miserable village of Tumbez. There the little squadron was joined by the *Georgiana*,^c bringing with her two prizes, the *Hector*, 11, and *Catharine*, 8. Downes had captured a third, the *Rose*, 8, which he had filled with the superabundant prisoners and sent to St. Helena. She was a dull sailer. He removed her oil, threw her guns overboard, and gave the prisoners the ship on condition that they should sail for that rocky isle in the Atlantic. ^c June 24.

Porter now found himself, at the end of eight months after he sailed from the Delaware, in command of a squadron of nine armed vessels ready for formidable warfare. The *Atlantic* being every way superior to the *Georgiana*, Lieutenant Commanding Downes was transferred to her, with his crew. Twenty guns were mounted in her, and she was named *Essex Junior*. She was manned by sixty picked men. The *Georgiana* was also armed with twenty guns, and converted into a store-ship, under the command of "Parson" Adams, the chaplain of the *Essex*.

The squadron left Tumbez on the 30th of June, the *Essex* and *Essex Junior* sailing in company until the 9th of July,^d when the latter was dispatched for Valparaiso with the *Catharine*, *Hector*, *Montezuma*, *Policy*, and *Barclay* in con- ^d 1813.

Capture of the dreaded *Seringapatam*. Successful cruising among the Galapagos Islands. Porter warned of Danger.

voy. The *Essex* at the same time, accompanied by the *Georgiana* and *Greenwich*, sailed westward toward the Galapagos. On the 13th^a she captured the English whale-ship *Charlton*, armed with ten guns, and manned by twenty-one men. Two other vessels had been seen in her company, the larger of which, the prisoners from the *Charlton* said, was the *Seringapatam*, mounting fourteen guns, and manned by forty men. She had been built in England for the Sultan Tippoo Saib for a cruiser, and was the most formidable enemy of American shipping in the Pacific Ocean. Porter longed for her capture, and was soon gratified. The *Greenwich* bore gallantly down upon her, and, after exchanging a few broadsides, the English vessel surrendered. She soon afterward made an unsuccessful effort to escape. The smaller vessel, called the *New Zealander*, was captured without difficulty.

Porter's prisoners were now so numerous that he was compelled to admit a large number to parole. These were placed in the *Charlton*, and sent to Rio de Janeiro under a pledge of honor. The guns were taken out of the *New Zealander* and placed in the *Seringapatam*, giving her an armament of twenty-two heavy pieces, but with an insufficient crew. She was thus converted into a formidable cruiser. The *Georgiana*, with a hundred thousand dollars worth of spermaceti oil, was sent to the United States, bearing in irons the captain of the *Seringapatam*, who was found without a commission as privateer, and liable to the penalties of piracy.

The *Essex*, with the *Greenwich*, *Seringapatam*, and *New Zealander*, now sailed for Albemarle Island, the largest of the Galapagos group. On the morning of the 28th^b they discovered a strange sail. Chase was given, and continued all day, but she eluded her pursuers during the ensuing night. This was the first time that the *Essex* had failed to place herself alongside of an antagonist since she entered the Pacific Ocean, and Porter and his people were much mortified. The cruise continued, and on the 4th of August the little squadron anchored off James's Island, a short distance from Albemarle. There they remained more than a fortnight, and on the 22d anchored in Banks's Bay, between Narborough Island and the north head of Albemarle, where the prizes were moored, and from whence the *Essex* proceeded^c on a short cruise alone. After sailing for some time along the

^a August 24. Galapagos without meeting any vessels, Porter was gratified by the apparition of a strange sail on the 15th of September, apparently lying to, far to the southward and to the windward. The *Essex*, disguised, approached her, and discovered her to be an English whale-ship engaged in the process of "cutting in," or getting on board the ship the blubber of the great fish. When the *Essex* was within about four miles of the whaler, the latter became alarmed, cast off her fish, and made sail. The *Essex* threw off her disguise and pursued, and at four o'clock in the afternoon had the stranger within range of her guns. A few shots brought her to, and she became a prize. She was the *Sir Andrew Hammond*, armed with twelve guns, and manned by thirty-one men. She was the vessel that escaped the *Essex* on the night of the 28th of July. She had on board a large supply of beef, pork, bread, wood, and water, of which the *Essex* was in need. With this prize she returned to Banks's Bay, where she was soon afterward joined by the *Essex Junior* from Valparaiso. Downes had there moored three of the prizes, and sent the fourth, the *Policy*, to the United States with a cargo of spermaceti oil.

While at Valparaiso Downes learned two important facts, namely, that the exploits of the *Essex* had produced great excitement in the British Navy, and caused the government to send out the frigate *Phoebe*, with one or two consorts, to attempt her capture; and that the Chilian authorities were becoming more friendly to the English than to the Americans. Surveying the situation in the light of this information, Porter resolved to go to the Marquesas Islands, refit his vessels, and return to the United States. His cruise had been remarkably successful. He had captured almost every English whale-ship known to be off the coasts of Peru and Chili, and had deprived

Porter, with his Squadron, sails for the Marquesas Islands. Arrival at Nooaheevah. White Residents on the Island.

the enemy of property to the amount of two and a half millions of dollars, and three hundred and sixty seamen. He had also released the American whalers from danger, and inspired the Peruvians and Chilians with the most profound respect for the American Navy. Accordingly, on the 2d of October, he spread the sails of the *Essex* to the breeze, and she sailed westward from Banks's Bay, followed by the *Essex Junior*, *Seringapatam*, *New Zealander*, *Sir Andrew Hammond*, and *Greenwich*. Most of these were slow sailers, and kept the *Essex* back. The impatient Porter, fearing the delay might cause him to miss an English vessel bound for India of which he had heard, sent the *Essex Junior* forward to the Marquesas with instructions to attempt to intercept and capture her. Meanwhile the squadron crept lazily over the calm sea, and on the 23d of October the group of the Marquesas was seen looming up from the western horizon. On the following day they neared the shores, and saw the natives thronging the beaches and swiftly navigating the waters in light canoes. After passing among the islands a few days, the *Essex* finally anchored in a fine bay of Nooaheevah with her prizes, except the *Essex Junior*, which came in soon afterward.

"The situation of the *Essex*," says Cooper,¹ "was sufficiently remarkable at this moment to merit a brief notice. She had been the first American to carry the pennant of a man-of-war around the Cape of Good Hope, and now she had been the first to bring it into this distant ocean. More than ten thousand miles from home, without colonies, stations, or even a really friendly port to repair to, short of stores, without a consort, and otherwise in possession of none of the required means of subsistence and efficiency, she had boldly steered into this distant region, where she had found all that she had acquired through her own activity; and having swept the seas of her enemies, she had now retired to these little-frequented islands to refit with the security of a ship at home. It is due to the officer who so promptly adopted and so successfully executed this plan, to add, that his enterprise, self-reliance, and skill indicated a man of bold and masculine conception, of great resources, and of a high degree of moral courage—qualities that are indispensable in forming a naval captain."

The bay in which the squadron was moored, and its surroundings, presented very picturesque scenery to the navigators. A beautiful valley was seen extending back from it among the lofty hills, and here and there a native village dotted its margins. Rich vegetation crowned the eminences, and cultivated fields smiled along the slopes and beautiful intervalles. The natives every where among the group of islands had appeared very friendly, and Captain Porter expected nothing but quiet and full success in fitting his vessels for his long homeward voyage. In this he was disappointed, for during his stay he was compelled to engage in a military campaign, and take possession of Nooaheevah by force of arms. It happened in this wise:

The anchor of the *Essex* had just been cast when a canoe shot out from the shore and came alongside the frigate. It contained three white men, one of whom was naked and tattooed like the natives. This man was an Englishman, named Wilson, and had been on the island twenty years. One of his companions was Midshipman John Maury, of the United States Navy, who had been left on the island to gather sandal-wood while the merchant vessel that bore him to it should go to China and return. He was accompanied by a seaman. These were the only white men on Nooaheevah. They informed Porter that war was raging on the island between the native tribes who inhabited the different valleys, and that it was quite fierce between the Taeahs, who dwelt in the one before them, and the Happahs over the mountains. He was farther informed that he would probably be compelled to take the part of the Taeahs against the Happahs in order to get from them such supplies as he desired and the island afforded.

Wilson understood the native language well, and became Porter's interpreter.

¹ *Naval History of the United States*, 11., 222.

With him the captain landed, and was met on the beach by a throng of men, women, and children, who not only welcomed him, but gave cordial greetings to the marines, who followed him with beating drums, and fired volleys of musketry in the air. These unusual sounds brought swarms of the Happahs to the crest of the mountain, where they brandished their spears and clubs in the most threatening manner. They had lately spread desolation through portions of the valley of the Taechs, destroying houses, plantations, and bread-fruit-trees. Porter immediately sent them word that he had come with force sufficient to take possession of the whole island, and that if they ventured into the Tienhoy Valley as enemies while he remained he would punish them severely. He gave them permission to bring hogs and fruit to the shore, and promised them protection while trafficking. This bold message delighted the Taechs, and filled the Happahs with awe, because of the powerful ally which good fortune had brought to their enemies.

Porter had just returned to his ship when he was informed that the great Gattanewa, the mighty King of the Taechs, a descendant of Oateia, or Daylight, through eighty-eight generations, had returned from a tour of inspection to one or two of his strong-holds among the mountains. A boat was sent to bring the monarch on board the *Essex*, and all hands waited in expectation of seeing a most dignified personage, for their eyes had already seen the really beautiful and stately granddaughter of the monarch. They were disappointed. Before them appeared a tottering man leaning upon a rude stick, bent with the weight of years, naked, excepting temples covered with withered palm-leaves and loins swathed in dirty *tappa* or native cloth, his skin black with tattooing, and made almost leprous in appearance by the effects of excessive indulgence in the use of *kava*, a native intoxicating drink. He was then stupefied by its effects, and it was not until after he had slept long in the cabin of the *Essex* that he was able to talk of public affairs.



THE MIGHTY GATTANAWA.

Porter agreed to assist Gattanewa against the Happahs and Typees, his chief enemies. He established a camp in a shady plain not far from the beach, and at the same time active labor was commenced in the service of preparing the *Essex* for her long voyage. Days passed on, and so peaceful did the Americans appear that the Happahs were emboldened.

Battles with the Natives.

Porter victorious.

Change in the Name of the Island and Harbor.

They poured into the valley, menaced the camp, and sent a messenger to Porter to tell him that he was a coward. The old monarch and his chief warriors urged Porter to strike a withering blow. He complied with their request. He landed a 6-pounder cannon, and the natives carried it to the summit of the mountain. He then sent Lieutenant Downes, with forty men with muskets, to attack the Happahs. They were driven from hill to hill until they reached one of their forts on the brow of an eminence. There, four thousand strong, they made a stand, and hurled spears and stones at the assailants. The fort was stormed and captured, and the awe-struck Happahs fled in every direction. Their hostility was overcome, and they hastened to send messengers with prayers for peace. Within a week envoys from almost every tribe on the island appeared bearing tribute-treasures and tokens of friendship. Porter's power was supreme. He took possession of a conical hill overlooking his encampment and the harbor, cast up a breastwork formed of water-casks filled with earth, mounted four guns upon it, raised the American flag over it, and on the 19th of November took formal possession of the island. He named Nooabeevah Madison Island, and the breastwork Fort Madison, in honor of the President of the United States; and to the beautiful expanse of water before him he gave the name of Massachusetts Bay, in token of his attachment to his birth-place. The fort was placed



THE ESSEX AND HER PRIZES IN MASSACHUSETTS BAY, NOOABEEVAH.¹

in command of Lieutenant John M. Gamble, of the Marines, and Messrs. Feltus and Clapp, midshipmen, with twenty-one men, were placed under his orders, and remained there until the squadron was ready to sail. This was wise precaution to secure the speedy repairs of the *Essex*.

The powerful Typees had remained hostile, and became more and more defiant, to the great discomfort of Gattanewa's people and the annoyance of the Americans. At length Porter resolved to make war upon them. An expedition, consisting of thirty-five Americans, including Captain Porter and five thousand Tachs and Happahs, moved against the incorrigibles. The Typees, armed with slings and spears, met them with such overwhelming numbers and fierce determination, that at the end of the first day they were compelled to fall back to the beach, and numbering among their casualties a shattered leg belonging to Lieutenant Downes, caused by a blow from a sling-man's stone. That night the valley of the Typees resounded with shouts of victory, and the sonorous reverberations of many beaten drums.

Porter renewed the attempt the next day, and led his motley army boldly over the rugged hills into the Typee Valley, in the midst of great exposure to hostile mis-

¹ From a drawing by Captain Porter.

siles from concealed foes, and many privations. Village after village was destroyed until they came to the principal town, in which were fine buildings, a large public square, temples and gods, huge war-canoes, and other exhibitions of half-savage life. These were all reduced to ashes, and by the broom of desolation that beautiful valley, four miles in width and nine in length, was made a blackened desert. The Types, utterly ruined and humbled, now submissively paid tribute, and Porter could say

"I am monarch of all I survey;
My right there is none to dispute."



MARQUEBAS DRUM.

Porter had allowed his crew full indulgence while at Nooaheevah. The natives were lavish in that species of savage hospitality which gives concubines to strangers in the persons of their wives and daughters. The women of that island were really beautiful in figure and feature, and not much darker in complexion than most Spanish women. Warm attachments were formed between them and the seamen, and when, on the eve of departure, Porter forbade his men going on shore, they were greatly discontented. For three days during this restraint they became almost mutinous. "The girls," says Porter in his *Journal*, "lined the beach from morning until night, and every moment importuned me to take the *taboos* off the men, and laughingly expressed their grief by dipping their fingers into the sea and touching their eyes, so as to let the salt water trickle down their cheeks. Others would seize a chip, and, holding it in the manner of a shark's tooth, declared they would cut themselves to pieces in their despair; some threatened to beat their brains out with a spear of grass, some to drown themselves, and all were determined to inflict upon themselves some dreadful punishment if I did not permit their sweet-hearts to come on shore."¹ Porter's men did not take the deprivation so good-naturedly. Their situation, they said, was worse than slavery; and a man named Robert White declared, on board the *Essex Junior*, that the crew of the *Essex* had come to a resolution not to weigh her anchor, or, if they should be compelled to get the ship under weigh, in three days' time after leaving the port to seize the ship and hoist their own flag. Porter thought it necessary to notice the affair. He assembled his men and addressed them kindly. He spoke of the reported threat, expressed his belief that the rumor could not be true, but added, "should such an event take place, I will, without hesitation, put a match to the magazine and blow you all to eternity." He added that perhaps there might be some grounds for the report, and said, "Let me see who are and who are not disposed to obey my orders. You who are inclined to get the ship under weigh, come on the starboard side; and you who are otherwise disposed, remain where you are." All hastened to the starboard side. The men showed great willingness to be obedient. Then White, the ringleader of the mutineers, if there were any, was called out. After informing the crew that this was the man who had slandered them, Porter sent him ashore in one of the numerous canoes in which the natives were swarming around the ship, and left him behind.

The *Essex* was thoroughly fitted for her long voyage and for encountering enemies early in December, and on the 12th^a she sailed, with her prizes, from Nooaheevah, taking with her Mr. Maury and his companion. They stretched away eastward to the South American continent, and early in January the peaks of the Andes were visible. On the 3d of February^b Porter entered the harbor of Valparaiso, exchanged salutes with the fort, went on shore to pay his respects to the governor, and on the following day received a visit from his Excellency and his wife, and some other officers. Meanwhile the *Essex Junior* cruised off the port as a scout to give warning of the approach of any man-of-war. Notwithstand-

* 1312.

* 1314.

¹ See Porter's *Journal*, II., 137.

Incidents in the Harbor of Valparaiso.

Porter's Generosity.

He tries to fight, or run the Blockade.

ing the friendly demonstrations of the governor, it was evident to Captain Porter that the English were in higher favor than the Americans with the Chilian government.

Porter had not been long in Valparaiso when two English men-of-war were reported in the offing. They sailed into the harbor all prepared for action, and seemed ready to violate the hospitalities of a neutral port. These vessels were the *Phoebe*, 36, Captain Hillyar, and the *Cherub*, 20, Captain Tucker. The former mounted thirty long 18-pounders, sixteen 32-pound carronades, and one howitzer, and six 3-pounders in her tops. Her crew consisted of three hundred and twenty men and boys. The *Cherub* mounted eighteen 32-pound carronades below, with eight 24-pound carronades and two long 9's above, making a total of twenty-eight guns. Her crew mustered one hundred and eighty. The *Essex* at this time could muster only two hundred and twenty-five souls, and the *Essex Junior* only sixty. The *Essex* had forty 32-pound carronades, and six long 12-pounders; and the *Essex Junior* bore only ten 18-pound carronades, and ten short 6's. The weight of men and metal was heavily in favor of the British vessels.

As the *Phoebe* came sweeping into the harbor with her men all at quarters, and ran close alongside the *Essex*, Porter warned Hillyar that if his vessel touched the American frigate he should open upon her, and much blood would be shed, for he was fully prepared for action. "I do not intend to board you," exclaimed the Englishman, who perceived Porter's readiness to fight, but as he luffed up his ship was taken aback, and his jib-boom was thrown across the forecastle of the *Essex* in a menacing manner. Porter summoned his men and bade them spring upon the *Phoebe*, cutlasses in hand, the moment when the two vessels should touch each other. She was completely in the power of the *Essex*, and with the aid of the *Essex Junior* the American frigate might have sunk the *Phoebe* in fifteen minutes. Hillyar saw his helplessness, and, throwing up his hands in consternation, declared that his present position was an accident. The chivalrous Porter accepted the apology, and the frightened Englishman was allowed to pass on. It was afterward generally believed that Hillyar had positive orders to attack the *Essex*, even in a neutral South American port, and that his intentions were hostile until the moment when he discovered his imminent peril in the power of the gallant American.

After obtaining some supplies, the English vessels went out and cruised off Valparaiso. During a period of more than six weeks Porter tried in vain to bring on an engagement with the *Phoebe* singly, or with the *Essex Junior* in company. On the 27th of February he felt sure of a fight, for the *Phoebe* stood close in for the harbor, displaying a banner on which were the words "God and our Country; British Sailors' best Rights; Traitors offend both." Porter accepted this as a challenge, quickly prepared his vessel, and hoisting a banner under his old motto, "Free Trade and Sailors' Rights," with the words "God, our Country, and Liberty; Tyrants offend them," he sailed boldly out. Hillyar, who had doubtless been instructed not to fight the *Essex* alone, quickly showed the stern of his ship, and ran down to the *Cherub*, to the great disgust of the Americans.

Informed that other English cruisers might be expected soon, Porter determined to run the blockade and put to sea. On the 28th of March he spread his sails to a stiff southwest breeze, and made a bold dash for the open Pacific. A heavy squall struck the *Essex* as she rounded the Point of Angels, carrying away the maintopmast, and over into the deep the men who were aloft reefing. They were lost. The British ships, lying in wait outside, immediately gave chase, while the crippled frigate crawled toward the friendly port to repair damages. She could not reach her old anchorage in time to escape the enemy, so she took shelter in a bay not far from a battery, and anchored within pistol-shot of the shore. Notwithstanding that was neutral ground, the enemy's vessels bore down upon the *Essex*, and Captain Hillyar, unmindful of the courtesy of Porter when the *Phoebe* was within his power, proceed-

The *Essex* crippled. Porter's Generosity not reciprocated. Battle between the *Essex* and two British Ships.

ed to attack her. The *Essex* prepared for conflict, and endeavored to place a spring on her cable. Before this could be accomplished the *Phoebe* got in an advantageous position, and, at a few minutes before five o'clock in the afternoon,^a opened fire upon the stern of the American frigate with his long guns. The *Cherub* at the same time assailed the starboard bow of the *Essex*, while the *Essex Junior* was unable to render her consort any assistance.

The *Cherub* was soon driven off by the bow-guns of the *Essex*, and joined with the *Phoebe* in a severe raking fire on the American. For a while the latter was unable to reply, but at length three of her long twelves were run out of her stern ports, and were handled with so much dexterity and power that, at the end of half an hour after the action commenced, both of the English ships were compelled to haul off and repair damages. The *Essex* had been much bruised in the conflict, and many of her crew were killed or wounded. Her ensign at the gaff and her battle-flag had been shot away, but her banner, inscribed "FREE TRADE AND SAILORS' RIGHTS,"¹ was still flying at the fore. Every man, from the commander down, resolved to defend her to the last.

The *Phoebe* and *Cherub* soon renewed their attack in a position on the starboard quarter of the *Essex* where she could make no effectual resistance, the distance between her and her antagonists being too great to be reached by her carronades. Their fire was very galling, and Porter was driven to the alternative of surrendering, or running down to close quarters with his enemy. He decided on the latter movement, notwithstanding his ship had suffered a farther loss of important spars and rigging. So badly was she crippled that the only sail that could be made available was the flying jib. This was hoisted, the cable was cut, and slowly the *Essex* edged away toward the *Phoebe* until she was within range of the frigate's carronades, when for a few minutes the firing on both sides was tremendous. The *Phoebe* changed her position to a long range, and kept up a terrific cannonade upon her helpless antagonist, whose deck was now strewn with the dead, her cockpit and ward-room filled with the wounded, and a portion of her hull in flames. Many of her guns were disabled; and at one of them no less than fifteen men—three entire crews—fell dead or mortally wounded. Yet she drove off the *Cherub*, and for two hours maintained the terrible combat with her principal antagonist.

Porter now perceived no chance for boarding the *Phoebe*, and the raking of her long guns was producing horrible carnage in his ship. He resolved to attempt to run her ashore, land her people, and set her on fire. The wind was favorable; but when she was within musket-shot distance from the beach, it shifted, paying the ship's head broad off, leaving her exposed to a raking fire from the *Phoebe*. At this moment of extreme peril, Lieutenant Downes came from the *Essex Junior* in an open boat to receive orders. He was directed to defend, or, if necessary, to destroy his own vessel. He returned with some of the wounded, and left three sound men who came with him.

The slaughter on the *Essex* continued, the enemy's shot hulling her at almost every discharge. Still Porter held out, hoping to lay his ship alongside the cautious *Phoebe*. He let go an anchor, by which the head of his vessel was brought round and enabled to give his enemy a broadside. It was effectual. The *Phoebe* was crippled by it, and began drifting away with the tide. Porter was hopeful of success, when his hawser parted, and the *Essex*, an almost helpless wreck and on fire, floated toward her antagonist. The flames came up both the main and forward hatchways. There was no longer a chance for saving the ship. The magazine was threatened. Already an explosion of powder had added to the confusion. Porter was unhurt. He called a council of officers. Only one man (Lieutenant Stephen D. M'Knight²) came! The

¹ See page 441.

² Stephen Decatur M'Knight was a native of Connecticut. After the capture of the *Essex*, he, with a companion

Surrender of the *Essex*.

The Conduct of the British Commander.

Porter returns Home.

rest were either slain or wounded. He then told his men that those who preferred to take the risk of drowning by jumping overboard and swimming for the shore, to the certainty of being blown up, might do so. Many accepted the offer. Some reached the beach; a large number were drowned. Porter hauled down his flag. The vessel was surrendered, and the flames were extinguished. Of the two hundred and twenty-five brave men who went into the fight, only seventy-five effective ones remained. Fifty-eight had been killed, sixty-six wounded, and thirty-one were missing. The two vessels of the enemy lost, in the aggregate, only five killed and ten wounded.



ACTION BETWEEN THE *ESSEX* AND THE *FRIGATE AND CORVETTE*!

Thus ended the wonderful and brilliant cruise of the *Essex*. Her closing exploits were as gallant as her former career. "We have been unfortunate, but not disgraced," wrote her noble commander. "The defense of the *Essex* has not been less honorable to her officers and crew than the capture of an equal force; and I now consider my situation less unpleasant than that of Commodore Hillyar, who, in violation of every principle of honor and generosity, and regardless of the rights of nations, attacked the *Essex* in her crippled state within pistol-shot of a neutral shore, when for six weeks I had daily offered him fair and honorable combat."²

By an arrangement with the victorious Hillyar the *Essex Junior* was made a *cartel*, and in her Porter and his surviving companions sailed for the United States. After a voyage of seventy-three days they arrived on the coast off Long Island, and fell in with the *Saturn*, a British ship of war, whose commander (Nash) questioned the papers of the *Essex Junior*, and detained her. The indignant Porter considered this treatment a violation of his arrangements with Hillyar, and escaped in a whale-boat. After sailing and rowing about sixty miles, he landed near Babylon, on the south side of Long Island, where he was suspected of being a British officer. His commission settled the question, and he enjoyed unbounded hospitality. He made his way to New York, where he was received with demonstrations of most profound respect; and when intelligence went over the country of the exploits of the *Essex*, every city,

named James Lyman, were sent to Rio de Janeiro as prisoners of war, where they were shipped for England in a Swedish vessel. They were never heard of afterward. The vessel arrived in safety, but the captain of the vessel never gave any account of them. ¹ From a drawing by Captain Porter.

² Porter's Dispatch to the Secretary of the Navy, July 3, 1813. Porter relates that when he was about to part with Hillyar at Valparaiso, he alluded to his conduct in attacking the *Essex* under such circumstances, when the British commander, with tears in his eyes, said, "My dear Porter, you know not the responsibility that hung over me with respect to your ship. Perhaps my life depended on taking her." "I asked no explanations at the time," says Porter, when writing of the affair several years afterward. "If he can show that the responsibility rests on his government, I shall do him justice with more pleasure than I now impeach his conduct."—*Journal*, II., 157.

Honors to Commodore Porter.

His subsequent Career.

His Death and Monument.

village, and hamlet was vocal with his praises. Municipal honors were lavished upon him; and several State Legislatures and the National Congress thanked him for his services. By universal acclamation he was called the Hero of the Pacific. Philip Freneau, the popular bard of the Revolution, wrote a dull ode on "The Capture of the *Essex*;" and a livelier poet, in his "Battle of Valparaiso," thus sang:

"From the laurel's fairest bough
Let the muse her garland twine,
To adorn our Porter's brow,
Who, beyond the burning line,
Led his caravan of tars o'er the tide.
To the pilgrims fill the bowl,
Who, around the southern pole,
Saw new constellations roll,
For their guide."

This cruise was Porter's most eminent service afloat. He aided in the defense of Baltimore a few weeks after his return home; and at the close of the war he was appointed one of the commissioners on naval affairs. In 1817 he commanded a small fleet sent to break up a nest of pirates and freebooters in the Gulf of Mexico. In 1826 he resigned his commission in the navy, and afterward became the representative of the United States in Turkey,



DAVID PORTER'S MONUMENT.

as resident minister, at Constantinople. He died near that city in 1843, at the age of sixty-three years. His remains were brought to the United States; landed at Philadelphia; borne to St. Stephen's Church, South Tenth Street, wherein religious services for the occasion were performed; and he was buried on the north side of that church. They were afterward removed to the grounds of the Naval Asylum on the banks of the Schuylkill, and buried at the foot of the flag-staff. Once more they were removed, and now find a resting-place beneath a beautiful monument in Woodlawn Cemetery, Philadelphia. His countrymen remember him with just pride.¹

While Commodore Porter was in the Pacific with the *Essex*, Commodore Rodgers was on a long cruise in the North Atlantic in his favorite frigate, the *President*, 44. He left Boston on

¹ David Porter was born in Boston on the 1st of February, 1780. His first experience in the navy was in the frigate *Constellation*, in which he entered as midshipman in 1798. He was in the action between that vessel and *L'Insurgente*, in February, 1799, when his gallantry was so conspicuous that he was immediately promoted to lieutenant. He accompanied the first United States squadron that ever sailed to the Mediterranean in 1803, and was on board the *Philadelphia* when she struck on the rock in the Harbor of Tripoli. There he suffered imprisonment. In 1806 he was appointed to the command of the *Enterprise*, and cruised in the Mediterranean for six years. On his return to the United States he was placed in command of the flotilla station near New Orleans, where he remained until war was declared in 1812, when he was promoted to captain, and assigned to the command of the frigate *Essex*. His exploits in her have been recorded in the text of this chapter.

The following are the inscriptions on Porter's monument in Woodlawn Cemetery, Philadelphia:

North Side.—"COMMODORE DAVID PORTER, one of the most heroic sons of Pennsylvania, having long represented his country with fidelity as minister resident at Constantinople, died at that city in the patriotic discharge of his duty, March 3, 1843."

South Side.—"In the War of 1812 his merits were exhibited not merely as an intrepid commander, but in exploring new fields of success and glory. A career of brilliant good fortune was crowned by an engagement against superior force and fearful advantages, which history records as an event among the most remarkable in naval warfare."

West Side.—"His early youth was conspicuous for skill and gallantry in the naval services of the United States when the American arms were exercised with romantic chivalry before the battlements of Tripoli. He was on all occasions

Rodgers's unsuccessful Cruise.

Capture of Merchant Vessels and the *Highflyer*.

the 27th of April, 1813, and President Road on the 30th, in company with the *Congress*, 38, and, after a cruise of one hundred and forty-eight days, arrived at Newport, Rhode Island, having captured eleven sail of merchant vessels and the British armed schooner *Highflyer*.

Rodgers sailed northeasterly, in the direction of the southern edge of the Gulf Stream, until the 8th of May, when the *President* and *Congress* parted company,¹ the former cruising off more to the southward in quest of the British commercial ships in the West India trade. She was unsuccessful, and Rodgers turned her head in a direction that promised the good fortune of intercepting vessels trading between the West Indies and Halifax, St. John's and Quebec. Again there was no success; and after beating about among almost perpetual fogs, the *President* was off the Azores early in June. Rodgers now determined to try his fortune in the North Sea in search of British merchantmen. Much to his astonishment, he did not meet with a single vessel until he made the Shetland Islands, and there he found only Danish ships trading to England under British licenses.

Rodgers's supplies now began to fail, and he put into North Bergen, in Norway, for the purpose of replenishment. In this, too, he was disappointed. An alarming scarcity of food prevailed over all the country, and he was able to obtain only water. He put to sea, and cruised about in those high latitudes with the hope of falling in with a fleet of English merchantmen which were to sail from Archangel at the middle of July. At the moment when he expected to make prizes of some of them, he fell in with two British ships of war. Unable to contend with them, the *President* fled, hotly pursued by the foe. Owing to the perpetual daylight (the sun at that season being there several degrees above the horizon at midnight), they were enabled to keep up the chase more than eighty hours, during which time they were much nearer the *President* than was desirable on the part of the pursued. She finally escaped; and Rodgers, neither daunted nor disheartened, and having his stores somewhat replenished by those of two vessels which fell into his hands just before the appearance of the war-ships, turned westward to intercept merchantmen coming out of and going into the Irish Channel. Between the 25th of July and the 1st of August he captured three vessels, when, finding that the enemy had a superior force in that vicinity, he found it expedient to change his ground. After making a complete circuit of Ireland, and getting into the latitude of Cape Clear, he steered for the Banks of Newfoundland, near which he made two more captures. From one of these he learned that the *Bellerophon*, 74, and *Hyperion* frigate (both British vessels) were only a few miles from him. He did not fall in with them, however, and soon stood for the coast of the United States.²

On the 23d of September the *President* toward evening fell in with the British armed schooner *Highflyer*, tender to Admiral Warren's flag-ship *St. Domingo*. She was a fine vessel of her class; a fast sailer, and was commanded by Lieutenant Hutchinson. When discovered she was six or seven miles distant. By a stratagem Rodgers decoyed her alongside the *President*, and captured her without firing a gun. She did not even discover that the *President* was her enemy until the stratagem had succeeded. It was done in this wise: Previous to his departure on this cruise Rodgers was placed in possession of some of the British signals. These he had ordered to be made on board his ship, and he now resolved to try their efficacy. He hoisted an English ensign over the *President*. The *Highflyer* answered by displaying another, and at the same time a signal from a mast-head. To Rodgers's delight, he dis-

among the bravest of the brave; zealous in the performance of every duty; ardent and resolute in the trying hour of calamity; composed and steady in the blaze of victory."

East Side.—No inscription. On the upper part of the column the word "POWER," in a wreath. On the lower part a trident and anchor crossed.

¹ The *Congress* continued at sea until the 12th of December, having cruised in the far-distant waters of the South American coast. She captured several British vessels, among them two armed brigs of ten guns each.

² Letter of Commodore Rodgers to the Secretary of the Navy, dated Newport, September 27, 1813.

How Rodgers captured the *Highflyer*.

Astonishment of her Commander.

Rodgers's Service to his Country.

covered that he possessed its complement. He then signaled that his vessel was the *Sea Horse*, one of the largest of its class known to be then on the American coast. The *Highflyer* at once bore down, hove to under the stern of the *President*, and received one of Rodgers's lieutenants on board, who was dressed in British uniform. He bore an order from Rodgers for the commander of the *Highflyer* to send his signal-books on board to be altered, as some of the Yankees, it was alleged, had obtained possession of some of them. The unsuspecting lieutenant obeyed, and Rodgers was put in possession of the key to the whole correspondence of the British Navy.¹

The commander of the *Highflyer* soon followed his signal-books. He was pleased with every thing on board the supposed *Sea Horse*, and admired even the scarlet uniform of Rodgers's marines, whom he mistook for British soldiers. When invited into the cabin, he placed in the commodore's hands a bundle of dispatches for Admiral Warren, and informed his supposed friend that the main object of the British naval commander-in-chief on the American station at that time was the capture or destruction of the *President*, which had been greatly annoying British commerce, and spreading alarm throughout British waters. The commodore inquired what kind of a man Rodgers was, when the lieutenant replied that he had never seen him, but had heard that he was "an odd fish, and hard to catch." "Sir," said Rodgers, with startling emphasis, "do you know what vessel you are on board of?" "Why, yes, sir," he replied, "on board His Majesty's ship *Sea Horse*!" "Then, sir, you labor under a mistake," said Rodgers. "You are on board the United States frigate *President*, and I am Commodore Rodgers, at your service!" At the same moment the band struck up Yankee Doodle on the *President's* quarter-deck, and over it the American ensign was displayed, while the uniforms of the marines were suddenly changed from red to blue!² The British commander could hardly be persuaded to believe the testimony of his own senses; and he was astounded when he found himself in the hands of Commodore Rodgers. He had been one of Cockburn's subalterns when that marauder plundered and burned Havre de Grace³ a few months before; and it is affirmed that Lieutenant Hutchinson had now in his possession a sword which he carried away from Commodore Rodgers's house on that occasion.⁴ He had been warned by Captain Oliver, when receiving his instructions as commander of the *Highflyer*, to take care and not be outwitted by the Yankees. "Especially be careful," said Oliver, "not to fall into the hands of Commodore Rodgers, for if *he* comes across you, he will hoist you upon his jib-boom and carry you into Boston!"⁵ But Rodgers treated the sinner with all the courtesy due to a prisoner of war, and he was soon allowed to go at large on parole.⁶

Three days after the capture of the *Highflyer*⁷ Rodgers sailed into Newport Harbor, accompanied by his prize, her commander, and fifty-five other prisoners. His cruise, as he said, had not been productive of much additional lustre to the American Navy, but he had rendered his country signal service by harassing the enemy's commerce, and keeping more than twenty vessels in search of him for several weeks. He had captured eleven merchant vessels, and two hundred and seventy-one prisoners. All of the latter, excepting the fifty-five, had been paroled, and sent home in the captured vessels.

¹ See a description of signals on pages 182-184.

² Statement of Commodore Rodgers after the war to a friend at his own table in Washington City. Letter of Commodore Rodgers to the Secretary of the Navy, September 27, 1813.

³ *National Advocate*, November, 1813.

⁴ See page 673.

⁵ *Niles's Register*, v., 129.

⁶ George Hutchinson entered the British navy as midshipman in 1796, and was active in the various official grades through which he passed up to that of commander in the autumn of 1821. He was commissioned a lieutenant in 1806, and in 1811 he was assigned to a station on the *St. Domingo*, preparing for the American coast. He first commanded the *Dolphin*, a vessel captured by the British from the Americans at the mouth of the Rappahannock early in April, 1813, and converted into a tender of the *St. Domingo*. See page 609. He was afterward commander of another tender of the flag-ship, the *Highflyer*, and was captured in her, as we have observed in the text, on the 26th of September, 1813. After his promotion to commander in the British navy in 1821, he retired from active service, and was yet on the half-pay list in 1849. See O'Byrne's *Naval Biography*.

⁷ This was the only man-of-war ever captured by Rodgers.

Another Cruise of the <i>President</i> .	She runs the Blockade at New York.	Honors to Commander Rodgers.
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Commodore Rodgers sailed from Newport on another cruise in the *President* on the 5th of December,^a with a stiff breeze from the north-northwest, and got well to sea without falling in with a British squadron, as he expected to. On the following day he captured the *Cornet*, which had been taken from the Americans by British cruisers, and then sailed southward. In the vicinity of Barbadoes he captured a British merchantman on the 5th of January,^b on the 7th another,^c and on the 9th another. He remained to the windward of Barbadoes until the 16th,^d when he ran down into the Caribbean Sea, and cruised unsuccessfully in that region for a while. He finally captured and sunk a British merchantman, and then sailed for the coast of Florida. Proceeding northward, he was off Charleston Bar on the 11th of February,^e but did not enter. He continued his voyage up the coast, chasing and being chased, and, dashing through a vigilant British blockading squadron off Sandy Hook, he sailed into New York harbor on the evening of the 18th.^f He was greeted with honors by the citizens of New York; and on the 7th of March a dinner was given in compliment to him at Tammany Hall. Most of the notables of the city were present; and it was on that occasion that Rodgers gave the following toast, which was received with great enthusiasm by the company present, and praised by the administration newspapers throughout the country: "Peace—if it can be obtained without the sacrifice of national honor or the abandonment of maritime rights; otherwise war until peace shall be secured without the sacrifice of either." More than three hundred gentlemen were at the dinner, among whom were many ship-masters. A toast to the commodore elicited eighteen cheers, and a song hastily written that morning was sung by one of the guests.²

The *President* being in need of a thorough overhauling, the Secretary of the Navy offered to Commodore Rodgers the command of the *Guerriere*, which might much sooner be made ready for sea.³ The commodore accepted the offer, and repaired to Philadelphia, where the *Guerriere*, 44, was being fitted out. Finding her not so nearly ready as he had supposed her to be,⁴ the commodore informed the secretary that he preferred to retain command of the *President*. But the Secretary, in the interim, had offered the *President* to Decatur. Rodgers courteously allowed that commander to take his choice of vessels, when he chose that which had borne the broad pennant of Commodore Rodgers for several years.⁵

Here closes the story of the naval operations of the war for the year 1813. Another field of observation now claims our consideration.

¹ Letter of Commodore Rodgers to the Secretary of the Navy, February 19, 1813.

² See *Niles's Register*, vi., 44.

³ "Commodore Rodgers," said a writer at this time, "is, we conjecture, between forty and forty-five years of age; a man of few words, and not conspicuous for the love of parade or dress; but his ship, for interior order, neatness, elegance, and taste, may vie with any that floats on the ocean. It is said that his discipline is perfect; and this, perhaps, may account for the opinion that he is distant and very reserved to those under him; but his reserve in company carries the air of the reserve of the studious man, without the least trait of haughtiness, for humanity and great attention to the care of the youth under his command is a pleasing trait in this brave man's character."—*The Polyanthus*, Boston.

⁴ The *Guerriere* was launched on the 20th of July, and was the first two-decked ship that ever properly belonged to the American Navy.—*Cooper*.

⁵ Rodgers's evasion of the blockade was a cause of deep mortification to the British, for three of their large ships of war were on the alert, the nearest of which was the *Plantagenet*, 74, Captain Lloyd. Rodgers expected a brush with them, and cleared his ship for action. He even fired a gun to windward as a proof of his willingness to fight, but he was not molested. On returning to England, Lloyd excused himself by alleging a mutiny in his ship, and on that charge several of the sailors were executed.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

"Oh, dim waned the moon through the fitting clouds of night,
With a dubious and shadowy gleaming,
Where the ramparts of Mims rose stilly on the sight,
And the star-spangled banner was streaming.

And far still that wild horde of savage birth they deem'd,
And far every fearful intrusion,
Till the war-hatchet swift o'er their fated fortress gleam'd,
Midst despair, havoc, death, and confusion."

A SOUVENIR OF FORT MIMS, BY C. L. S. JONES.



HERETO, in the course of our narrative, we have only observed hints of hostile operations in the more southern portion of the republic, beginning with the endeavors of Tecumtha to induce the Creeks, Cherokees, Choctaws, and other tribes in the Gulf region¹ to become a part of his great Indian Confederacy against the white people. We have now reached a point in the story where a consideration of the events of the war in that region is necessary to the unity of the history.

Let us first consider the geographical and political aspect of the Gulf region.

In a former chapter we have considered the purchase by and cession to the United States of the vast Territory known as Louisiana.² Eastward of that Territory, at the time of the breaking out of the war in 1812, and bordering on the Gulf of Mexico, was a region in possession of the Spaniards, known as East and West Florida. The former extended from the Perdido River (now the boundary-line between the states of Florida and Alabama) eastward to the Atlantic Ocean, including the great peninsula lying south of Georgia, and stretching over almost six degrees of latitude. The latter extended westward from the Perdido to (as the Spaniards claimed) the island of Orleans, on the Mississippi. The northern boundary was partly on and partly a little below the thirty-first parallel.

During the autumn of 1810, and winter of 1810 and 1811, movements were inaugurated which finally led to the absolute possession of both Floridas by the United States. In October, that portion of the claimed Spanish territory lying on the Mississippi became the theatre of insurrectionary operations. It was inhabited chiefly by persons of British and American birth. These seized the old fort at Baton Rouge; met in Convention; declared themselves independent of Spain; and adopted a flag with a lone star upon it, as the revolutionists in Texas did many years later.³ The

¹ These families came under the general name of Mobilian tribes; and their territory originally was next in extent to that of the Algonquians, stretching along the Gulf of Mexico from the Atlantic to the Mississippi River more than six hundred miles, up the Mississippi to the mouth of the Ohio, and along the Atlantic to the Cape Fear. It comprised a greater portion of the present State of Georgia, a part of South Carolina, the whole of Florida, Alabama, and Mississippi, and portions of Tennessee and Kentucky. The nation was divided into three grand confederacies, namely, *Muscogees* or *Creeks*, *Choctaws*, and *Chickasaws*. The Creek confederacy included the *Creeks* proper, the *Seminoles* of Florida, and the *Yamacoes*, or *Savannahs*, of Georgia.

The Creeks occupied the country from the Atlantic westward to the high lands which separate the waters of the Alabama and Tombigbee Rivers.

The Choctaws inhabited the beautiful country bordering upon the Gulf of Mexico, and extending west of the Creeks to the Mississippi.

The Cherokees were the mountaineers of the South, and inhabited the very beautiful land extending from the Carolina Broad River on the east to the Alabama on the west, including the whole of the upper portion of Georgia from the head waters of the Altamaha to those of the Tennessee. It is one of the most delightful regions in the United States.

² See page 131.

³ There was a family named Kemper in that region who had suffered much at the hands of the Spaniards. They were

West Florida claimed by the United States.	Military Movements therein.	Intermeddling of a British Official.
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Spanish Loyalists made slight resistance, but it was soon overcome; and the insurgents asked the government of the United States to give them aid and recognition. Already that government had claimed a right, under the act of cession, to the entire Territory of West Florida, and that claim was a topic for dispute between it and that of Spain. Instead, therefore, of countenancing the insurgents in their efforts to set up for themselves, the President issued a proclamation on the 27th of October, in which he declared the Territory of West Florida, as far east as the Pearl River, to be in the possession of the United States. W. C. C. Claiborne, the governor of the Orleans Territory (afterward called the State of Louisiana), then in Washington, was hurried off to take possession of it, avowedly not only as a right, but as a friendly act toward Spain, whose rights were as much jeopardized by the revolutionary movement as was those of the United States. Claiborne was clothed with powers to employ troops then in the Mississippi Territory, if necessary, to enable him to take and hold possession of the country.

Not long after this, a body of men, chiefly Americans from Fort Stoddart, on the Mobile River, led by Colonel Reuben Kemper, who professed to be acting under the authority of the Florida insurgents, menaced the port of Mobile.¹ They were driven away, but still threatened that post; and the Spanish governor, Folch, thoroughly alarmed, wrote a letter to Mr. Monroe, the American Secretary of State, in which he expressed a desire, in the event of his not being speedily re-enforced from Havana or Vera Cruz, to treat for the surrender of the whole province of Florida. At about the same time, Morier, the British Chargé d'Affaires, residing at Baltimore, formally protested against such acquisition on the part of the United States as an act unfriendly to Spain, then struggling with the gigantic power of Napoleon.

When Congress assembled in December,^a the question of the occupation of Florida by the United States had assumed a very important aspect in the public mind. The Federalists were vehemently opposed to all farther acquisition of territory; and when, early in January,^b the letter of the Spanish governor and the protest of the British *chargé* were laid before Congress, they produced considerable excitement. Morier's protest was considered simply an impertinence by the government party, while the intimations of Folch were pondered seriously, and acted upon after some debate. In secret session a resolution was adopted, in which was expressed an unwillingness on the part of the United States to allow the Territory in question to pass from the possession of Spain into that of any other power. An act was also passed in secret session^c authorizing the President to take possession of both Floridas, under any arrangement that might be entered into with the local authorities; or, in the event of an attempt to do the same by any foreign power, to take and hold possession by force of arms. It was believed, and with reason, that the British were about to assume control of that country, under the provisions of some secret arrangement with Spain; and, to fore-

daring men (Reuben and Samuel), and resolved to get rid of their hated rulers. Impatient of the delay of the United States in taking possession of West Florida, they excited the people of Bayou Sara, and others in the neighborhood, to take up arms. They assembled at St. Francisville, marched upon Baton Rouge, took it by surprise after a slight skirmish, in which Governor Grandpre was killed, and the town and fort became the possession of the insurgents. The Spaniards fled eastward, some to Mobile, and some to Pensacola. The revolutionists then assembled in Convention; prepared and issued a declaration of independence, modeled after that composed by Jefferson, and declared their right and intention to form treaties and establish commerce with other nations.

¹ His professions were true. He was dispatched to the Tombigbee by the Convention for the purpose of enlisting men to expel the Spaniards from the Mobile district. In that business he was assisted by a wealthy citizen, Colonel James Callier, who, like most of the residents in that region, hated the Spaniards. Troops were secretly raised. Flatboats, with provisions, were sent down the Tensaw River to Smith's plantation. Daring spirits gathered around the leaders; and a company of horsemen, under Captain Bernard, scoured the country for arms, ammunition, and provisions. A young man, named Sibly, was sent to demand the surrender of the fort, then commanded by Governor Folch. The invaders gathered near Mobile, and there drank and frolicked to their hearts' content. An old man, who drank their whiskey and won their confidence, betrayed their weakness to the governor. The latter sent two hundred regular soldiers, under a competent leader, who surprised them at near midnight, and broke up their camp. This was in November, 1810. Major Hargrove and nine men were captured, ironed, and sent to Havana, where they suffered five years in the dungeons of Moro Castle.—See Pickett's *History of Alabama*, ii., 235.

stall such action, Governor Claiborne had already asserted the jurisdiction of the United States over a considerable portion of Florida eastward of the Mississippi, after

Fulwar Skipwith

some opposition from Fulwar Skipwith, formerly a diplomatic agent of the United States in France, who had been elected governor of their domain by the insurgents. Finding himself supported chiefly

by the dregs of society only, Skipwith yielded, and retired to private life. Soon afterward, a small detachment of American regulars, under Captain (afterward Major General) Edmund P. Gaines, appeared before Mobile and demanded its surrender. Governor Folch refused. Presently Colonel Cushing arrived from New Orleans with gun-boats, artillery, and troops, and encamped three weeks at Orange Grove, when he marched up to Fort Stoddart, and formed a cantonment at Mount Vernon. He came professedly to defend the Spaniards against the insurgents, who made no farther efforts to obtain possession of Mobile.

Louisiana was admitted into the Union as a state on the 8th of April, 1812. By a separate act, that part of Florida, as far eastward of the Mississippi River as the Pearl River, was annexed to that new state;^a and by another act the remaining territory, as far as the Perdido River, eastward of Mobile Bay (with the exception of the post of Mobile, yet in the hands of the Spaniards), was annexed to the Territory of Mississippi,^b then asking for admission as a state.

An insurrection had broken out in East Florida in the mean time. Its chief theatre was on the coast, near the Georgia border. Brigadier General George Mathews, of the Georgia militia (a soldier of the Revolution), who had been appointed commissioner under the secret act of the session in 1810-'11, to secure the province should it be offered, was the chief instigator of the disturbance, for the Georgians were anxious to seize the adjoining territory. Amelia Island, lying a little below the boundary-line, seemed to be a good as well as justifiable base of operations. The fine harbor of its capital, Fernandina, was a place of great resort for smugglers during the days of the embargo; and, as a neutral port, might be made a dangerous place. The possession of this island and harbor was therefore important to the Americans. A pretext for seizing it was not long wanting. The insurgents planted the standard of revolt on the bluff opposite the town of St. Mary's, on the border-line, in March, 1812. Some United States gun-boats, under Commodore Campbell, were in the St. Mary's River, and Mathews had some United States troops at his command near.

J. G. Campbell

On the 17th of March^c the insurgents, two hundred and twenty in number, sent a flag of truce to Fernandina demanding the surrender of the town and island. The American gun-boats came down at about the same time. The authorities bowed in submission, and General Mathews, assuming the character of a protector, took possession of the place in the name of the United States. Commodore Campbell declared, in a letter to Don Justo Lopez, the commandant of Amelia Island, that the naval forces were not intended to act in the name of the United States, "but to aid and support," he said, "a large proportion of your countrymen in arms, who have thought proper to declare themselves independent."¹

A flag was raised over Fernandina on which were inscribed the words "*Vox po-*

¹ MS. Letter in the Navy Department.

puli lex salubris," and on the 19th the town was formally given up to the United States authorities. A custom-house was immediately established; the floating property in the harbor was considered under the protection of the United States flag, and smuggling ceased. Then the insurgents, made eight hundred strong by re-enforcements from Georgia, and accompanied by some troops furnished by General Mathews, besieged the Spanish governor in St. Augustine, for it was feared that the British might help the Spaniards in recovering what they had lost in the Territory. This was a kind of filibustering which the United States government would not countenance, and David B. Mitchell,¹ governor of Georgia, was appointed to supersede Mathews^a as commissioner. But the change of men did not effect a change of measures. Mitchell believed that Congress would sanction Mathews's proceedings. The Lower House did actually pass a bill,^b in secret session, authorizing the President to take possession of East Florida. The Senate rejected it, for it was not desirable, at the moment when war had been declared against Great Britain, to provoke hostilities with another power unnecessarily. There was inconsistency in it, which the Opposition were not slow to perceive and make use of. "Say nothing now," they said, "about Sir James Craig, of Canada, and John Henry,² or Copenhagen."³ They denounced the whole movement of the government in Florida, East and West, as dastardly—a seizure of the possessions of a friendly power "by Madison's army and navy."

^a April 10, 1812.

^b June 21.

We have observed that the United States claimed, under the act of the cession of Louisiana, all of West Florida, including Mobile; and that a large portion of that territory had been annexed to that of Mississippi. When the Congress and the Cabinet had determined upon war with Great Britain in the winter and spring of 1812, the importance of the post of Mobile to the United States was very apparent, and as early as March in that year, General Wilkinson, then in command of the United States troops in the Southwest, was ordered to take possession of it. At near the close of March^c he sent Commodore Shaw, with a detachment of gun-boats, to occupy the Bay of Mobile and cut off communications with Pensacola; and Lieutenant Colonel Bowyer, then stationed with a respectable number of troops at Fort Stoddart, about forty miles above Mobile, was ordered to march on the latter post at a day's notice, for the purpose of investing Fort Charlotte.

^c 1812.

Wilkinson left New Orleans on the 29th of March, and embarked on board the sloop *Alligator*. The troops were ordered to rendezvous at Pass Christian. The weather was unfavorable for the schooner, and the general took a barge. He came near losing his life by the upsetting of this little vessel. He and his fellow-passengers clung to its upturned keel a long time, when, exhausted and famishing, they were picked up by some Spanish fishermen, who towed their barge ashore and righted it, and allowed the rescued men to proceed. They reached Petit Coquille at midnight, and on the following morning an express was sent to Boyer with orders for him to come down the river, and take a position opposite the little village of Mobile.

The troops from New Orleans arrived in Mobile Bay on the 12th of April,^d and at two o'clock the next morning landed opposite the site of the Pavilion, not far from the fort, then commanded by Captain Cayetano Perez.⁴ The garrison was surprised. The first intimation given them of the presence of an enemy was the sounding of Wilkinson's bugles for an advance. Six hundred men, in column, appeared before Fort Charlotte at noon, and demanded its surrender. The negotia-

^d 1812.

¹ David B. Mitchell was a native of Scotland, and at this time was forty-seven years of age. He arrived at Savannah in 1788, to take possession of property there which had been bequeathed to him, where he studied law. He became solicitor general of Georgia in 1798, and for several years held various offices civil and military. He was elected governor of Georgia in 1809, and held that office until 1813. He was re-elected in 1815. He was active in public affairs until his death, which occurred in Baldwin County, Georgia. ² See pages 219 to 221 inclusive. ³ Note 4, page 177.

⁴ On the 13th, General Wilkinson issued a proclamation and sent it into the town of Mobile, in which he assured the inhabitants that he came not to injure, but to protect them, and to extend over them the rightful jurisdiction and laws of the United States. He gave permission to those who chose to leave the place, to go, with their goods, in safety.

Surrender of Mobile by the Spaniards.

Tennesseans under Andrew Jackson preparing for War.

tions to that end were short, and on the 15th the Spaniards evacuated the fort and retired to Pensacola. The Americans at once entered, took possession, and proceeded to strengthen the post. Wilkinson sent nine pieces of artillery to Mobile Point, which were placed in battery there, and, marching to the Perdido, began the construction of fortifications there under the superintendence of Colonel John Bowyer. This work was soon abandoned, and Fort Bowyer was commenced on Mobile Point by some workmen under Captain Reuben Chamberlain. Such was the beginning of movements which resulted in the acquisition of all Florida by the Americans.

When the war broke out there was an already famous militia general in Tennessee, well known all over the settled portion of the Mississippi Basin. It was Andrew Jackson, who, as we have observed, became somewhat entangled in the toils of the wily spider, Aaron Burr, for a while.¹ He was living on a fine plantation a few miles from Nashville.

War was declared on the 19th of June by the proclamation of the President. Tidings of it reached Jackson on the 26th, and on the same day he authorized Governor Blount to tender to the President of the United States the services of himself and twenty-five hundred men of his division as volunteers for the war. Under other circumstances the offer would have been rejected. Jackson was no "court favorite;" on the contrary, he was obnoxious to the President and his Cabinet. He had soundly berated the government, when Madison was chief minister, in a speech in the streets of Richmond, as the "persecutor of Aaron Burr." He had openly shown his preference for Monroe over Madison, and had called the Secretary of War an "old granny." But the government needed strength, and was not willing to reject any that might be offered. The President received Jackson's generous offer with gratitude, and accepted it, he said, "with peculiar satisfaction." The Secretary of War wrote a cordial letter of acceptance to Governor Blount,² and that officer publicly thanked Jackson and his volunteers for the honor they had done the State of Tennessee by their patriotic movement.³

For several weeks Jackson remained on his farm impatiently awaiting orders to go to the field. All was calmness in the Gulf region, for the energies of the government were bent to the one great labor, apparently, of invading and subjugating Canada. When that effort failed, and Hull's campaign ended in terrible disaster at Detroit, sagacious men believed that the British, not needing so many troops on the Northern frontier, would turn their attention to the seizure of Gulf ports and an invasion of the sparsely settled country in that region. The government was also impressed

with this surmise, and late in October^b called on Governor Blount for fifteen hundred Tennesseans to be sent to New Orleans to re-enforce General Wilkinson. Blount made a requisition upon Jackson for that purpose, and the general at once entered upon that military career which rendered his name immortal.

On the 10th of December, a day long remembered in Middle Tennessee because of deep snow and intense cold, Jackson's troops, over two thousand in number, assembled at Nashville, bearing clothing for both cold and warm weather. When organized, they consisted of two regiments of infantry of seven hundred men each, commanded respectively by Colonels William Hall and Thomas H. Benton, and a corps of cavalry six hundred and seventy in number, under Colonel John Coffee. William B. Lewis, Jackson's near neighbor and friend, was his quartermaster; and his brigade inspector was William Carroll, a young man from Pennsylvania. The troops were composed of the best physical and social materials of the state, many of the young men being representatives of some of the first families in Tennessee in point of position; and on the 7th of January, 1813, when every thing was in readiness, the little army went down the Cumberland River in a flotilla of small boats, excepting the mounted men, whom Coffee led across the country to join Jackson at Natchez, on the

¹ See page 136.

² Parton's *Life of Andrew Jackson*, 1, 305.

The Tennesseans on the Mississippi River.

Their Treatment by the Government.

Jackson's Kindness.

Mississippi. With sly sarcasm, whose shaft was pointed at some New York and Pennsylvania militiamen on the Niagara frontier at that time, the energetic leader, in a letter to the Secretary of War, said: "I am now at the head of 2070 volunteers, the choicest of our citizens, who go at the call of their country to execute the will of the government, *who have no constitutional scruples*, and, if the government orders, will rejoice at the opportunity of placing the American eagle on the ramparts of *Mobile, Pensacola, and Fort Augustine*, effectually banishing from the Southern coasts all British influence." Jackson was then in his prime of manhood, being forty-six years of age.

After many stirring adventures among the ice in the Cumberland and the Ohio, and the floods and tempests of the Mississippi, for nine-and-thirty days, the little flotilla reached Natchez,^a a thousand miles, by the route it had taken, from February 15,
1812. its place of departure. Colonel Coffee, with his mounted men, was already near there to welcome them. The troops were in glorious spirits. The love of adventure had been heightened by its gratification, and all were impatient to push forward to New Orleans, a land of warmth and beauty as it appeared to their imaginations. The officers, especially, wished to go rapidly forward, for they dreamed of glory in the conquest of Mobile and Pensacola, and delicious resting-places among the orange groves of the Gulf shore. They were disappointed. A messenger had arrived at Natchez with orders from Wilkinson for them to remain where they were, as he had no instructions concerning them or their employment in his department, nor had he any quarters prepared for their accommodation. He was evidently fearful of being superseded by Jackson, who was a major general of volunteers in the United States service, for he said in his letter to that leader that caused him to halt, that he should not think of yielding his command until regularly relieved by superior authority. Jackson disembarked his troops, and encamped them in a pleasant spot near Natchez, to await farther orders.

February passed by, and the early flowers of March were budding and blooming, and yet the Tennessee army was at Natchez. On the first of that month Jackson wrote an impatient letter to the Secretary of War. He saw little chance for the employment of himself and his followers in the South, and suggested that they might be useful in the North. He had gone to the field as an unselfish patriot, and, as he said in his letter to Wilkinson, "had marched with the spirit of a true soldier to serve his country at any and every point where service could be rendered." Day after day he waited anxiously for orders to move. At length he was cheered by the receipt of a letter from the War Department. His heart beat quickly with the thrill of delightful expectations as he broke the seal. Icy coldness fell upon his spirits for a moment when his eyes perused the contents. It read thus:

"SIR,—The causes of embodying and marching to New Orleans the corps under your command having ceased to exist, you will, on the receipt of this letter, consider it as dismissed from public service, and take measures to have delivered over to Major General Wilkinson all the articles of public property which may have been put into its possession." To this was appended a cold tender of the thanks of the President to Jackson and his corps, and the signature of John Armstrong, the new Secretary of War, who, on the date of the letter, had been only two days in office.

That was practically a cruel letter, under the circumstances. It placed the little army in a sad plight, for it was dismissed from service without pay, sufficient clothing, means of transportation, provisions, or accommodations for the sick, more than five hundred miles from their homes by the nearest land route, which lay much of the way through a wilderness roamed by savages. Jackson instantly resolved on disobedience. He determined not to dismiss the men until they were restored to their homes; and with that decision and courage in assuming responsibility which always marked his career, he made every necessary preparation possible for a return to Ten-

Jackson's fiery Letters.

Return of his Troops to Nashville.

His pecuniary Troubles on their Account.

nessee, at large expense, and without any money. He impressed wagons and teams, and gave orders for pay on the quarter-master of the Southern Department. In like manner he incurred other expenses. So confident were the merchants of Natchez in his integrity and the justice of their government, that they turned over to him large quantities of shoes and clothing, telling him to pay for them at Nashville when convenient.

Meanwhile Jackson had written fiery letters to the President, the Secretary of War, Governor Blount, and General Wilkinson.¹ He despised the latter, and suspected him of sinister designs; and when, in due time, he received a reply from that officer, in which he suggested that great public service might be rendered by promoting enlistments into the regular army, Jackson's anger knew no bounds. He watched for recruiting officers with hawk-eyed vigilance, and when one was found in his camp, he notified him that if he should catch him trying to seduce one of his volunteers into the regular army, he would have him instantly drummed beyond his lines.² The Secretary of War, on the other hand, by a courteous and explanatory letter, mollified his passion by assuring him that when he wrote the letter that appeared so cruel, he did not suppose that the little army had moved far from Nashville.

Late in March Jackson commenced his homeward movement. It was an undertaking of great hazard and difficulty, but was well accomplished in the course of a month, for they traveled at the rate of eighteen miles a day. He shared all the privations of the soldiers, and he was beloved by them as few men have ever been beloved. His endurance was wonderful during the march, and his men declared that he was "as tough as hickory." From that day until his last on earth, he was familiarly and affectionately called "Old Hickory."

Finally, on the borders of his state, Jackson sent a messenger to Washington to convey an offer of the services of himself and volunteers on the Northern frontier, whither Harrison had been sent as chief commander. No response came, and on the 22d of May he drew up his detachment on the public square in Nashville, where they were presented with an elegantly wrought stand of colors by the ladies of Knoxville.³ There they were dismissed, and dispersed to their homes with feelings of great dissatisfaction toward the national government.

Such was Jackson's first effort to serve his country in the field in the War of 1812, and it resulted in holding the fear of absolute pecuniary ruin over his head for some time. His transportation orders were dishonored, and the creditors looked to him for pay. He was prosecuted for amounts in the aggregate much larger than his entire fortune. The suits were postponed to give him an opportunity to appeal to the national government for justice and protection. The late Thomas H. Benton was his messenger and advocate on that occasion; and when it was intimated to him that nothing could be done for the general's relief, he boldly assured the President and his cabinet that if the administration desired the support of Tennessee in the war, the

¹ "These brave men," he wrote to Wilkinson, "at the call of their country, voluntarily rallied around its insulted standard. They followed me to the field; I shall carefully march them back to their homes. It is for the agents of the government to account to the State of Tennessee and the whole world for their singular and unusual conduct to this detachment."

² Parton's *Life of Jackson*, I, 380.

³ The preparation of these flags was commenced soon after the departure of the troops from Nashville. One was a simple national banner made of silk; the other was a regimental standard. The embroidery, performed by the ladies in the most exquisite manner, was on white satin. Near the top, in a crescent form, were eighteen stars in orange color, denoting the then number of states. Next below were two sprigs of laurel lying athwart. Under these were the words, "Tennessee Volunteers—Independence, in a state of war, is to be maintained on the battle-ground of the Republic. The *field is the post of honor.* Presented by the Ladies of East Tennessee, Knoxville, February 10th, 1812." Below all, implements of war were represented, beautifully wrought. The wing of the colors was beautiful fancy interstrung, dove color, ornamented with white fringe and tassels.

In reply to the presentation letter, written by the wife of Governor Blount, Jackson said: "While I admire the elegant workmanship of these colors, my veneration is excited for the patriotic disposition that prompted the ladies to bestow them on the volunteers of West Tennessee. Although the patriotic corps under my command have not had one opportunity of seeing an enemy, yet they have evinced every disposition to do so. This distinguished mark of respect will be long remembered, and this present shall be kept as a memorial of the generosity and patriotism of the ladies of East Tennessee."—*Nashville Whig*, quoted by Parton, I, 388.

The Government just.

Tecumtha in the Creek Country.

His successful Appeals to the Creeks.

government must assume the payment of the bills in question, for the volunteers under Jackson were drawn from the most substantial families in the state. This argument was convincing. The government met the draft promptly, all concerned were satisfied, and Jackson was saved from bankruptcy and ruin.

Omens of a war tempest soon appeared in the Southern firmament, and Jackson was not allowed to remain long in quiet on his plantation. British emissaries, pale and dusky, were busy among the Indians of the Gulf region, endeavoring to stir them up to war against the Americans around them, hoping thereby to divide and weaken the military power of the United States, and lessen the danger that menaced Canada with invasion and conquest. Chief among these emissaries in zeal and influence was Tecumtha, the great Shawnoese warrior, who, as early as the spring of 1811, as we have seen, had, with patriotic designs, visited the Southern tribes, and labored to secure their alliance with Northern and Western savages in a grand confederation, whose prime object was to stay the encroachments of the white man. He went among the Seminoles in Florida, the Cherokees and Creeks in Western Georgia and in Alabama, and the Des Moines in Missouri, but without accomplishing little more than sowing the seeds of discontent, which might in time germinate into open hostility. He returned to his home on the Wabash just after the battle of Tippecanoe,^a which his unworthy brother had rashly brought on, and which destroyed his hopes of a purely Indian confederacy. Thereafter his patriotic efforts were put forth in alliance with the British, who gladly accepted the aid of the cruel savages of the Northwest.

In the autumn of 1812, after the surrender of Detroit and the Michigan Territory promised long quiet on that frontier, Tecumtha went again to the Gulf region. He took his brother, the Prophet, with him, partly to employ him as an instrument in managing the superstitions of the Indians, and partly to prevent his doing mischief at home. They were accompanied by about thirty warriors. The Choctaws and Chickasaws, among whom they passed on their way, would not listen favorably to Tecumtha's seductive words; but the Seminoles in Florida and Georgia, and the Creeks in Alabama, lent to him willing ears. He was among the latter in October, where he crossed the Alabama River at Autauga, in the lower part of the present Autauga County, and there addressed the assembled Creeks for the first time. His eloquence, his patriotic appeals, and his fame as a warrior won him many followers, and with these and his own retinue he went on to Coosawda on the Alabama,¹ and at the Hickory Ground addressed a large concourse of warriors who had flocked to see and hear the mighty Shawnoese, whose exploits in the buffalo-chase, on the war-path, and in the council had filled their ears, even in boyhood, with wondrous tales of achievements won. It was a successful day, and Tecumtha was greatly encouraged. He crossed the Coosa, and went boldly forward in the direction of the great falls of the Tallapoosa (in the southwest part of the present Tallapoosa County) to Toockabatcha, the ancient Creek capital, where Colonel Hawkins, the United States Indian Agent, had called a great council of the Creeks. Hawkins was highly esteemed by them, and at his call full five thousand Indians responded in person, besides many negroes and white people mingled with them.

Tecumtha approached this great gathering with well-feigned modesty. He kept at the outer circle of spectators until the conclusion of the agent's first day's address, when, at the head of his thirty followers from the Ohio region, he marched with dignity into the square, all of them entirely naked excepting their flaps and ornaments. Their faces were painted black, and their heads were adorned with eagles' feathers, while buffalo tails dragged behind, suspended by bands around their waists. Like appendages were attached to their arms, and their whole appearance was as hideous

¹ This Indian town was at the confluence of the Coosa and Tallapoosa Rivers, where they form the Alabama. It was on the western side of the Alabama, in the southeastern part of Autauga County.

Tecumtha at a great Council.

He traverses the Creek Country.

His Threat and its Fulfillment.

as possible, and their bearing uncommonly pompous and ceremonious. They marched round and round in the square, and then, approaching the Creek chiefs, they cordially gave them the Indian salutation of a shake at arm's length, and exchanged tobacco in token of friendship. Only one chief (Captain Isaac, of Coosawda) refused to greet Tecumtha. On his head were a pair of buffalo horns, and these he shook at the Shawnoese visitor with contempt, for he said Tecumtha was a bad man, and no greater than he.¹

Tecumtha appeared in state in the square each day, but kept silence until Hawkins had finished his business and departed for the agency on the Flint River. Then he was silent no longer. That night a grand council was held in the great round-house. It was packed with eager listeners. In a fiery and vengeful speech Tecumtha poured forth eloquent and incendiary words. He exhorted them to abandon the customs of the pale-faces and return to those of their fathers. He begged them to cast away the plow and the loom, and abandon the culture of the soil as unbecoming noble Indian warriors, as they were. He warned them that servitude or extinction at the hands of the white race would speedily be their doom, for they were grasping and cruel; and he desired them to dress only in the skins of beasts which the Great Spirit had given them, and to use for weapons of war only the bow and arrow, the war-club, and the scalping-knife. He concluded by informing them that their friends, the British, had sent him from the Great Lakes to invite them out upon the war-path for the purpose of expelling all Americans from Indian soil, and that the powerful King of England was ready to reward them handsomely if they would fight under his banner. The wily Prophet at the same time, who had been informed by the British when a comet would appear, declared to the excited warriors that they would see the arm of Tecumtha, like pale fire, stretched out on the vault of heaven at a certain time, and thus they would know by that sign when to begin the war. It was almost dawn before this famous council adjourned, and then more than half of the braves present had resolved on war against the Americans.

Tecumtha, full of encouragement, went forth, visiting all of the important Creek towns, and enlisting many recruits for the British cause. Among the most distinguished of these was Weathersford, a powerful, handsome, sagacious, brave, and eloquent half-blooded chief. But others equally eminent withstood the persuasions of the great Shawnoese. One of the most conspicuous of these was the Big Warrior of Toockabatcha, whose name was Tustinuggee-Thlucco. Tecumtha was extremely anxious to win him, but the Big Warrior remained true to the United States. At length the angry Shawnoese said, with vehemence, as he pointed his finger in the Big Warrior's face, "Tustinuggee-Thlucco, your blood is white. You have taken my red-sticks and my talk, but you do not mean to fight. I know the reason. You do not believe the Great Spirit has sent me. You shall believe it. I will leave directly, and go straight to Detroit. When I get there I will stamp my foot upon the ground, and shake down every house in Toockabatcha!" The Big Warrior said nothing, but long pondered this remarkable speech.²

It was, indeed, a remarkable speech. Events soon proved it to be prophetic. Natural phenomena—one that might be foretold by astronomers, and the other always beyond the knowledge of mortals—combined to give tremendous effect to Tecumtha's words and mission. The comet, the blazing "arm of Tecumtha" in the sky, appeared; and at about the time when the common Indians, who believed in the great Shawnoese and his mystical brother, knew, by calculation, that Tecumtha must have arrived at Detroit, there was heard a deep rumbling beneath the ground, and a heaving of the earth that made the houses of Toockabatcha reel and totter as if about to fall. The startled savages ran out of their huts, exclaiming, "Tecumtha is at Detroit! Tecumtha is at Detroit! We feel the stamp of his foot!" It was the shock of an

¹ Pickett's *History of Alabama*, ii., 242-3.

² Pickett's *History of Alabama*, ii., 245.

The Creek Nation and their Position.

General James Robertson.

Choctaws and Chickasaws.

earthquake that was felt all over the Gulf region in December, 1812.¹ But it did not move the Big Warrior from his allegiance.

Tecumtha's visit proved to be a most sad one for the Creeks as a nation. It brought terrible calamities upon them—first in the form of civil war, and then in almost utter destruction at the hands of the exasperated Americans. He left seeds of discontent to germinate and expand into violent agitations. Chief was arrayed against chief, and family against family, on the question of peace or war with the Americans. They were strong as a nation, numbering about thirty thousand souls, of whom at least seven thousand were warriors; yet peace was the guarantee of their existence. They were hemmed in by powerful and rapidly-increasing communities of white people, and between them and the Northern tribes were the Choctaws and Chickasaws,² over whom that grand old patriot, General James Robertson, held a powerful sway, like that of a kind father over loving children.³ These stood as a wall of separation between the actual followers of Tecumtha north of the Ohio, and those in the Gulf region whom he was endeavoring to seduce from the pursuits of peace into the war-path under the British banner. They were not only opposed to an alliance with the British, but were ready to fight for the Americans. "My heart is straight," said the brave Tootumastubble, the "medal chief" of the Choctaws, "and I wish our father, the President, to know it. Our young warriors want to fight. Give us guns and plen-



J. Robertson SL

¹ See Pickett's *Alabama*, ii., 246. Drake, in his *Book of the Indians of North America*, eleventh edition, page 624, mentions that circumstance as occurring in December, 1811, and cites Francis M'Henry as denying that it ever took place. But Mr. Pickett, in his carefully-prepared work, says this earthquake was remembered by all the old settlers, and places the date in December of 1812, which agrees with the incidents of Tecumtha's mission there.

² The Choctaws inhabited the country along the Mississippi from the northern borders of the Choctaw domain to the Ohio River, and eastward beyond the Tennessee to the lands of the Cherokee and Shawnee.

³ James Robertson, who has justly been called the Father of Tennessee, was a native of Virginia. He emigrated to the rich regions beyond the mountains about the year 1760, and on the banks of the Watauga, a branch of the Tennessee, he made a settlement, and lived there several years. He was often called upon to contend for life with the savages of the forest. In 1776 he was chosen to command a fort built near the mouth of the Watauga. In 1779, Captain Robertson was at the head of a party emigrating to the still richer country of the Cumberland, and on Christmas eve of that year they arrived upon the spot where Nashville now stands. Others joined them, and in the following summer they numbered about two hundred. A settlement was established, and Robertson founded the city of Nashville. The Cherokee Indians attempted to destroy the settlement, but, through the skill and energy of Robertson and a few companions, that calamity was averted. They built a log fort on the high bank of the Cumberland, and in that the settlers were defended against full seven hundred Indians in 1781. The settlement was erected into a county of North Carolina, and Robertson was its first representative in the State Legislature. In 1790 the "Territory south of the Ohio River" was formed, and Washington appointed Robertson brigadier general and commander of the militia in it. In that capacity he was very active in defense of the settlements against the savages. At the same time he practiced the most exact justice toward the Indians, and when these children of the forest were no longer hostile, his kindness toward the oppressed among them made him very popular. At length, when the emissaries, white and red, from the British in the North began to sow the seeds of discontent among them at the breaking out of the war in 1812, the government wisely appointed General Robertson agent to the Chickasaw tribe. He was ever watchful of the national interest. As early as March, 1813, he wrote: "The Chickasaws are in a high strain for war against the enemies of the country. They have declared war against all passing Creeks who attempt to go through their nation. They have declared, if the United States will take a campaign against the Creeks (because of some murders committed by them near the mouth of the Ohio), that they are ready to give them aid." A little later he suggested the employment of companies of Chickasaws and Choctaws to defend the frontiers and to protect travelers, and he was seconded by Pitchlyn, an active and faithful Indian.

During the war General Robertson remained at his post among the Indians, and invited his aged wife to share his privations by quietly saying to her by a messenger, "If you shall come this way, the very best chance for rest and sleep which my bed affords shall be given you, provided always that I shall retain a part of the same." He was then

ty of powder and lead, we fight your enemies. We fight much; we fight strong. . . . Our warriors good Americans—fight strong. You tell him so. You, General Robertson, know me; my heart straight. Choctaw soldiers good soldiers. Give epaulettes, guns, and whisky—fight strong.”

Tecumtha had enjoined the leaders of the war-party to keep their intentions secret, and for many months, while civil war was kindling in the bosom of the Creek nation because of a powerful and zealously-opposing peace-party, and the land was filled with quarrels, fights, murders, and violence of every kind, it was difficult for the public authorities to determine with any certainty whether or no any considerable number of the Creeks would join the British standard. Colonel Hawkins, the agent, believed that nothing more serious than a war between native factions would ensue. It was well known that Peter M'Queen, a half-blood of Tallahassee, who was one of the leaders of the war-party, was doing every thing in his power to accomplish that result, while Big Warrior was equally active in efforts to avert so great a calamity. On one hand was seen the hideous “war-dance of the Lakes,” taught them by Tecumtha, and on the other the peaceful, quiet, anxious, determined deportment of men resolved on peace. The whole Creek nation became a seething caldron of passion—of angry words and threatenings, which were soon developed into sanguinary deeds.

On account of the civil war raging here, and there, and every where in the Creek country, the white settlers were placed in great peril. In the spring of 1813 they were made to expect an exterminating blow. They knew that a British squadron was in the Gulf, and in friendly intercourse with the Spanish post at Pensacola. They knew that the fiery M'Queen and other leaders had gone to that post with about three hundred and fifty warriors, with many pack-horses, intended doubtless for the conveyance of arms and supplies from the British to the war-party in the interior. Every day the cloud of danger palpably thickened, and the inhabitants of the most populous and more immediately threatened districts of the Tombigbee and Tensaw petitioned the governor of Mississippi for a military force sufficient for their protection. The governor was willing, but General Flournoy, who succeeded General Wilkinson in command of the Seventh Military District, persuaded by Colonel Hawkins, the Indian agent, of the civilization and friendly disposition of the Creeks, would not grant their prayer.¹

Left to their own resources, the inhabitants of the menaced districts prepared to defend themselves as well as they might. They sent spies to Pensacola, who returned with the positive and startling intelligence that British agents, under the sanction of the Spanish governor, were distributing supplies freely to M'Queen and his followers, that leader having exhibited to the chief magistrate of Florida a list of Creek towns ready to take up arms for the British, in which, in the aggregate, were nearly five thousand warriors. On hearing this report, Colonel James Caller, of Washington, called on the militia to go out and intercept M'Queen and his party on their return from Pensacola. There was a prompt response, and he set out with a few fol-

seventy-one, and she sixty-three years of age. She went to him, and was at his side when he died at his post in the Indian country the year following. His death occurred on the 1st of September, 1814, and on the 2d his remains were buried at the Agency. In 1826 they were removed to Nashville, and, in the presence of a large concourse of citizens, were reinterred in the cemetery there. A plain tomb covers the spot. The remains of his wife rest by his side, and the observer may there read the following inscriptions:

“GENERAL JAMES ROBERTSON, the founder of Nashville, was born in Virginia, 28th June, 1743. Died 1st September, 1814.

“CHARLOTTE R., wife of James Robertson, was born in North Carolina, 2d January, 1751. Died 11th June, 1848.”

She was then ninety-two years of age. Their son, Dr. Felix Robertson, who was born in the fort, and the first white child whose birth was in West Tennessee, died at Nashville in 1864.

¹ Thomas Flournoy was a native of Georgia, and a distinguished member of the bar at Augusta, his place of residence. He was in feeble health at this time, and his force was inadequate to perform the arduous services required of them. He was commissioned a brigadier general on the 18th of June, 1812, and resigned in September, 1814. When Wilkinson was summoned to the Northern frontier, Flournoy was made his successor in the Gulf region. In 1819-'20 he was a commissioner to treat with the Creek Indians.

The Militia in the Field.

March of M'Queen and his Followers from Pensacola.

Battle of Burnt Corn Creek.

lowers, crossed the Tombigbee into Clarke County, passed through Jackson, and bivouacked on the right bank of the Alabama River, at Sisemore's Ferry, opposite the southern portion of the present Monroe County, Alabama. He crossed the river on the following morning,^a and marched in a southeasterly direction across the Escambia River into the present Conecuh County, Alabama, toward the Florida frontier. He had been joined in Clarke County by the famous borderer, Captain Sam Dale, and fifty men, who were engaged in the construction of Fort Madison, toward the northeast part of Clarke, and was

Sam Dale

now re-enforced by others from Tensaw Lake and Little River, under various leaders, one of whom was Captain Dixon Bailey, a half-blood Creek, who had been educated at Philadelphia. Caller's command now numbered about one hundred and eighty men, divided into small companies, well mounted on good frontier horses, and provided with rifles and shot-guns. During that day they reached the Wolf Trail, crossed Burnt Corn Creek, and bivouacked.

On the morning of the 27th Caller reorganized his command. Captains Phillips, M'Farlane, Wood, and Jourdan were appointed majors, and Captain William M'Grew was created lieutenant colonel.¹ They were now on the main route for Pensacola, and were moving cheerily forward, down the east side of Burnt Corn Creek, when a company of fifteen spies, under Captain Dale, who had been sent in advance to reconnoitre, came galloping hurriedly back with the intelligence that M'Queen and his party were only a few miles distant, encamped upon a peninsula of low pine barrens formed by the windings of Burnt Corn Creek, engaged unsuspectingly in cooking and eating. A hurried council was held, and it was determined to attack them. For this purpose Caller arranged his men in three columns, the right led by Captain Smoot, the left by Captain Dale, and the centre by Captain Bailey. They were upon a gentle height overlooking M'Queen's camp, and down its slopes the white men moved rapidly, and fell upon the foe. M'Queen and his party were surprised. They fought desperately for a few minutes, when they gave way, and fled toward the creek, followed by a portion of the assailants.

Colonel Caller was brave but overcautious, and called back the pursuers. The remainder of his command were engaged in capturing the well-laden pack-horses of the enemy, and when those in advance came running back, the former, panic-stricken, turned and fled in confusion, but carrying away their plunder. Now the tide turned. M'Queen's Indians rushed from their hiding-places in a cane-brake with horrid yells, and fell upon less than one hundred of Caller's men at the foot of the eminence. A severe battle ensued. Captain Dale was severely wounded by a ball that struck his breast-bone, followed the ribs around, and came out near the spine, yet he continued to fight as long as any body. Overwhelming numbers at length compelled him and his companions to retreat. They fled in disorder, many of them leaving their horses behind them. The flight continued all night in much confusion. The victory in the *Battle of Burnt Corn Creek*—the first in the Creek war—rested with the Indians. Only two of Caller's command were killed, and fifteen wounded. The casualties of the enemy are unknown. For some time it was supposed that Colonel Caller and Major Wood had been lost. They became bewildered in the forest, and wandered about there some time. When they were found they were almost starved, and were

¹ The principal subordinate officers were Phillips, Wood, M'Farlane, Jourdan, Smoot, Dixon, Heard, Cartwright, Creagh, May, Bradberry, Robert Caller, and Dale.

nearly senseless. They had been missing fifteen days! Caller's command never re-assembled. M'Queen's retraced their steps to Pensacola for more military supplies.¹ But for the fatal word "retreat" the Indians might have been scattered to the winds.

While these events were transpiring in the Indian country above Mobile, General F. L. Claiborne,² who had been a gallant soldier in Wayne's army in the Indian country north of the Ohio, was marching, by orders of General Flournoy, from Baton Rouge to Fort Stoddart, on the Mobile River, with instructions to direct his principal attentions to the defense of Mobile. He reached Mount Vernon, in the northern part of the present Mobile County, three days after the battle of Burnt Corn Creek.³ He found the whole population trembling with alarm and terrible forebodings of evil. Already a chain of rude defenses, called forts, had been built in the country between the Tombigbee and Alabama Rivers, a short distance from their confluence where they form the Mobile River,³ and were filled with affrighted white people and negroes, who had sought shelter in them from the impending storm of war.

Claiborne's first care was to afford protection to the menaced people. He was anxious to march his whole force into the heart of the Creek nation, in the region of the Coosa and Tallapoosa Rivers, but this Flournoy would not allow. "If Governor Holmes [of the Mississippi Territory] should send his militia into the Indian country," he wrote, "he must, of course, act on his own responsibility; the army of the United States, and the officers commanding it, must have nothing to do with it." Claiborne was compelled to do nothing better than to distribute his troops throughout the stockades for defensive operations. He sent Colonel Carson, with two hundred men, to the confluence of the Tombigbee and Alabama Rivers, and dispatched Captain Scott with a company to St. Stephen's, in the northeast part of Washington County, where they occupied an old Spanish block-house. Major Hinds, with dragoons, was ordered to scour the country in various directions for information and as a check; and some of the militia of Washington County were placed in the stockades in Clarke County, between the Tombigbee and Alabama. Captain Dent was sent to Okeatapa, within a short distance of the Choctaw frontier, and assumed the command of a fort there.

Previous to Claiborne's arrival, wealthy half-blood families had gone down the Alabama in boats and canoes, and secreted themselves in the thick swamps around Tensaw Lake. There they united with white refugees in constructing a strong stockade around the house of Samuel Mims, an old and wealthy inhabitant of that region, situated a short distance from the Boat-yard on Tensaw Lake, a mile east from the Alabama River, ten miles above its junction with the Tombigbee, and about two miles below the Cut-off.⁴ The building was of wood, spacious in area, and one story in height. Strong pickets were driven around it, and fence-rails placed between them; and, at an average distance of three feet and a half from the ground, five hundred port-holes for musketry were made. The pickets inclosed an acre of ground, and the stockade was entered by two ponderous gates, one on the east and the other on the west. Besides Mims's house there were several other buildings within the pickets;

¹ Pickett's *Alabama*, ii., 255. *Life and Times of General Sam Dale*, by J. F. H. Claiborne, pages 65 to 82 inclusive.

² Ferdinand Leigh Claiborne, a brother of William C. C. Claiborne, at that time governor of the Orleans Territory, was born in Sussex County, Virginia, in 1773. His family was one of the oldest in that commonwealth. In his twentieth year he was appointed an ensign in Wayne's army, and became much attached to Major Hamtramck. One of his sons, now (1864) living, bears the major's name. He was in the battle of the Fallen Timbers, at the Rapids of the Maumee, in 1794. He was stationed at Richmond and Norfolk after the war, holding first the rank of lieutenant and then of adjutant. In 1799 he was promoted to captain, and was active as such, and adjutant general in the Northwest, until 1802, when he was ordered to Natchez. He resigned, settled in the Mississippi Territory, presided over the deliberations of its Legislature, and in 1811 was appointed brigadier general of the Mississippi militia. In March, 1813, he was commissioned a brigadier general of volunteers in the United States Army, and ordered to the command of the post at Baton Rouge. He was active, as the text avers, during the Creek War. He was a legislative councillor of the Mississippi Territory immediately after the close of the Creek War in 1814, and died the following year.

³ These were Forts Curry, Madison, Revier, Sinquefield, and White, situated upon a curve sweeping eastward of Bassett's Creek and across its head waters.

⁴ See Map on the opposite page.

Map of a Part of the Creek Country.

Fort Mims and its Occupants.



also cabins and board shelters. At the southwest corner was a partially-finished block-house. The whole work, which was called Fort Mims, was upon a slight elevation, yet not eligibly situated; but such confidence had the people of the surrounding country in its strength, that, as soon as it was finished, they poured into it in large numbers with their effects. It soon became the scene of a terrible tragedy that dispelled the pleasant dream of Creek civilization and friendship, and inflamed the people westward of the Alleghanies, who had suffered much from savage cruelty and treachery, with a thirst for vengeance.

Claiborne's Anxiety about the Settlers. Rumors of impending Indian Hostilities. Pacification of the Choctaws.

Two days after he reached Mount Vernon General Claiborne asked Flournoy's permission to call for the militia. "I am not myself authorized to do so," his commander replied, "as you will perceive if you turn to the late regulations of the War Department." Again foiled in his generous endeavors by official interference, Claiborne resolved to do what he might in strengthening Fort Mims. Already Lieutenant Osborne, and sixteen soldiers under him, had taken post there.^a He now dispatched Major Daniel Beasley thither, with one hundred and seventy-five volunteers, who was accompanied by Captains Jack, Batchelder, and Middleton. They found seventy citizens there on volunteer duty,^b under Captains Dunn and Plummer, who were inexperienced officers. On the following day^c the little garrison was cheered by the presence of General Claiborne, who had come to make a personal inspection of the fort. He saw its weakness, and issued orders for it to be strengthened by the addition of two block-houses. "To respect an enemy," he said, wisely, "and prepare in the best possible way to receive him, is the certain means of success." He also authorized Major Beasley to receive any citizens who would assist in the defense of the station, and to issue rations to them with the other soldiers under his command. Under this order the seventy citizens just mentioned were enrolled, and they immediately elected the brave Dixon Bailey their captain—the half blood who distinguished himself at the battle of Burnt Corn Creek. Claiborne also organized a small company of scouts under Cornet Rankin, composed of that officer, one sergeant, one corporal, and six mounted men.

Every day the war-cloud thickened. Rumors came to Claiborne from the northward that there was growing disaffection among the powerful Choctaws, and he perceived the value of an immediate blow at the Creeks before they should be ready to strike one themselves, or draw over to the interest of the war-party their more peaceably-inclined neighbors. He again applied to Flournoy for permission to penetrate the heart of the Creek nation, but with no better success than before. "I have to entreat you," Flournoy wrote to Claiborne, "not to permit your zeal for the public good to draw you into acts of indiscretion. Your wish to penetrate into the Indian country with the view of commencing the war does not meet my approbation, and I again repeat, our operations must be confined to defensive operations."¹ Flournoy was impressed with the belief that the hostile movements in the Creek country were only feints in the interest of the Spaniards, to draw the American troops from Mobile, so that the former might, while that post was weakened and uncovered, attempt its capture with a chance of success.

Again foiled, Claiborne addressed himself to the important task of securing the neutrality, at least, of the Cherokees, for every day gave signs of their constantly-growing disaffection. A belief was gaining ground, and with good reason, that a general Indian war in the southwest was possible, and even probable, and the whole country from the Perdido to the Mississippi was filled with alarms. The stockades were crowded with refugees from their menaced homes early in August, and doubt, and dread, and great fear filled the hearts of the white people. Claiborne went up to St. Stephen's, and from thence dispatched a deputation to Pushmataha, the principal chief of the Choctaws, who was balancing between equally powerful inclinations toward peace and war. He listened, and was finally induced to visit Claiborne's head-quarters at Mount Vernon.^d The general received him with much military pomp, and presented him with the uniform and other insignia of a brigadier general.² By this means his friendship was secured, and he and a band of his Choctaws—chosen warriors—immediately prepared for the war-path under the flag of the United States, while the rest of the nation agreed to remain neutral.

¹ Flournoy to Claiborne, August 10, 1813, from "Bay St. Louis." See Claiborne's *Life of General Sam Dale*, page 98.

² He gave him a suit of rich regimentals, gold epaulettes, sword, silver spurs, and hat and feather, ordered from Mobile at a cost of three hundred dollars.

Stockades threatened. Fort Mims crowded with Refugees. Warnings of Slaves unheeded. Indians near the Fort.

Having accomplished the pacification of the Choctaws, the energetic Claiborne turned his attention to the defense of the several stockades in the Indian country. Late in August,^a while he was at St. Stephen's, he was informed that four hundred Creek warriors were about to fall upon Fort Easley, a feeble ^{August 23, 1813.} post sixty miles nearer the enemy than Fort Mims, and that Fort Madison would be next attacked. The women and children in Easley had only about a dozen defenders, and Claiborne resolved to hasten to their relief. He left the camp at Mount Vernon in charge of Captain Kennedy, and, with twenty mounted dragoons, and sixty men from the companies of Captains Dent and Scott, he pushed on toward Easley Station, or Fort Easley. Major Beasley, in the mean time, finding Fort Mims too small for the swelling multitude that flocked into it, commenced its enlargement by driving a new row of pickets sixty feet beyond the eastward end. The work went on slowly and carelessly. Every day, and sometimes several times a day, the inmates were alarmed by rumors of approaching savages, until they became indifferent, in the belief that they were all false.

On the morning of the 29th of August, two slaves (one of them belonging to John Randon, and the other to a man named Fletcher), who had been sent out a short distance from the fort to attend to some beef-cattle, came rushing through one of the wide-open gates almost out of breath, and their eyes dilated with mortal fear. They declared that they had counted four-and-twenty painted savages on the edge of a swamp. Captain Middleton was immediately sent out with two mounted men to reconnoitre, but returned at sunset without seeing any trace of hostile Indians. Beasley charged the negroes with lying, and ordered them to be severely flogged for raising a false alarm. Randon's negro received the lashes, but Fletcher, who believed the story of his slave, refused to have him flogged. This so exasperated Beasley that he ordered Fletcher to leave the fort, with his large family, by ten o'clock the next day. At that time there were five hundred and fifty-three souls within the stockade, consisting of white people, Indians, officers, soldiers, and negroes. Many of them were sick, for there arose around them continually the malaria of Alabama swamps sweltering in the rays of an August sun. Most of them were non-combatants, for the infatuated Beasley, who believed himself and charge to be perfectly secure, had greatly weakened the garrison by sending men to neighboring posts from which came piteous cries for aid and protection.

The morning of the 30th was clear and sultry. The alarm caused by the story of the negroes on the previous day had subsided, and Fletcher, the owner of one of them, had consented to have his slave whipped rather than be driven from the fort with his family. Full of confidence, Beasley at ten o'clock had dispatched a messenger with a letter to General Claiborne, in which he assured his commander of his perfect safety, and his "ability to maintain the post against any number of Indians."¹ The women in the stockade were preparing dinner; the soldiers were loitering listlessly about, or were playing cards, or lying on the ground asleep; and almost a hundred children were playing gleefully among the cabins and tents. Young men and maidens were dancing, and every appearance gave promise of an evening of sweet repose. Nothing marred the happy aspect of the scene but the form of Fletcher's poor negro, who was tied up and his back bared for the lash because he had told a terrible truth, and it was believed to be a lie. But it was a moment of awful peril. In a shallow ravine, overshadowed by trees and filled with luxuriant vegetation, lay almost a thousand Creek warriors, not more than four hundred yards from the eastern gate, preparing, like fierce and famished tigers, to spring upon their prey at the first opportune moment. They were mostly naked excepting the usual "flap." Many of them were hideously painted, and all were well armed. The prophets, in whose care were the superstitions of the dusky horde, lay with the warriors, their heads covered

¹ Major Beasley to General Claiborne, August 31, 1813.

The Indian Leaders.	Gathering of the hostile Savages.	False Confidence of the Commander at Fort Mims.
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with feathers, their faces painted black, and their medicine-bags and magic rods by their sides. It was a host devilish in appearance, and on a demoniac errand. Whence came they? Let us see.

We have observed that M^cQueen and his followers, after the battle of Burnt Corn Creek, went back to Pensacola, where they were again well supplied with provisions and ammunition, and instructed by the British and Indian agents there to fight the Americans, and, in the event of their being defeated, to send their women and children to Pensacola. "If you should be compelled to fly yourselves," they said, "and the Americans should prove too hard for both of us, there are vessels enough to carry us off altogether to Havana."¹

M^cQueen was associated with Josiah Francis and William Weathersford, both half-bloods; the former a son of a Creek woman by a Scotchman named Francis,² and the latter a child of Charles Weathersford, of Georgia, by the beautiful Sehoya, a half-sister of General M^cGillivray, of the Creek nation.³ Weathersford was an extraordinary man; commanding in person, powerful in physical strength, honorable, and as humane as circumstances would allow. He was the superior of M^cQueen and Francis in ability; and when, after the return of the well-supplied Indians from Pensacola, there was a great gathering of warriors at Toockabatcha, on the Tallapoosa, and preparations were made for opening the war by an incursion into the country on the Lower Alabama, he became the principal leader.⁴

¹ August 20,
1813. Late in August^a Weathersford conducted his followers to the plantation of Zachariah M^cGirth, not far from the site of the present village of Claiborne, in Monroe County, Alabama, ninety miles below Montgomery. There he captured some negroes, and from them learned the condition of Fort Mims. One of his captives escaped, and bore to Major Beasley intelligence of impending danger, while Weathersford for several days deliberated and prepared for an exterminating blow. As the Indians did not make their appearance, Beasley supposed the negro fugitive's story to be a mere fabrication; and, as we have observed, the commander and the inmates of the fort were resting in fancied security, when, on the 29th, Weathersford and his host approached the ravine in which they lay on the morning of the 30th. There they were again seen by the slave, who had been whipped for supposed lying on the previous day. He might have warned Beasley, which warning, if heeded, might have saved the fort; but his back was yet smarting from the severe flogging, and, fearing a repetition of it, he fled to Fort Pierce, a stockade about two miles from Fort Mims.

At noon the garrison drum at Fort Mims beat for dinner. The eastern gate stood wide open, with some drifted sand against it. The first tap was the signal for the savages to rise from their cover and rush to the fort; and the first intimation of their presence was a horrid yell,⁵ that filled the air as they came streaming over a field to

¹ Pickett's *Alabama*, ii., 267, note.

² Francis assumed to be a prophet inspired by the Shawnee seer, Tecumtha's one-eyed brother. He placed Francis in a cabin by himself, around which he danced and howled for ten days. Then, he said, Francis was blind, but that he would again see, and then he would know all of things future. At the expiration of ten days the Prophet led him forth, and Francis walked like a blind man all day. Toward night his sight came to him suddenly, when he became the greatest prophet in the Creek nation, with the power to create lesser prophets. That power he used freely.

³ Alexander M^cGillivray was the head chief of the Creek nation during Washington's administration. He was a son of a Creek woman by a Scotch Tory of Georgia, whose property was confiscated at the close of the old War for Independence. This son took refuge among the Creeks, and became the "beloved man," or head chief. He was an educated man; brave, fluent in speech, and personally popular. The Spanish authorities honored him with the commission of a colonel; and he was received in New York in 1790 with great honors when he came, with a retinue of followers, to negotiate a treaty between the Creeks and the United States—the very treaty whose spirit his countrymen were now about to violate. His mother's family were among the first in the Creek nation; and his half sister, Sehoya, Weathersford's mother, was celebrated for her beauty and mental excellence. Weathersford was born at the Hickory Ground, near Coosawda, on the Alabama.

⁴ Warriors from thirteen Indian towns marched in a southward direction, while others from Tallahassee, Auttose, and Ockfuske formed a corps of observation in another direction, to conceal the movement.

⁵ There seem to have been no sentinels on duty, for the Indians were within thirty steps of the fort before they were discovered.—Letter of Fletcher Cox to General Claiborne, in *Life of General Sam Dale*, page 100.

Sudden Appearance of the Indians.

Furious Assault on the Fort.

A terrible Battle in Fort Mims.

ward the open gate. Beasley flew to close it, and his soldiers rushed with their arms to the port-holes, while the unarmed men, and the women and children, huddled, pale and trembling, and almost paralyzed with sudden fear, in the houses and cabins within the main inclosure. Beasley was too late. Before he could remove the drifted sand and shut the gate, the savages were upon him. He was felled by clubs and tomahawks; and over his dying body the dusky torrent rushed into the new inclosure, where Captains Middleton and Jack were on duty. He crawled behind the gate and soon expired, using his latest breath in exhorting his men to fight valiantly.

The Indians soon filled the outer inclosure, while the field beyond swarmed with a yelling multitude of blood-thirsty men. Their prophets commenced incantations and dances. They had assured the warriors that the white men's bullets would split harmlessly on the sacred bodies of the seers and the multitude behind them. The delusion was soon dispelled. Five of the invulnerable prophets were shot dead. The dismayed savages recoiled for a moment in doubt and fear. Many rushed wildly out of the gate, but others filled their places, and, with yells and howls, they poured a deadly fire upon the inmates of the fort through the port-holes of the old pickets and the outside stockades. The poor bound negro, who was awaiting the lash, was shot dead on the spot where he was to have been punished for doing all in his power to avert the dreadful calamity then impending. Captain Middleton, who was in charge of the eastern section, was slain, with all of his command. Captain Jack, in the south wing, with a rifle company, maintained the conflict nobly. Lieutenant Randon fought from the guard-house on the west; and Captain Dixon Bailey, the gallant half-blood, on whom the command of the garrison devolved after the fall of Beasley, was seen in every part of the fort, directing the military and encouraging the other inmates.

The situation was terrible. There were two inclosures, separated by a row of log pickets with port-holes, and an open gate. On one side were unarmed men, women, and children, thickly crowded, with few soldiers, for a larger portion of them were in the outer inclosure with Middleton and Jack. On the other side were lusty savages, maddened by the sight of blood and ravenous for plunder; and all around were human fiends filling the open field and eager for slaughter and spoils. Victory or death was the alternative offered to the inmates of the fort. After the first shock of surprise their courage returned, and, under the direction of the intrepid Bailey, those who had arms manned the dividing pickets, and through the port-holes poured volleys that made wide lanes in the thick ranks of the foe. These, however, were immediately filled, and the terrible conflict went on. Sometimes the guns of a Christian and pagan would cross in a port-hole, and both would fall. Old men, and even women and boys, fought with desperation. Bailey's voice constantly encouraged them. "Hold on a little longer," he said, "and all will be well. The Indians seldom fight long at a time." He endeavored to induce some of them to join him in a sortie and a dash through the enemy to Fort Pierce to procure re-enforcements, and, returning, attack the enemy in the rear and raise the siege. The movement seemed too perilous and hopeless, and none would follow him. He determined to go alone, and was actually climbing the picketing for the purpose when his friends pulled him back.

The horrid battle raged for three hours, when, as Bailey expected, the Indians began to tire. Their fire slackened, their howlings were less savage, and they began to carry off plunder from the head-quarters of Major Beasley and the other buildings in the outer inclosure. The people in the main fort were thrilled with a hope that the savages were about to depart. That hope was soon extinguished. Weathersford was not a man to accept of half a victory when a complete one was within his grasp. He beheld with scorn the conduct of many of his warriors who were more intent on plunder than conquest. Seated upon a fine black horse, he rode after the departing braves, addressed them vehemently with words of rebuke and persuasion, and soon

led them back to complete the business in hand. With demoniac yells the savages resumed the work of destruction. They soon filled the outer inclosure again, but were kept at bay by brothers of Captain Bailey and other sharpshooters, who had made port-holes in Mims's house by knocking off some shingles, and from thence sent deadly bullets into many a lusty warrior who was endeavoring to press through the inner gate. But very soon, under the direction of Weathersford, fire was sent to Mims's roof on the wings of arrows, and it burst into a flame. Some of the scorched inmates of the house fled to other buildings, and some were roasted in the horrid oven. The house was soon in cinders, with its extensive sheds and out-buildings. The fire spread to other buildings, and in a few minutes almost the entire area of the fort was scathed by the crackling flames. The shrieks of women and children added to the horrors of the scene.

Only one place of refuge now remained, and to it the doomed people rushed frantically. It was Patrick's loom-house (7 in the diagram below), on the north side of the fort, which had been inclosed with strong pickets, and called the Bastion. This was Captain Bailey's original stand, and there he and the survivors of his company now took position and poured fatal volleys upon the savages.

The assailants were now in the main fort, and every inmate pressed frantically toward the Bastion. In doing so many were killed by the Indians, while the weak, wounded, and aged were trampled under foot and pressed to death. The venerable Samuel Mims, when tottering toward this last place of refuge, was shot, and while he was yet living the knife of his assassin was passed around his head, and his scalp, with its hoary locks, was waved exultingly in the air.



FORT MIMS.¹

The fire and the savages attacked the Bastion at the same time. The former was more merciful than the latter. The Indians broke down the pickets, and butchered the inmates in cold blood. The children were seized by the legs, and their brains knocked out against the stockades. Women were disemboweled, and their unborn children were flung in the air. The British agent at Pensacola had offered five dollars apiece for scalps, and the long tresses of women, as well as the coverings of men's heads, were speedily in the hands of the savages as marketable commodities in a Christian mart! In the midst of the performance of these horrid deeds Weathersford rode up. Like Tecumtha, he was noble and humane. He reproached his followers for their cruelty, and begged them to spare the women and children at least. His interference nearly cost him his life. Many clubs were raised threateningly over his head, and he

was compelled to retire. In after years the scenes he then witnessed filled him with

¹ The above plan of Fort Mims was found among the manuscripts of General Claiborne, and first published by Pickett in his *History of Alabama*, ii., 295. It may also be found in Claiborne's *Life and Times of General Sam Dale*, page 112, and is printed here by permission of the author. The following is an explanation of the reference figures: 1. Block-house; 2. Pickets cut away by the Indians; 3. Guards' station; 4. Guard-house; 5. Western gate, but not up; 6. This gate was shot, but a hole was cut through by the Indians; 7. Captain Bailey's station; 8. Steadham's house; 9. Mrs. Dyer's house; 10. Kitchen; 11. Mims's house; 12. Randon's house; 13. Old gateway, open; 14. Eusign Chambilla's tent; 15. Randon's; 17. Captain Middleton's; 18. Captain Jack's station; 19. Port-holes taken by Indians; 20, 21. Port-holes taken by Indians; 22. Major Beasley's cabin; 23. Captain Jack's company; 24. Captain Middleton's company; 25. Where Beasley fell; 26. Eastern gate, where the Indians entered.

Number of the Slain.	Indians rewarded by the British Agent.	Horrors of the Massacre.	Burial of the Dead.
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remorse, for he was chief author of the calamity. He had raised the storm, but he was unable to control it. "My warriors," he said, "were like famished wolves, and the first taste of blood made their appetites insatiable."¹

At noon on that fatal 30th of August, when the drum was beaten for dinner, there were five hundred and fifty persons in Fort Mims, happy in the belief that they were secure from danger; at sunset of the same day four hundred of them were dead! Not one white woman nor one child escaped. Every avenue of flight from the horrid slaughter-pen was sentineled. Yet twelve men of the garrison did cut through the pickets and escape to the swamp. Among these was Captain Bailey; but he was severely wounded, and died by the side of a cypress stump.² Hester, a negro woman, who had received a ball in her breast, had followed them out. She reached a canoe in Tensaw Lake, paddled it into and down the Alabama to Fort Stoddart, which she reached on Tuesday night,³ and was the first to give information to General Claiborne of the horrible tragedy. Most of the negroes were spared by the Indians, and were made their slaves. August 31,
1813.

The battle lasted from twelve o'clock until five, when the fort was a smoking ruin. The savages then retired about a mile east of the fort, where they slept that night, after smoking their pipes and trimming their scalps. They had suffered severely, for the garrison had sold their lives as dearly as possible. Not less than four hundred Creek warriors were slain or wounded. On the morning after the conflict they commenced burying their dead, but soon abandoned the labor. Putting their wounded into canoes, a part of the warriors went up the river; some staid in the neighborhood to plunder and kill,³ and others went to Pensacola, with their trophy-scalps on poles, to receive their reward from the British agents there.

Ten days afterward, Major Kennedy, who had been sent by General Claiborne to bury the dead at Fort Mims, arrived there.^b His eyes met a sad and horrid spectacle. The air was filled with gluttonous buzzards who had come to feast on the dead bodies, and a large number of dogs were disputing with the fowl birds for the banquet. The mutilated remains of the dead were buried in two pits.⁴ "Indians, negroes, white men, women, and children," Kennedy said in his report, "lay in one promiscuous mass. All were scalped; and the females of every age were butchered in a manner which neither decency nor language will permit me to describe. The main building was burned to ashes, which were filled with bones. The plains and the woods around were covered with dead bodies. All the houses were consumed by fire except the block-house and a part of the pickets. The soldiers and officers, with one voice, called on Divine Providence to revenge the death of our murdered friends."⁵ September 9.

The massacre at Fort Mims created the most intense excitement and alarm throughout the Southwest. This was increased by the operations of the powerful prophet, Francis, who at the same time was spreading destruction and consternation over the country between the Alabama and Tombigbee Rivers, from the forks northward, now Clarke County, in Alabama. The little stockades were filled with the affrighted in-

¹ Claiborne's *Life of General Sam Dale*, page 128.

² When the flames began to reach the people in the Bastion, Dr. Thomas G. Holmes, an assistant surgeon of the garrison, seized an axe, cut some pickets in two, but left them standing till an opportunity for escape offered. Bailey now cried out, "All is lost!" and begged the people to escape. The pickets were thrown down, but, as we have observed, only twelve escaped. Bailey's little sick son, only thirteen years of age, was carried safely to the woods by his negro man Tom, who, half mad with fear and dire confusion, ran back with the boy to the Indians. The savages took the child by the legs, and while he cried "Father, save me!" they dashed out his brains. The following are the names of the persons who escaped from the fort and lived: Dr. Thomas G. Holmes; Hester, a negro woman; Socca, a friendly Indian; Peter Randon, lieutenant of citizens' company; Josiah Fletcher; Sergeant Mathews; Martin Rigdon; Samuel Smith, a half-blood; — Mourrice and Joseph Perry, of the Mississippi Volunteers; John Hoven; — Jones; and Lieutenant W. R. Chambliss, of the Mississippi Volunteers.—Pickett's *Alabama*, ii., 276. See diagram on opposite page for the houses of the Steadhams and Randons, and the tent of Lieutenant Chambliss.

³ The inmates of Fort Pierce, a small stockade two or three miles from Fort Mims, fled down the river and reached Mobile in safety.

⁴ Two hundred and forty-seven bodies were buried.

⁵ Kennedy's MS. Report to General Claiborne, quoted in Pickett's *Alabama*, ii., 282.

habitants, and sickness and death were their constant companions. The distress in the Creek country can scarcely be imagined. A fearful cry for help went northward, not, as it would now, on the wings of the lightning, but by couriers on swift horses. Yet they were tardy messengers measured by travel-speed to-day. It took thirty-one days to carry the news to the city of New York, where it produced very little sensation, for the heart of the whole country was then yet tremulous with the joyous emotions created by the recent victory won by Perry on Lake Erie, and excited by intense interest in the movements of General Harrison, who was then penetrating Canada, and nobly retrieving the national misfortunes at Detroit the previous year. These absorbed the public attention northward of the Ohio and eastward of the Alleghany Mountains, while the fiercely-kindled Creek War equally absorbed the attention and awakened the most fervid sympathies and hottest indignation of the people of the Mississippi and Gulf regions.

The sons of Tennessee quickly and nobly responded to the cry for help from below. Governor Blount promised to do what he might, but General Jackson was then too ill to take active measures in the same direction immediately, but he assured his fellow-citizens that he would do so as speedily as possible. He was then lying at the Nashville Inn, prostrated by the effects of serious wounds received from the late Thomas H. Benton in an affray in the streets of Nashville with deadly weapons. He was convalescing, and, full of the "fire of the flint," he issued a stirring address to those volunteers who followed him a thousand miles to Natchez a year before. He begged them to go forward in a cause "so worthy the arm of every brave soldier and true citizen;" and expressed his regret that he was not able to go with them, at the same time assuring them of his belief that he might soon join them, which he did.

Jackson's appeal touched the hearts of the Tennesseans; and the action of the Legislature, then in session, was consonant with the wishes and feelings of the people.

On the 25th of September^a they authorized Governor Blount to call out three thousand five hundred volunteers, in addition to fifteen hundred already mustered into the service of the United States, the commonwealth of Tennessee guaranteeing their pay and subsistence, and appropriating three hundred thousand dollars for the payment of expenses to be immediately incurred. On the same day General Jackson issued another spirited address, calling his division to the field. He ordered them to assemble on the 4th of October at Fayetteville, near the northern boundary of Alabama. Already his first address had set the military spirit of the state ablaze;

now a letter-writer at Nashville declared^b that "in a few days there will be but few young men left in town. Nearly all have volunteered—some have gone, and others are getting ready. . . . Colonel John Coffee has already started with the cavalry. Infantry and mounted volunteer companies are flocking to the standard every day. Had not General Jackson been confined by his wound, I think all would have been on the way by this time."¹

On the 26th General Jackson dispatched the energetic Colonel Coffee, with his regiment of dragoons, five hundred strong, and as many mounted volunteers as could join him immediately, to take post at Huntsville,² in Northern Alabama, for the encouragement and protection of the inhabitants there, and to cover a dépôt of supplies which he intended to establish on the Tennessee River south of Huntsville, at Ditto's Landing. Coffee pushed forward with celerity, and reached Huntsville on the 4th of October. His force had been augmented almost hourly on the way by volunteers who flocked to his standard, and he found himself on the borders of the Creek country with full thirteen hundred men. Jackson meanwhile, with his arm in a sling and suffering intensely, was making his way to the prescribed rendezvous of his troops

¹ *The War*, II., 73.

² Huntsville is the present capital of Madison County, Alabama, one of the finest regions of that state, at the foot of the mountain slopes which there gradually melt into the level Gulf region.

General Coffee in Northern Alabama.

Jackson in the Field.

Mobile threatened, but saved.



JOHN COFFEE.

at Fayetteville, on the 4th of October, full eighty miles south from Nashville. He could not reach there at the prescribed time, but sent forward a spirited address to the soldiers, to be read to them on that day. It was an appeal to their pride and patriotism; and called upon them, in an especial manner, to be obedient to discipline, for it was essential in preparing them for the noble task before them.

While these movements were in progress in West Tennessee, others of like character and importance were going on in East Tennessee, where General John Cocke was in command. Under the direction of Governor Blount, he ordered his division to rendezvous at Knoxville; and so promptly did they respond, that he wrote to General Jackson on the 2d of October² that his

men, twenty-five hundred in number, were ready to march, and that he could doubtless contract for a thousand barrels of flour to be sent to Ditto's Landing immediately.

Jackson reached Fayetteville on the 7th of October, where he remained a week waiting for the arrival of troops, organizing them, and making arrangements for supplies. He was greeted by cheering news from Coffee. It was generally supposed that the Indians would hasten to the capture of Mobile, under the auspices and direction of the Spaniards, after the destruction of Fort Mims. It might have been an easy matter; but they lingered, as usual, after their victory, and then pushed northward.¹ This good news came from Coffee, and Jackson, acting upon it, was making vigorous preparation to meet them, when, on Monday, the 11th of October,² a courier came dashing into his camp with intelligence from Coffee that the sav-

¹ The Indians, as usual, stopped to enjoy their victory after it was achieved, instead of securing its solid advantages. Such consternation was produced by the massacres on Tensaw that Mobile might have become an easy prey to the savages. But while they lingered, the Spanish accomplices at Pensacola appeared to have become alarmed lest the savages might destroy Mobile, which they hoped to recover uninjured. Governor Manrique accordingly wrote to Weatherford and his associates on the subject. After congratulating them on their success at Fort Mims, assuring them of friendship and a desire to aid them, and thanking them for their offers of assistance in the recapture of Mobile, the governor dissuaded them from attacking it, or at least destroying it. "I hope," he wrote, "you will not put in execution the project you tell me of to burn the town, since these houses and properties do not belong to the Americans, but to true Spaniards."—Letter dated Pensacola, September 29, 1813, quoted by Pickett in his *History of Alabama*. It is among the Claiborne papers already alluded to. It is positive proof of the complicity of the Spanish authorities at Pensacola with the British and Indians in waging an exterminating war against the people of the Mississippi Territory, and justified the seizure of Pensacola by the Americans which occurred afterward.

Jackson's impatient waiting for Supplies. Cries for Help from the Coosa. Jackson marches in that Direction.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

"Alas for them! their day is o'er;
Their fires are out from shore to shore;
No more for them the wild deer bounds—
The plow is on their hunting-grounds.
The pale man's axe rings through their woods—
The pale man's sail skins o'er their floods."

CHARLES SPRAGUE.



JACKSON'S little army, under his immediate command, was now about twenty-five hundred strong, and the difficulties of the campaign, with all their gloomy suggestions, arose in colossal proportions before his judgment and experience. His supplies, promised by General Cocke, had not arrived, and before him was an untried wilderness filled with hostile savages. Twenty-five hundred men and thirteen hundred horses must be fed.

"Such a body," says a late writer, "will consume ten wagon-loads of provisions every day. For a week's subsistence they require a thousand bushels of grain, twenty tons of flesh, a thousand gallons of whisky, and many hundred weight of miscellaneous provisions." Jackson was grievously disappointed, and stormed furiously at fate, the shallow Tennessee (on which the provision vessels would not yet float), the contractors, and even at General Cocke. Then he sent his quartermaster, Major W. B. Lewis, to Nashville for supplies, and Colonel Coffee, with six or seven hundred mounted men, to scour for food the country watered by the Black Warrior River, an important tributary of the Tombigbee. He was cheered by information that General White, with the advance of General Cocke's division of East Tennesseans, had already passed the site of Chattanooga and the now famous Look-out Mountain—made famous by the events of the great Civil War, which occurred there in the autumn of 1863—and would probably join him in the course of a few days.

Jackson set about drilling his troops thoroughly, and while engaged in that duty a Creek chief of the peace-party informed him that a large number of his nation were preparing to attack a fort filled with friendly Indians at the Ten Islands of the Coosa River. The general immediately broke camp upon the bluff,¹ and with immense labor and fatigue² made his way twenty-two miles in that direction along the course of the Tennessee to Thompson's Creek, one of its tributaries, all the while watching anxiously, through the eyes of scouts, for the appearance of the expected supply flotilla. But they did not come. He wrote to friends and public authorities in every direction, and the burden of his letters were, "Give me food, and I will end this savage war in a month." And yet he did not wait for the expected supplies to begin it, for such piteous entreaties came from the Coosa that he resolved to press forward at all hazards. He established a depository for supplies at the mouth of Thompson's Creek, cast up fortifications to defend them which he named Fort Deposit, and on the evening of the 24th of October he started for the Ten Islands of the Coosa, fifty miles distant, with only two days' supply of bread and six of meat, swearing that he would "neither sound a retreat nor suffer a defeat"³ before the

¹ The country in that region is exceedingly rough and mountainous, and the troops were compelled to endure the most appalling labors. "We have cut our way," wrote Major Reid, Jackson's aid-de-camp, "over mountains more tremendous than Alps."

² Letter of Major John Reid to Quartermaster W. B. Lewis, October 24, 1813, quoted by Parton, I., 422.

The Army threatened with Famine. Affairs in the lower Creek Country. Courage and Honor of Captain Dale.

savages. Coffee, who in the space of twelve days had marched two hundred miles, burned Black Warrior's Town and another Indian village on the Black Warrior River, and collected about three hundred bushels of corn, had joined him, and the whole army went cheerily forward toward the Coosa. He cut his way over the rugged mountains with indomitable perseverance to Wells's Creek,^a where his supply of bread failed, and he remained encamped for several days, that his foraging parties might collect provisions. His little army was there threatened with actual starvation, for the contractors had entirely failed to meet their engagements. The foragers were usually successful. One party, under Colonel Dyer, two hundred strong, fell upon the Indian village of Littefutchee, at the head of Canoe Creek, twenty miles from the camp, captured twenty-nine prisoners and a good supply of corn, and laid the town in ashes.^b Then the army marched on, and in less than a week afterward it was encamped on the right bank of the Coosa, not far from the Ten Islands and the mouth of the Canoe or Littefutchee Creek. Let us here leave the resolute invaders a few moments, and consider the condition of affairs in the Creek country.

We have observed that the massacre at Fort Mims spread consternation over the whole region, and white people and friendly Indians sought shelter in the stockades or safety in flight toward the Gulf. Sickness prevailed in all the stockades, and there was distress every where. Murders, robberies, and conflagrations were seen on every hand. Claiborne was harassed with almost hourly messages bearing piteous importunities for help, and from none more loudly than from St. Stephen's, one of the most important posts in the country.¹ Information had reached the general that the garrison and refugees in Fort Madison, in the eastern part of Clarke County, were likely to share the horrid fate of those in Mims from a combined attack of the savages. Under the direction of General Flournoy, he ordered Colonel Carson, the commander, to abandon the fort and hasten to the relief of St. Stephen's, if his judgment should sanction such movement. Carson left Madison reluctantly, followed by about five hundred settlers of both sexes, and all ages and conditions, and marched westward. He had arrived on the banks of the Tombigbee, on his way to St. Stephen's, when another letter from Claiborne reached him, in which he was urged "not to abandon the fort [Madison] unless it was clear that he could not maintain it." It was too late. He crossed the river and entered St. Stephen's.

Fort Madison was not wholly abandoned. There were bold men there who resolved to remain and defend it, together with Fort Glass, a small stockade only a fourth of a mile distant. The leader was Captain Sam Dale.² He was still suffering from the effects of his wound received at Burnt Corn Creek. When Carson's drum beat for his troops to march, Dale beat his for volunteers to remain; and when the last of the United States soldiers marched out of the fort, Dale marched in at the head of eighty brave citizens, among them Captain Evans Austill. Dale received a note from General Flournoy advising him to repair to Mount Vernon, as he was sure to be attacked by an overwhelming force. Dale replied that he had sworn to defend the women and children under his charge; that he had a "gallant set of boys" under him; and that when the general should hear "of the fall of Fort Madison, he would find a pile of yellow-hides to tan if he could get his regulars to come and skin them!"³ Dale maintained his position with boldness, and was not attacked.⁴

¹ See page 750, and Map on page 751.

² *Life and Times of General Sam Dale*, pages 116 and 117. Dale says Flournoy was opposed to the stockade system, and was determined to concentrate his troops at Mobile, Mount Vernon, and St. Stephen's. Claiborne's order for the evacuation of Fort Madison, inspired by Flournoy, was cursed by the settlers in the forks of the Alabama and Tombigbee, who considered themselves cruelly abandoned.

³ "During the day," says Dale, "sentinels were posted around the fort. At night I illuminated the approaches for a circuit of one hundred yards by a device of my own. Two poles, fifty feet long, were firmly planted on each side of the fort; a long lever, upon the plan of a well-sweep, worked upon each of these poles; to each lever was attached a bar of iron about ten feet long, and to these bars were fastened with trace-chains huge fagots of light wood. The illumina-

² See page 749.

While there was still a doubt in every mind whether the Choctaws would remain friendly to the Americans, Pushmataha removed every suspicion by suddenly appearing at St. Stephen's and offering to enlist several companies of his warriors to take up arms under the banner of the United States. He was conducted to Mobile by George S. Gaines, where he had an interview with General Flournoy. That strangely blind officer declined the chief's offer, and Gaines and Pushmataha went back to St. Stephen's filled with mortification and disgust. The assembled citizens had begun to curse the commanding general without stint, when a courier appeared riding in haste. He bore authority from Flournoy for Gaines to recruit in the Choctaw nation. His advisers had caused him to repent of his folly in refusing the generous offer of Pushmataha.

Gaines and the brave chief started northward for the Choctaw country. They were met at John Peachland's by Colonel John M'Kee, agent of the Chickasaws, with whom they held a consultation. Pushmataha and Gaines then went forward. The former called a council of his people of the eastern district of the nation.¹ He harangued the assembled multitude in an admirable speech; and it was so effective that when, at the conclusion, he said, "If you have a mind to follow me, I will lead you to glory and victory," a warrior arose, slapped his hand upon his heart, and said, "I am a man! I am a man! I will follow you!" All the others did likewise, and raised a shout that filled the heart of Gaines with joy.² Colonel M'Kee was equally successful with the Chickasaws. A large body of them volunteered to follow him, and did so to the Tuscaloosa Falls, for the purpose of attacking a Creek town there. They found it in ashes, and the centre of a solitude wherein no Indian was visible. M'Kee returned to Peachland's, at the mouth of the Octibaha, where his dusky followers separated, some going to their homes, and others making their way to join the standard of General Claiborne, then at St. Stephen's.³

It was while the consternation of the inhabitants on the Alabama and Tombigbee was most intense that Jackson was making his way toward the sanguinary theatre on which, as we have seen, he appeared at the close of October. He now became chief actor in the terrible drama.

On his arrival upon the Coosa, Jackson was informed that the Creeks were assembled at Tallasehatche, a town in an open woodland only thirteen miles from the camp.⁴ He resolved to attack them at once, and on the morning of the 2d of November he summoned the stalwart Coffee to his presence. That brave officer had lately been promoted to the rank of brigadier.⁵ He was anxious to be on the wing with his mounted men, and was soon gratified. The commanding general ordered him to take one thousand horsemen, and fall suddenly and fiercely upon the offending town in which blood-thirsty enemies were harbored, and destroy it. He left camp for the purpose toward evening, his troops accompanied by Captain Richard Brown and a company of friendly Creeks and Cherokees, whose

tion from such an elevation was brilliant, and no covert attack could be made upon my position. As a precaution against the Indian torch, I had my block-houses and their roofs well plastered with clay. We displayed ourselves in arms frequently, the women wearing hats and the garments of their husbands, to impress upon the spies that we knew were lurking around an exaggerated notion of our strength. For provisions we shot such cattle and hogs as grazed within the range of our guns, but I carefully noted the marks and brands, and afterward indemnified the owners."—*Life of Dale*, page 117.

¹ The Choctaw nation was then composed of three distinct governments. The *Eastern* district was ruled over by Pushmataha, the *Western* by Puckshenubbee, and the *Northwestern* by Mushelatlubba.

² "You know Tecumtha," said Pushmataha. "He is a bad man. He came through our nation, but did not turn our heads. He went among the Muscogees (Creeks), and got many of them to join him. You know the Tensaw people. They were our friends. They played ball with us. They sheltered and fed us whenever we went to Pensacola. Where are they now? Their bones rot at Sam Mims's place. The people at St. Stephen's are also our friends. The Muscogees intend to kill them too. They want soldiers to defend them. [Here he drew his sword and flourished it.] You can all do as you please. You are all freemen. I dictate to none of you. But I shall join the St. Stephen's people. If you have a mind to follow me, I will lead you to glory and victory."—Pickett's *Alabama*, ii., 291.

³ Pickett's *Alabama*, ii., 292.

⁴ Not far from the present village of Jacksonville, the capital of Benton County, Alabama, on the southeast side of Tallasehatche Creek.

Battle of Tallasehatche.

Annihilation of the Town and the Warriors.

Jackson's Army on the Coosa.

heads were tastefully ornamented with white feathers and deer's tails. They forded the Coosa at the Fish Dam, four miles above the Ten Islands, and at dawn on the morning of the 3d halted within half a mile of the doomed town. There Coffee quickly divided his forces into two columns, the right composed of cavalry, commanded by Colonel Allcorn, and the left of mounted riflemen, under Colonel Cannon. With the latter the newly-made general marched. Allcorn was directed to encircle one half of the town with his cavalry, while Cannon and his riflemen should encircle the other half. This was promptly accomplished at sunrise, when the foe sallied out with beat of drums and savage yells, their prophets being in the advance.

The battle that speedily began was brought on at about eight o'clock by the companies of Captain Hammond and Lieutenant Patterson, who had made a manoeuvre for the purpose of deceiving the foe from the shelter of their houses. It was successful. The Indians fell upon them furiously, when the two companies, according to instructions, fell back, pursued by the enemy, until the latter encountered the right of Coffee's troops. These first gave the Indians a deadly volley of bullets, and then charged them violently, while the left division closed in upon the doomed foe. Never did men fight more gallantly than did the Creeks. Inch by inch they were pushed back to their houses by the ever-narrowing circle of assailants. They fought desperately and with savage fury. They were shot and bayoneted in and out of their houses. Not one would ask for quarter, but fought so long as he had strength to wield a weapon. None survived. Every warrior was killed. In falling back to their dwellings they mingled with the women and children, and in the fury of the contest some of these were slain. The victory for the assailants was complete; and at the close of this short, sharp battle, one hundred and eighty-six Indian warriors lay dead around the victors.¹ It was believed that full two hundred perished. Eighty-four women and children were made prisoners. The loss of the Americans was only five killed (no officers) and forty-one wounded, most of them slightly.

Having destroyed the town and buried his dead, the victorious Coffee marched back in triumph to the camp on the Coosa, followed by a train of sorrowful captives. It was a terrible sight for the eye of Pity. Retributive justice, evoked by the slain at Fort Mims, was satisfied. Tallasehatche was wiped from the face of the earth, and every survivor was sent a prisoner to Huntsville.² Thus commenced the fearful chastisement of the infatuated Creeks who had listened to the siren voice of Tecumtha, and the wicked suggestions and false promises of the Spaniards and British at Pensacola.

Jackson now made his way over the Coosa Mountains to the Ten Islands, and on the right bank of the Coosa commenced the construction of a second fortified deposit for supplies. Strong pickets and block-houses soon began to rise, and the work was well advanced when, just at sunset on the 7th of November, an Indian chief from the Hickory Ground, who, by stratagem, had made his way from the beleaguered fort, came with swift foot and informed the general-in-chief that one hundred and sixty

¹ General Coffee said in his report (November 4, 1813): "They fought as long as one existed; and when the last of the devoted band, still struggling for the mastery, had fallen beneath the hatchets and hunting-knives of his enemies, one hundred and eighty-six warriors were stretched lifeless on the fine open woodland in which their village was situated."

² A touching tale of truth is told in connection with the battle of Tallasehatche. Among the slain was found an Indian mother, and upon her bosom lay her infant boy, vainly endeavoring to draw sustenance from the cold breast. The orphan was carried into camp, and Jackson tried to induce some of the mothers among the captives to give it nourishment. "No," they replied; "all his relatives are dead, kill him too." The little boy was taken to the general's own tent, fed on brown sugar and water until a nurse could be procured at Huntsville, when it was sent to Mrs. Jackson. The general was a childless man, and he adopted the forest foundling as his son. Mrs. Jackson watched over him with a mother's care, and he grew to be a beautiful youth, full of promise. But consumption laid him in the grave among the shades of the "Hermitage" before he reached manhood, and his foster-parents mourned over him with a grief as sincere as that of consanguinity.

This boy was no exception to the rule of Indian instinct for wild and forest life. He delighted to roam in the woods, decorate his head with feathers, and start out from ambush and frighten children with loud yells and horrid grimaces. He was apprenticed to a harness-maker in Nashville.

Fort Strother in Peril.

Jackson goes to the Relief of Talladega.

He surrounds the Besiegers at Talladega.

friendly Creek warriors, with their families, were hemmed in at Talladega, in Lashley's Fort,¹ thirty miles distant, with no hope of escape. The besiegers were a thousand strong, and they so completely surrounded the little stockade that no man could leave it unobserved. The inmates had but little food and water, and must soon perish. The foe was well provided, and, feeling sure of their prey at the hands of Famine if by no quicker way, were dancing around the doomed people with demoniac joy. This messenger, who was a prominent man, had made his escape by covering himself with the skin of a hog, and in the darkness of night, while imitating its gait, and grunting, and apparent rooting, was allowed to pass slowly through the hostile camp until he was beyond the reach of their hearing and arrows. Then he cast away his disguise, and with speed heightened by desperation, he fled to Jackson's camp on the Coosa.

The commander-in-chief resolved to give immediate relief to the people at Talladega. He had just heard of the near approach of General White with the van of General Cocke's division of East Tennessee troops, so he ordered his whole force, excepting a small guard for the camp, the sick and the wounded, to make immediate preparations for marching. He wrote a hasty note to General White, informing that officer that he should expect him to protect Fort Strother and its inmates during
^a November 8, his absence, and at little past midnight^a he commenced fording the Coosa
 1813. a mile above the fort, with twelve hundred infantry and eight hundred mounted men, each of the latter taking a foot-soldier on his horse behind him. All were across at four o'clock in the morning, and then they commenced a very wearying march through a perfect wilderness. At sunset they were within six miles of Talladega, when the general commanded his followers to seek repose, for active work would be required of them in the morning.

The chief slumbered not. All night long he was on the alert for the reports of spies whom he sent out on scouting expeditions. At midnight he received a note by an Indian runner from General White, telling him that General Cocke had recalled him, and he would not be able to protect Fort Strother. Jackson was perplexed. Strother and Talladega both needed his presence. He resolved to rescue the latter, and then fly to the defense of the former. Silently his troops were put in motion in

^b November 9. the dark, and before four o'clock in the morning^b they had made a wide circuit and surrounded the enemy, who, a thousand and eighty strong, were concealed in a thicket that covered the margins of two rivulets flowing out from springs.^c

Jackson disposed his troops for action so as to inclose the foe in a circle of armed men. The infantry were in three lines, the militia on the left, and the volunteers on the right. The cavalry formed the two extreme wings, and were ordered to advance in a curve, keeping their rear connected with the advance of the infantry lines, so that there should be no break in the circle. In this position were the troops at sunrise, when Colonel William Carroll was sent forward with the advanced guard, composed of the companies of Captains Dederich, Caperton, and Bledsoe, to commence the attack. He delivered a heavy fire, when the savages rushed forth, with horrid yells and screams, in the direction of the militia under General Roberts, from whose brigade

¹ This fort was a little eastward of the Coosa River, in Talladega County, Alabama; and a portion of its site is now covered by the pleasant village of Talladega, the capital of the county, which had a population of about two thousand when the late Civil War broke out in 1861. It is in a delightful valley, with very attractive scenery in view.

² The order of march is seen in the upper part of the diagram on page 765. The cavalry were commanded by Colonel Alcorn, and the mounted riflemen by Colonel Cameron. The infantry were commanded by Brigadier Generals Hall^a and Roberts,† assisted by Colonels Bradley, Pillow, M'Crosney, Carroll, and Dyer. The position of the troops in the attack, when they had surrounded the enemy, is seen in the lower part of the diagram, commencing with the reserves under Colonel Dyer. This diagram is copied, by permission, from Pickett's *History of Alabama*, ii., 292.

^a William Hall had been a colonel in the Tennessee militia who followed Jackson from Nashville to Natchez and back, and was made brigadier general of three-months' volunteers on the 26th of September, 1813.

† Isaac Roberts. He was commissioned brigadier general of three-months' Tennessee Volunteers on the 4th of October, 1813.

Temporary Panic among the Militia.

Battle at Talladega.

Destruction of the Indians.

Carroll had been detached, and who, pursuant to orders, had fallen back, so as to bring the enemy upon the main body. Their horrid noise and devilish appearance so terrified the militia that some of them gave way. Seeing this, Jackson ordered Colonel Bradley to fill the chasm with his regiment, which was lagging behind the line. Bradley failed to obey, and Lieutenant Colonel Dyer, in command of reserves composed of the companies of Captains Smith, Morton, Axune, Edwards, and Hammond, was ordered to that duty with his men. These were immediately dismounted, and met the yelling savages so resolutely that the fugitive militia took courage, resumed their station, and fought gallantly. The battle now became general, and had lasted about fifteen minutes, when the Indians, who had fought well, suddenly broke, and fled in all directions toward the surrounding mountains.

But for the giving way of the militia, and the forming of a gap in the circle by the tardiness of Bradley, and a too wide circuit made by Allcorn and his cavalry, it is believed that not a warrior would have escaped. They were hotly pursued, and the woods for miles became a resting-place for the bodies of dead savages. Two hundred and ninety of the slain were counted. Many were, doubtless, not seen. The number of the wounded could not be ascertained, but they were numerous. The loss of the Americans amounted to fifteen killed and eighty-five wounded. Four were badly hurt, and only two of the latter died from the effect of injuries received. Among the wounded were Colonels William Pillow and James Lauderdale, Major Richard Boyd, and Lieutenant Samuel Barton, the last mortally.¹ These and other wounded men were placed on litters, and when the dead were all buried the victorious little army marched with the maimed to Fort Strother, followed by the grateful rescued Creeks.² Among the few trophies of victory borne back to the Coosa was a coarse banner on which were the Spanish arms. This evidence of the complicity of the Spaniards with the hostile Creeks was sent by Jackson to the ladies of East Tennessee, who, as we have observed, presented a stand of colors to the Tennessee Volunteers.³

When Jackson and his troops reached Fort Strother, wearied and half famished, they found the place almost destitute of provisions. None had been brought in during the absence of the little army, and now starvation threatened all. Almost mutinous



¹ General Jackson's Dispatch to Governor Blount, November 11, 1812. Report of Adjutant General Stiller, November 15.

² These consisted of one hundred and sixty friendly Creek warriors, with their wives and children. The crushing blow was to have fallen upon them on that very day. They were almost ready to die of thirst. Their gratitude and joy were commensurate with the distress from which they had been relieved.

³ See page 744. The following note (printed in Parton's *Life of Jackson*, I, 448) accompanied the colors, and contains a history of the affair:

"General Andrew Jackson, with compliments to Governor Blount, requests him to inform the ladies of East Tennessee, who presented the colors to the Tennessee Volunteers, that Captain Deaderick, who, with Captain Bledsoe's and Captain Caperton's companies, under the direction of Major Carroll, were sent to bring on the attack, and lead the enemy, by a regular retreat, on the strongest point of my infantry, went into action with their colors tied round him, and that they were well supported. And, in return, I send you a stand of colors (although not of such elegant stuff or magnificent needle-work) taken by one of the volunteers, which I beg you to present to them as the only mark of gratitude the volunteers have it in their power to make. With his own hand he slayed the bearer. They will be handed by Mr. Fletcher, who I send for that purpose." A letter dated Nashville, November 17, 1812, said, "Mr. Thomas H. Fletcher, of this town, has just arrived from General Jackson's army. He was the bearer of a stand of colors taken from the enemy, and bearing the Spanish cross."

A divided Command. The Indians, dispirited, sue for Peace. Separate Action of General Cocke and his Command.

murmurs were heard among the suffering soldiers, but their general's words and example kept them within the bounds of obedience. He was ever cheerful, and shared with his soldiers in all their privations, eating, like them, the acorns found in the forest, to sustain life. It was a very critical period in the campaign, but it was passed in safety and honor to all concerned.

The severe chastisement administered upon the Creeks at Tallasehatche and Talladega had an immediate and powerful effect upon the spirit and temper of the savages, and promised a speedy termination of the war. That desired end was postponed by an unfortunate circumstance growing out of the ever-dangerous fact of a divided command in the campaign. There was an existing jealousy between the East and West Tennessee troops; and, notwithstanding Jackson was the senior officer, and properly commander-in-chief of the campaign against the Creeks, General Cocke maintained, up to the time in question, a separate and independent command, and attempted to operate against the hostile Indians at first even without consultation with General Jackson. This produced trouble, as we shall observe presently.

Many of the warriors who fought at Talladega were from the Hillabee towns on the Tallapoosa River, in the present Cherokee County, Alabama. Those who escaped to the mountains on that dreadful morning were so thoroughly convinced of the futility and danger of making farther resistance to the Tennesseans, that they resolved to sue for peace and reconciliation. For this purpose they sent Robert Grayson, an aged Scotchman and old resident among them, to make peaceful propositions to General Jackson at Fort Strother. Jackson cordially responded to the proposition, but at the same time told the messenger, in firm language, that he had come to chastise those who had committed gross wrongs toward the white people and friendly Indians in the Creek country, and that he must have full evidence of the sincerity of peace professions before he would consent to stay his hand. "The prisoners and property which they have taken from us and the friendly Creeks," he said, "must be returned; the instigators of the war and the murderers of our citizens must be surrendered; the latter must and will be made to feel the force of our resentment. Long shall they remember Fort Mims in bitterness and tears. Upon those who are disposed to remain friendly I neither wish nor intend to make war."

Grayson hastened back with the conciliatory message. It was never delivered, for destruction had fallen upon the Hillabee people while the messenger was away on his errand. That destruction came from the East Tennesseans under Generals Cocke and White, who had come down in a separate column, and encamped on the bank of the Coosa, seventy miles above Fort Strother, late in October. There Cocke, with the main body, awaited supplies and built a fort, which he named Armstrong, in honor of the then Secretary of War. It was in the present Cherokee County, Alabama, not far westward of the Georgia line. But the supplies came not. The continued low water in the Tennessee would not allow the contractor to fulfill his promises. Famine stared the little army in the face. Cocke was sorely perplexed. He knew that Jackson, who depended upon the same source of supplies, must be as much embarrassed as himself by lack of food. What shall be done? was a very serious question that needed an immediate answer. Jackson had called for a junction of the armies. Shall we go forward and increase the dangers of famine by having a combined army of five thousand men in the wilderness? was another pertinent and important question. A council of officers was held. The question, Shall we follow Jackson? was decided in the negative by unanimous vote. Shall we cross the Coosa and proceed to the Creek settlements on the Tallapoosa? was a second question, and it was unanimously decided in the affirmative. General White was then within a day's march of Jackson's camp, and Cocke sent an order for him to return immediately to Fort Armstrong. "It is the unanimous wish of the officers and men also," he said. "If we follow General Jackson's army," he continued, "we must suffer for

General Cocke falls upon a Hillabee Town.

Massacre of its People.

Exasperation of the Indians.

supplies; nor can we expect to gain a victory. Let us, then, take a direction in which we can share some of the dangers and glories of the field." This message, and the note from General Jackson, already mentioned, urging him to hasten to the protection of Fort Strother, reached White at the same time. He considered his obedience due first to his immediate superior, General Cocke, and he marched his half-starved brigade back to Fort Armstrong.

General Cocke, too remote from General Jackson to act in concert with him, was, consequently and unfortunately, ignorant of the peaceful mood of the Hillabee people. He had been informed that one of the most energetic of the Creek leaders (Bill Scott, who commanded the Indians at Talladega), was among them, filled with the hellish purpose of massacring every white person and friendly Creek in all that region. He accordingly dispatched General White, with some mounted men and a band of Cherokee allies, to attack the Hillabee town. White took only three days' rations with him, and marched with great rapidity toward the principal village of the Hillabee, on the border between the present Talladega and Randolph Counties, Alabama, full a hundred miles from Fort Armstrong. He spread desolation in his path. Ockfuske and Genalga, two deserted towns, one of thirty and the other of ninety houses, were laid in ashes, and at dawn on the morning of the 18th of November—the very day when Grayson left Jackson's camp—White appeared before the chief village. The inhabitants were unsuspecting of danger, and made no resistance; and yet White, for the purpose of inspiring terror in the minds of the Creek nation, fell furiously upon the non-resistants, and murdered no less than sixty warriors before his hand was stayed. Then, with two hundred and fifty widows and orphans as prisoners in his train, he returned to Fort Armstrong, without a drop of a Tennessean's blood being shed.

The inhabitants of the other Hillabee towns, ignorant of any other commander than General Jackson, regarded this massacre as the most foul perfidy on his part, and were intensely exasperated. They felt that their humble petition for peace had been cruelly responded to only by the sword and bullet, and thenceforth they carried on hostilities with the most malignant feelings and fearful energy.

Jackson's anger against General Cocke was equally hot. In the absence of correct information, he regarded him as a rival, willfully withholding supplies, and seeking glory on his own account. This was unjust, and the irate commander was convinced of the fact in the course of two or three weeks, when, in a friendly letter, he invited the East Tennessean to join him with his army at Fort Strother on the 12th of December. Cocke cheerfully complied, and was there on the appointed day, having in the mean time scoured the Cherokee country for provisions, and caused a considerable quantity of supplies to be hauled from the Tennessee to the Coosa for the use of the combined army. He found that of Jackson greatly demoralized. Disappointed, starving, inactive, the troops at Fort Strother were dreadfully homesick, and filled with a mutinous spirit. This the courage and tact of the commander controlled, but with great difficulty. The militia, on one occasion, prepared to go back to the settlements. They started in a body, when the yet faithful volunteers, with Jackson at their head, stood in their path. Then the volunteers attempted to leave the camp and go home—the very men to whose fortunes their leader had so tenaciously adhered at Natchez the year before—when the militia, with Jackson at their head, stood in the path of the new mutineers. At length almost the entire army of West Tennessee, despairing of relief, determined to abandon the expedition and go home. Some of the militia actually started, and the volunteers were about to follow. The general had no sufficient force to restrain them, and he was compelled to rely upon himself alone. He mounted his horse, seized a musket with his right hand, while the disabled arm was yet in a sling, and, placing himself in front of the malcontents, with the weapon resting upon his horse's neck, he declared that he would shoot the first

Matineers checked.

The Creek Country invaded from Georgia.

Battle of Auttose.

man who should take a step in advance. Amazed at his boldness, they gazed at him in silence. Fortunately, at that moment, Coffee and two companies of faithful mounted men came up, and the mutineers, after consultation, agreed to return to duty. Yet discontent was not allayed, and Jackson finally allowed all volunteers so disposed to return to their homes, and he organized a force out of other materials. Could he have had sufficient supplies after the battle at Talladega, and been met by immediate concert of action by the East Tennessee troops, he might have ended the war within a fortnight. It was protracted for months; and for ten long and weary weeks he was compelled to lie in idleness at Fort Strother, suffering the vexations which grew out of positive demonstrations of discontent.

In the mean time the Creek country was invaded from another quarter. The cry for help had filled the ears of the Georgians, and late in November, Brigadier General John Floyd, at the head of nine hundred and fifty militia of that state, and four hundred friendly Indians, guided by Mordecai, a Jew trader, entered the region of the hostiles from the east. He crossed the Chattahoochee into the present Russell County, Alabama, on the 24th of November,¹ and pushed westward toward the Tallapoosa, where he was informed a large number of hostile Indians had collected in the village of Auttose, on the "holy ground," on which the prophets had taught the Indians to believe no white man could set foot and live. This town was on the left bank of the Tallapoosa, about twenty miles above its confluence with the Coosa, at the mouth of the Calebee Creek. Floyd encamped within a few miles of it on the evening of the 28th, and at an hour past midnight marched to the attack. At dawn he was before the town with his troops arranged for battle in three columns. The right was composed of Colonel Booth's battalion; the left of Colonel Watson's; and the centre of the rifle companies of Captains Adams and Merriweather, the latter commanded by Lieutenant Hendon. The artillery, under Captain Thomas, was posted in front of the right column. The friendly Indians were led by William M'Intosh,¹ a half-blood, and a chief called The Mad Dog's Son.

Floyd intended to surround the town, but the morning light revealed the fact that there were two villages in front of the invading column, and that it was necessary to change at once the disposition of the forces. This was skillfully done. One town was below the other, a hundred rods apart. To the lower one three companies of infantry, Merriweather's rifles, and two troops of dragoons, under Irwin and Steele, were sent, while the remainder of the troops marched upon the upper town. Immediately after the attack commenced the battle became general. The Indians appeared at all points, and fought gallantly for a while, when the booming of heavy artillery, and a furious bayonet charge, so terrified them that they fell back and sought shelter in the out-houses, thickets, and copses in the rear of the towns. Overpowering numbers pushed them hard, and they at length fled to cane-covered caves cut in the bluffs of the river. Their dwellings, about four hundred in number, some of them commodious and containing valuable articles, were fired and destroyed, and the poor smitten and dismayed savages were hunted and butchered with a fiendish barbarity which ought to have made the cheeks of the actors burn with the blushes of shame. It was estimated that full two hundred Indians were murdered. Floyd lost eleven killed and fifty-four wounded.² The loss of the friendly Indians, who held back at the beginning, but fought bravely toward the last, is not mentioned in the official reports.

¹ William M'Intosh was the chief of the Coweta tribe of the Creek nation. He was the son of a Scotchman by a Creek woman. He was conspicuous in the memorable battle at Horse-shoe Bend in March, 1814. In 1823 he lost cast with his people because of his having evidently been bribed to make a certain treaty for the giving up of Creek territory. He and an adherent were afterward shot as they attempted to escape from M'Intosh's dwelling, which some exasperated Indians had fired. His residence was on the Chattahoochee. See Drake's *Book of the Indians*, eleventh edition, page 891.

² General Floyd's dispatch to Major General Pinckney, the commander-in-chief of the Southern Department, December 4, 1813; Pickett's *History of Alabama*, ii., 300.

Claiborne ordered into the Creek Country.

Expedition under Captain Dale.

Scene on the Alabama.

In the space of seven days Floyd had marched one hundred and twenty miles and committed the massacre. He was now sixty miles from a deposit of provisions, and his rations were nearly exhausted; so, after burying his dead and preparing litters for his wounded, he hastened back to Fort Mitchell, on the Chattahoochee. On his departure, and when a mile eastward of the ruined towns, his rear was attacked by some desperate survivors of Auttose, who were dispersed after receiving a few volleys.

While these events were transpiring in the upper country of the Creeks, stirring scenes were witnessed in the present Clarke County, in the forks of the Tombigbee and Alabama, and vicinity. The Indians, under the direct influence of Weathersford and the British and Spanish officers, were very active and sanguinary in that region, and General Flournoy, who had kept General Claiborne on the defensive, was at last aroused to a sense of the necessity of offensive measures. Accordingly, on the 12th of October, he ordered that officer to advance with his army into the heart of the Creek country for the purpose of defending the citizens while gathering their crops yet in the field; "to drive the enemy from the frontiers; to follow them up to their contiguous towns, and to kill, burn, and destroy all their negroes, horses, cattle, and other property that could not conveniently be brought to the dépôts." This sanguinary order was justified by the Georgia general, by the conduct of Great Britain, and the acts of her Indian allies.

Claiborne instantly obeyed. He crossed the Tombigbee from St. Stephen's, and scoured the country on its eastern side in all directions with his detachments, meeting and dispersing bands of Indians here and there, but without bringing them to battle any where. In the mean time Captain Sam Dale, who had recovered from his wounds, was preparing for active operations. He had held Fort Madison; and, on the return of Colonel Carson to that post early in November, he had obtained his leave to go out and drive the small bands of marauding savages from the frontier. He was joined by a detachment of thirty of Captain Jones's Mississippi Volunteers, under Lieutenant Montgomery, and forty Clarke County militia, having for his lieutenant Gerrard W. Creagh, who was attached to his company in the battle of Burnt Corn Creek. They marched southeasterly to a ferry, where Cæsar, a free negro of the party, had two canoes concealed. In these the party crossed the river, and on a frosty night, with very thin clothing, they lodged in a cane-brake. At dawn^a they marched up the river, the boats in charge of five picked men each, and keeping abreast of the party on shore. Some Indians were soon encountered on land and water, and, after a brisk skirmish, the dusky foe fled up the stream out of sight. Dale's party were then separated, some following the trail on the east side of the river, and others following that on the west side. At half past ten they reached Randon's Landing,¹ where they found evidences of Indians near. Directly a large canoe, made from the trunk of an immense cypress-tree, came floating down the stream, bearing eleven naked and hideously-painted savages. They were about to land at a cane-brake, when Dale, calling his men to follow, dashed for the spot to contest their landing. They shot two of the Indians, and the others backed the great canoe out into deep water, three of the Indians swimming on the side not exposed to the bullets, and the remainder lying flat on its bottom.

A stirring scene now ensued. One of the warriors in the water called out to Weathersford, who was in the neighborhood, for help. Dale stopped his voice by putting a bullet in his brain, when the great canoe, deprived of the guidance of the three Indians in the stream, who had been killed, floated sluggishly down with the current. Dale ordered six men on the eastern bank to fetch the boats for the pur-

¹ On the bluff above this landing Fort Claiborne was afterward built, on or near the site of the village of Claiborne, in Monroe County, Alabama. The picture on page 770, Randon's (now Claiborne) Landing, is from a sketch by the Author, made from the deck of a steamer in April, 1866. The covered way is for cotton-bales and other things to slide down from the summit of the bluff, two hundred feet, to the margin of the river, whence merchandise and agricultural products are taken on board of steamers. Here was the scene of the canoe fight recorded in the text.

A terrible Encounter in Canoes.

Dale's hand-to-hand Fight.

He wins the Victory.



RANDON'S OR CLAUDORNE LANDING.

menced a furious contest. Austill and Smith joined in the fray with clubbed muskets, but Cæsar could not hold the boats together, the current was so strong. They parted, leaving Dale alone in the canoe of the savages, one of whom lay wounded in the stern, and four others, strong and fierce, confronted him as he stood defiantly in the middle of the great canoe.¹ Two warriors lay dead at his feet.

At the instant when Dale planted himself in the middle of the great canoe, the savage nearest to him directed a terrible blow at his head, which the soldier parried skillfully with the barrel of his gun, and, as quick as lightning, slew his assailant with his bayonet. The next one instantly sprang forward, when a bullet from Austill's rifle, sent from the boat that was drifting a few yards off, pierced his heart, and he fell in the bottom of the canoe. The third then made for Dale with his tomahawk, when he too fell, pierced by the brave captain's bayonet. The last warrior was Tar-cha-chee, a noted wrestler of powerful frame. He and Dale were old acquaintances. As the savage's keen glance met that of Dale, he shook himself, gave the horrid war-whoop, and then cried out, "Big Sam, I am a man—I am coming—come on!" He then bounded over his dead companions with a terrific yell, and directed a furious blow at the head of Dale with his clubbed rifle. Dale dodged it, but it fell upon and dislocated his shoulder. At the same moment Dale darted his bayonet into the body of the Indian, who exclaimed, as he tried to escape, "Tar-cha-chee is a man! He is not afraid to die!" Dale then turned to the wounded warrior, who had been snapping his piece

¹ It was dug out of a huge cypress-tree. It was between thirty and forty feet long, four feet deep, and three feet abeam. It had been used for the special purpose of transporting corn.

pose of attacking the Indians in their huge craft. As they approached and looked into it, one of them screamed, "Live Indians, by God! Back water, boys! back water!" and they went back to the place of embarkation faster than they came. Dale was exasperated by their cowardice, and quickly ordered Cæsar to bring a canoe. He jumped into it, followed by Jeremiah Austill and James Smith. It would hold no more safely. Cæsar paddled it within forty yards of the craft of the savages, when Dale and his companions rose to pour a volley into the great canoe. Each gun missed fire. Water had spoiled the priming. A moment afterward and the two vessels were side by side, when the stalwart Dale, ordering Cæsar to hold them together, clubbed his musket, and, placing one foot in his own canoe and the other in that of the enemy, commenced

Fame of the "Canoe Fight."	Construction of Fort Claiborne at Randon's Landing.	Austill and Dale.
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at him during the whole conflict, and was now defiantly exclaiming "I am a warrior! I am not afraid to die!" and pinned him to the canoe with his bayonet. "He followed his ten comrades to the land of spirits," said the rugged Indian fighter afterward.¹

Thus resulted, after a struggle of about ten minutes, one of the most remarkable of naval and personal combats on record. Just as it ended, Dale's men came running to the bank, and shouted "Weathersford is coming!" He immediately crossed with his whole party, and made his way with them safely to Fort Madison. The fame of this exploit made Dale a hero of history, and the "canoe fight" is yet a theme for romance and song among the common people in the Southwest.²

At about this time Claiborne pushed across Clarke County to the Alabama for the purpose of establishing a deposit for supplies at Randon's Landing,³ awaiting there the arrival of Georgia and Tennessee troops, and to act as much as possible on the defensive, as circumstances might require. He marched with three hundred volunteers, some dragoons and militia, and a band of Choctaw Indians under General Pushmataha and Chief Mushullatubba. He crossed the Alabama on the 17th of November and encamped, and there he was joined on the 28th by the Third Regiment of national troops, under Colonel Gilbert C. Russell, from Mount Vernon. There Claiborne constructed a strong stockade two hundred feet square, with three block-houses and a half-moon battery that commanded the rear. It was intended as a deposit of provisions for the Tennessee troops above. It was completed before the close of November, when it received the name of Fort Claiborne, in honor of the commander. On its site, as we have observed, stands Claiborne, the capital of Monroe County, Alabama. From that point early in December Claiborne apprised General Jackson and Governor Blount of the establishment of this dépôt, and also of the arrival of more English vessels in Pensacola Bay, with many soldiers and Indian supplies. He said he "wished to God that he was authorized to take that sink of iniquity [Pensacola], the dépôt of Tories and instigators of disturbances on the Southern frontier."⁴

Claiborne now determined to penetrate the Creek country toward its heart, and share with Jackson and Coffee the honors of bringing the savages into subjection.⁵

¹ Pickett's *History of Alabama*, ii., 309. Claiborne's *Life and Times of General Sam. Dale*, page 121. When Claiborne wrote in 1860, Jeremiah Austill, one of Dale's companions, was a highly-esteemed commission merchant in Mobile, and he was still living when the writer of these pages visited that city in the spring of 1866. He had been a state senator of that district. All of the circumstances of the canoe fight here given were verified before the Alabama Legislature in 1821. Austill is a native of Pendleton District, South Carolina, where he was born on the 10th of August, 1794, and was only nineteen years of age at the time of the canoe fight. He is a son of Captain Evans Austill, already mentioned as one who remained with Dale in Fort Madison. He afterward became colonel of the militia, and is represented as a powerful man physically. James Smith, his companion in the canoe with Cæsar, was a native of Georgia, and was then twenty-five years of age. He was a daring frontier man, and died in East Mississippi several years ago. He and Austill tried hard to bring their canoe into the fight in aid of Dale, but the current prevented. "Their guns had become useless, and their only paddle had been broken," said Dale. "Two braver fellows," he continued, "never lived. Austill's first shot saved my life."

² Samuel Dale was a remarkable man. He was of Irish extraction, and was born in Rockbridge County, Virginia, in 1772. His father removed with his family to Glade Hollow, on the Clinch River, in 1776, and in 1784 emigrated to the vicinity of Greensburg, Georgia. Not long afterward Dale and his wife died, leaving eight children, Samuel being the eldest. He took part in movements for keeping in check the hostilities of the Creek Indians in the time of Washington's administration. He became a famous borderer and Indian fighter, and afterward a trader among the Creeks and the Cherokees. He was also a guide to parties emigrating to the Mississippi Territory from Georgia. During the war the Creeks now under consideration, he was very active and efficient. He received the commission of brevet brigadier general. After the war he settled at Dale's Ferry, on the Alabama, and engaged in merchandising. In 1816 he was a member of the Convention called to divide the Mississippi Territory, and the following year he was a delegate to the first General Assembly of the Territory of Alabama—the eastern portion of Mississippi. He served several terms in the Legislature of Alabama, and in 1824 he was on a committee of the body appointed to escort Lafayette to the capital of the state. He was engaged much in public life until his death, which occurred at his residence in Daleville, Lauderdale County, Mississippi, on the 24th of May, 1841, when he was in the seventieth year of his age.

³ See note 1, page 769. This was named from its owner, who perished in Fort Mills. It was in the county whence the hostile Indians procured most of their supplies.

⁴ This enterprise was deemed so hazardous that a memorial against it was signed by nine captains, eight lieutenants, and five ensigns of the Mississippi Volunteers in behalf of themselves and their men. They urged the feeble condition of the men, lack of provisions, clothing, blankets, and shoes, the inclemency of the weather, and the want of transportation through a country where there was not even a hunter's trail. Yet they expressed their willingness to follow the general if he should resolve to proceed. He did so resolve, and they cheerfully followed. "Not a murmur was heard; not a complaint was made," said General Claiborne afterward. "Subordination to their officers marked

⁵ Pickett's *Alabama*, ii., page 320.

Claiborne traverses the Creek Country.

Battle of Econochaca.

Escape of Weathersford.

On the 12th of December he left Fort Claiborne with a little army about one thousand strong, and marched in a northeasterly direction toward the present Lowndes County, Alabama. His force consisted of a detachment of Colonel Russell's regulars; Major Cassell's battalion of horse; a battalion of militia under Major Benjamin Smoot, of which Patrick May was adjutant, and Dale and Heard captains; the twelve months' Mississippi Volunteers under Colonel Carson; and one hundred and fifty Choctaws under General Pushmataha. After marching eighty miles he halted, and built a station for provisions, which he called Fort Deposit. It was in the present Butler County, Alabama. When this was completed, he pushed on nearly thirty miles farther through a pathless wilderness, with as little baggage and provisions as possible, and approached Econochaca, or Holy Ground, which was situated upon a bluff on the left bank of the Alabama, just below the present Powell's Ferry, in Lowndes County. The village had been built in an obscure place by Weathersford a few months before, and dedicated by the Shawnoese prophets whom Tecumtha had left to inflame the Creeks as a place of refuge for the wounded and dispersed in battle, fugitives from their homes, and women and children. No path or trail led to it, and the prophets assured their dupes that the ground on which Econochaca, like that of Auttose, stood, was so holy that no white man could tread upon it and live. There these savage priests performed horrid incantations, and in the square in the centre of the town the most dreadful cruelties had been already perpetrated. White prisoners, and Creeks friendly to them, had been burned to death there by the directions of those ministers of the Evil Spirit.

Claiborne was before Econochaca in battle order on the morning of the 23d of December.^a It was pretty strongly guarded in the Indian manner, and the inmates had no suspicion of danger. The prophets were busy with their incantations, and at that very hour a number of friendly half-bloods of both sexes were in the square, surrounded by resinous wood, ready to be consumed!

The troops advanced in three columns, with mounted men under Captains Lester and Wells acting as reserves. The right column was commanded by Colonel Carson, and consisted of twelve-months' volunteers; the centre was composed of a detachment of the Third Regiment United States Infantry, and some mounted riflemen under Lieutenant Colonel Russell; and the left of militia, and some Choctaws under Major Smoot. Their duty was difficult, for the town was almost surrounded by swamps and deep ravines, and the Indians, regarding the place as holy, and having property there of great value, were prepared to fight desperately. They had, on the approach of the invaders, conveyed their women and children to safe places in the thick forests of what is now known as the Dutch Bend of Autauga County, and they had no hinderances to a vigorous defense.

The three columns closed upon the town by a simultaneous movement. Carson's came in sight of it at noon, and was furiously attacked. It resisted the assault with great spirit, and before those of Russell and Smoot could get fairly into the fight, the dismayed Indians broke and fled. A larger portion of them escaped, owing to the failure of Major Cassell to occupy the bank of the Alabama, westward of the town, with his battalion of horse. They fled in droves along the bank of the river, and by swimming and the use of canoes, escaped to the other side, and joined their families in the Autauga forests. Weathersford, when he found himself deserted by his warriors, fled swiftly on a fine gray horse for the salvation of his own life. He was hotly pursued to a perpendicular bluff flanked by ravines, when his powerful steed made a mighty bound from it, and horse and rider disappeared beneath the water. They immediately rose, Weathersford grasping his horse's mane with one hand, and his

their every act, and no suffering could seduce them from their duty. Their patience was equal to their courage." Most of them were young men accustomed to the comforts and luxuries of life. Among them were Gerard W. Brandon and Abraham N. Scott, both afterward governors of the state.—Claiborne's *Life of Dale*, page 138.

rifle with the other. He regained his saddle in a moment, and the noble animal bore him safely to the Autauga shore.¹

General Claiborne laid Econochaca in ashes after it was plundered by the Choctaws. At least two hundred houses were destroyed and thirty Indians killed. The loss of the assailants amounted to only one killed and six wounded. After spending a day and two nights in the vicinity, completing the work of destruction and dispersion, and suffering much from wet and cold, the little army turned southward, and on the 29th^a reached Fort Claiborne. They had suffered much on the way, the officers and men alike subsisting chiefly on boiled acorns until they reached Fort Deposit.

^a December, 1813.

The term of Carson's Mississippi Volunteers and cavalry had now expired, and they were mustered out of the service. By this process the little army of volunteers and militia melted away, and on the 23d of January General Claiborne was compelled, in writing to the Secretary of War from Mount Vernon, to say that he had only sixty men left, and their time would soon expire. Colonel Russell and his regulars garrisoned Fort Claiborne, and did what they could in furnishing supplies to the Tennessee troops above; at the same time they made some unimportant raids in the Indian country, but without accomplishing any great results.

Let us now observe the movements of Jackson in the region of the Coosa and Tallapoosa Rivers. We left him at Fort Strother, comparatively inactive because of a lack of supplies and the discontents of his troops. Nor was this all. The terms of enlistment of most of his men were near expiration, and he saw before him, in the temper of his troops, the inevitable disintegration of his army at the moment when their services were most needed. He was urged by his chief, General Pinckney, to hold all the posts in his possession, for it was of vital importance to deprive the British of these new Indian allies. The skies at that moment appeared lowering. Seven sail of British vessels, with troops and two bomb-ships, were off Pensacola. New Orleans was menaced, and Mobile was in imminent danger. St. Augustine would doubtless be soon occupied by a British force, with the consent of the treacherous Spaniards; and in every direction clouds seemed gathering, portentous of dismal events in the southwest.

Thus closed the year 1814, while Jackson, with his army substantially disbanded, was looking anxiously toward Tennessee for another. He had written most stirring appeals for men and food, and the patriotic Governor Blount was doing all in his power to provide both. General Cocke had gone back to East Tennessee with orders to raise fifteen hundred men and rejoin Jackson in the Creek country; and a band of Cherokee Indians were garrisoning Fort Armstrong, on the upper waters of the Coosa. Jackson himself was continually in motion. Almost alone he traversed the wilderness between the Coosa and Tennessee, backward and forward, in endeavors to hasten onward supplies for the new army. At length the advance of that army began to appear. First came two (mostly mounted) regiments to Fort Strother, commanded by Colonels Perkins and Higgins, numbering about nine hundred men, who had been enlisted for only sixty days. They were raw recruits, yet Jackson determined to put them in motion toward the banded enemy immediately. That enemy, recovered somewhat from the late disasters, was showing an aggressive disposition which must be checked; and accordingly, on the 15th of January,^b Jackson led his new troops across the Coosa to the late battle-field at Talladega, where he was joined^c by two hundred Cherokee and Creek Indians, and Chief Jim Fife. He had brought with him an artillery company who had remained at Fort Strother when the other troops left, and a six-pounder. His whole force, exclusive of the Indians, was nine hundred and thirty. With these he made a raid ("excursion" the general called it) toward the Tallapoosa, preceded by two com-

^b 1814.

^c January 18.

panies of spies. He was accompanied by General Coffee, whose men had all deserted him but about forty, who now followed as volunteers. He reached the Hillabee Creek, on the eastern line of the present Talladega County, on the 20th, and encamped that night at Enotochopeo, in the southern part of Randolph County. On the following morning^a he pushed forward toward Emucfau, twelve miles distant, on the bend of the Tallapoosa, and toward evening, when near Emucfau Creek, fell upon a much-beaten trail, which indicated the proximity of a large force of Indians. Jackson thought it prudent to halt and reconnoitre. He disposed his troops in a hollow square, doubled his sentinels, sent out spies, and in every way took measures to meet an attack during the night. Toward midnight the savages were observed prowling about, and at the same time the general was informed that a large body of Indians were encamped within three miles of him, some engaged in a wardance, and others removing the women and children. An immediate attack seemed impending, and Jackson, fully prepared, calmly awaited it.

^b January 22. The night wore away, and the dawn approached, when, at six o'clock,^b the Indians fell suddenly and with great fury upon the left flank of Jackson's camp, occupied by the troops under Colonel Higgins. General Coffee was with them, and, under his direction, assisted by Colonel Sitler, the adjutant general, and Colonel Carroll, the inspector general, these new recruits fought gallantly, and kept the assailants in check. At dawn, when the whole field might be seen, they were reinforced by Captain Ferrill's company of infantry, and the whole body were led to a vigorous charge upon the savages by General Coffee, supported by Colonels Higgins and Carroll, and the friendly Indians. The savages were discomfited and dispersed, and fled, hotly pursued by the Tennesseans, with much slaughter, for full two miles.

Inspired by this success, Jackson immediately detached General Coffee, with four hundred men and the whole body of the Indians, to destroy the encampment of the foe at Emucfau. It was found to be too strongly fortified to be taken without artillery, so Coffee marched back for the purpose of guarding the cannon on its way to a position to bear upon the town. This retrograde movement encouraged the Indians, and a strong party of them fell upon the right of Jackson's encampment. Coffee at once asked and obtained leave to lead two hundred men to the support of that wing, and to fall upon the left of the foe, while the friendly Indians should fall upon their right flank at the same moment. By some mistake only fifty-four men followed Coffee. The gallant general fell upon the Indians with these, and Jackson ordered two hundred of the friendly Indians to co-operate with him by attacking the right flank of the savages. "This order was promptly obeyed," said Jackson in his report, "and on the moment of its execution what I expected was realized. The enemy had intended the attack on the right as a feint, and, expecting to direct my attention thither, meant to attack me again, and with their main force, on the left flank, which they had hoped to find weakened and in disorder. They were disappointed." The general, with wise discretion, had not only ordered his left to remain firm, but had repaired thither himself, and directed a part of the reserves, under Captain Ferrill, to hasten to its support. In this way the whole main body met the advancing enemy. They gave the foe two or three volleys, and then charged them vigorously with the bayonet. The Indians broke, and fled in confusion, hotly pursued some distance; and the friendly Indians, unable to withstand the temptation, left their post on the right flank and joined in the chase, all the while pouring a harassing fire upon the fugitives.

General Coffee in the mean time was struggling manfully against the assailants on the right of the encampment. The desertion of his Indian supporters placed him in a critical situation, for the odds were greatly against him. He was soon relieved by the return from the chase of Jim Fife and a hundred of his warriors, who were immediately summoned to his support. The aid was timely. Coffee and his little party

Jackson's retrograde Movement.

Battle on Enotochopco Creek.

A severe Contest.

charged the savages vigorously, who, dispirited by the flight of their main body, gave way, and ran for their lives in every direction, many of them falling before the destructive weapons of the pursuers. The victory, in the form of a repulse, was complete, but it had been won at the cost of a severe wound in his body by General Coffee, and the loss of his aid-de-camp, Colonel A. Donelson, and two or three others. Several of the privates were also wounded.

Jackson was astonished at the courage and bravery of the Creeks, and thought it prudent to abandon any farther attempts to destroy the encampment at Emucfau. His movement was simply a raid, with the twofold object of striking a quick and destructive blow at the enemy, and to make a diversion in favor of General Floyd, then in the vicinity of the Chattahoochee. He therefore determined to return to Fort Strother.

At ten o'clock on the morning of the 23d the retrograde march commenced, and the little army reached Enotochopco Creek before sunset, and there planted a fortified camp for the night. Great vigilance was exercised, and no serious molestation was observed during the darkness. Well rested, the troops moved forward early the next morning. The savages, who had interpreted this movement as a flight, had followed stealthily, and, just as the advanced guard and part of the flank columns, with the wounded, had crossed the creek,^a they appeared suddenly in force on their rear. The firing of an alarm-gun brought them to a halt, when Jackson immediately changed front, and prepared to meet the foe in good battle order. He placed Colonel Carroll at the head of the centre column of the rear-guard, its right commanded by Colonel Perkins, and its left by Colonel Stump. He chose his own ground for battle, and expected to have entirely cut off the enemy by wheeling the right and left columns on their pivots, recrossing the creek above and below, and falling in upon their flanks and rear. To Jackson's great astonishment, his troops, who had behaved so well at Emucfau, now failed; and when the word was given for Carroll to halt and form, and a few guns had been fired, the right and left columns of the rear-guard precipitately gave way and made a disastrous retreat. They drew along with them a greater part of the centre column, leaving not more than twenty-five men to support Carroll. These maintained the ground gallantly, and order was soon restored. The battle was now sustained by only this handful of the rear-guard under Captain Quarles, the artillery company under Lieutenant Robert Armstrong, and Captain Russell's company of spies. The solitary 6-pounder that composed the heavy ordnance of the expedition was dragged to the top of a hill in the midst of a galling fire from ten times the number of the Tennesseans engaged, when they poured upon the foe a storm of grape-shot that sent them yelling with affright in every direction.¹ They were pursued more than two miles by Colonels Carroll and Higgins, and Captains Elliott and Pipkin. The venerable Judge Cocke, then sixty-five years of age, was in the engagement, and joined in the pursuit with all the ardor of youth. The slaughter among the Indians was heavy, while that among the Tennesseans was comparatively light. The exact number of casualties among the latter was not recorded. Captain Hamilton, from East Tennessee, was killed, and Lieutenants Robert Armstrong, Bird Evans, Hiram Bradford, and Jacob M'Givock, and Captain Quarles, were wounded. Evans and Quarles soon afterward died. In the two engagements, Emucfau and Enotochopco, Jackson's entire loss was twenty killed and seventy-five

¹ The gallantry of two young men in this engagement deserves a record. These were Constantine Perkins and Craven Jackson. The former was a graduate of Cumberland (Tennessee) College, was with Jackson at the battle of Talladega, and was one of the few who refused to desert him at Fort Strother. In the hurry and confusion in separating the cannon from the limber, the rammer and picker of the piece were left behind. In the midst of the shower of bullets from the Indians, Jackson coolly pulled out his iron ramrod from his musket and used it as a picker, primed with a cartridge from his side, and fired the cannon. Perkins then slipped off his bayonet, used his musket for a rammer, and drove down the cartridge for another discharge. These two brave young men kept the field-piece working, and drove the savages to the deep forest. Armstrong lay wounded near by, and called out to those around the piece, "My brave fellows, some of you may fall, but you must save the cannon!"

Jackson at Fort Strother.

Battle on the Calebee River.

The Georgians retire to their Frontier.

wounded. The loss of the enemy was not accurately ascertained. One hundred and eighty-nine of their warriors were found dead.¹

Jackson made his way back to Fort Strother^a after an absence of twelve days, not perfectly satisfied with the results of his raid, yet he presented it to the public in the best aspect possible. His force was almost double that of the Indians, for at that time the larger proportion of them were below, watching the movements of Floyd and his Georgians, while a considerable force were strongly fortifying the Horseshoe, and other places, preparatory to a desperate defensive war. His expedition, however, had been useful, and General Pinckney, in a letter to the War Department,^b said, "Without the personal firmness, popularity, and exertions of that officer, the Indian War on the part of Tennessee would have been abandoned, at least for a time."

We will leave Jackson at Fort Strother a few moments while we consider the movements of Floyd below. We left that officer at Fort Mitchell, on the Chattahoochee.

Floyd reposed more than six weeks awaiting supplies, and during that time recovered of his wound received at Auttose. Then he marched toward Toockabatcha, on the Tallapoosa, with over twelve hundred Georgia volunteers, a company of cavalry, and four hundred friendly Indians. He established communicating posts on the way, and at length, on the night of the 26th of January, encamped on the Calebee or Chalibee River, on the high land bordering the swamp of that name, in Macon County, Alabama, fifty miles west of Fort Mitchell. The camp was carefully watched, but in the gloom, more than an hour before the dawn of the following morning, a band of Creeks, who had stealthily assembled in the swamp during the night, shot the sentinels, and pounced like fierce tigers on Floyd's front and flank. The attack was sudden, yet not unprepared for, and the savages were gallantly opposed, in the front, by the artillery under Captain Jett Thomas, riflemen commanded by Captain William E. Adams, and a picket-guard led by Captain John Broadnax.

The foe rushed desperately up within thirty yards of the cannon, and smote the troops severely. Broadnax and his party were cut off from their companions for a while, but with the aid of the half-blood chief Timpoochy Barnard, leader of some Uchees, they cut their way through the encircling savages. Most of the other Indians took shelter in the camp, and were scarcely felt in the battle, which was contested fiercely in the darkness, which was rendered more intense by the umbrageous branches of the heavy pine forest in which they were fighting. When daylight came, and Floyd was enabled to survey the field of action, the contest was soon ended. The general ordered the right wing of his little army, composed of the battalions commanded by Majors Booth, Cleveland, Watson, and Freeman, and a troop of cavalry under Captain Duke Hamilton, to charge on the foe. The Indians were dismayed by the glittering bayonets, and fled in great terror. The infantry pursued, and the cavalry joined in the exciting chase, followed by the friendly Indians and Meriweather's and Ford's riflemen. They were chased through the swamp, and many of the fugitives were slain. They left thirty-seven dead in the pathway of their flight. The Georgians lost seventeen killed and one hundred and thirty-two wounded, and the friendly Indians had five men killed and fifteen wounded. Colonel Newman, a gallant officer, was wounded by three bullets and disabled, at the beginning of the action.

Floyd's wounded were so many, and the hostile Indians in his vicinity were so numerous, and might be speedily re-enforced, that he prudently concluded not to penetrate the country farther, but to fall back to the Chattahoochee. On the day of the battle he retired to Fort Hull, one of his newly-erected stockades, and on the following day the Indians occupied the late battle-field. Leaving a small garrison at Fort

¹ General Jackson's official Letter to General Pinckney, January 29, 1814.

East Tennesseans on their Way to the Creek Country. The Choctaw Allies in Arms. Preparation of the Creeks.

Hull, the general continued his retrograde movement to Fort Mitchell, where his men were honorably discharged, their term of service having expired. No other expedition against the Creeks was organized in Georgia.

Let us now return to Jackson at Fort Strother.

On his return from his twelve days' "excursion" or raid to the Tallapoosa, Jackson set his few militia that remained to constructing flat-boats in which to bring supplies down the Coosa, and to transport them to regions below, where materials for his new army were rapidly approaching from Tennessee. He discharged the troops who had been with him on the late expedition, their term of service being about ready to expire. They left for home full of admiration of and enthusiasm for their general, and their return gave a new impetus to volunteering. At the beginning of February two thousand troops from East Tennessee were in the shadows of Lookout Mountain, pressing on toward the Coosa, and at about the same time as many more West Tennesseans arrived at Huntsville.

Intelligence of these approaching troops filled Jackson's heart with gladness. His joy was increased by the arrival on the 6th, at Fort Strother, of Colonel Williams and the Thirty-ninth Regiment of the United States Army, six hundred strong, who had been induced to hasten to the relief of Jackson by the late Honorable Hugh L. White, of East Tennessee. Very soon afterward a part of Coffee's brigade of mounted men came into Fort Strother, and also a troop of East Tennessee dragoons. The Choctaw Indians now openly espoused the cause of the United States; and before the close of February Jackson found himself at the head of an army of five thousand men, lacking nothing to enable them to sweep the whole Creek country with the besom of destruction but adequate supplies of food. Great exertions were put forth successfully to that end, and at the middle of March every thing was in readiness for a forward movement.

The hostile Creeks were aware of the formidable preparations for their subjugation, and were, at the same time, taking measures to avert, if possible, the impending blow. They had suffered severely at the hands of Jackson, Floyd, and Claiborne, and had already begun to have such premonitions of national disaster that they determined to concentrate their forces, and rest their fortunes upon the cast of the die of a single battle with the foe. For this purpose the warriors of the Hillabee, Ockfuske, Eufaulahache, New Youka, Oakchoie, Hickory Ground, and Fish-pond towns had gathered in the bend of the Tallapoosa, in the northeast part of Tallapoosa County, Alabama, called Tohopeka, or the Horseshoe, the river there assuming the shape of that object, forming a peninsula of about one hundred acres. By the aid of white men from Pensacola, and some hostile half-bloods, they built a very strong breastwork of logs across the neck of the peninsula, and pierced it with two rows of port-holes arranged in such manner as to expose the assailants to a cross-fire from within. Back of this breastwork was a mass of logs and brush; and at the bottom of the peninsula, near the river, was a village of log huts, where hundreds of canoes were moored at the banks of the stream, so that the garrison might have the means of escape if hard pushed. A greater portion of the peninsula was covered with forest. The Indians had an ample supply of food for a long siege. Their number was about twelve hundred, one fourth being women and children. There the Indians determined to defend themselves to the last extremity. They regarded their breastwork as impregnable, and were inspired by recent events at Emuckfau (about four miles distant) and Enotochopco.

When Jackson was informed by some friendly Indians of the gathering of the Creeks at the Horseshoe, he resolved to march thither immediately and strike an exterminating blow. He sent his stores down the Coosa in flat-boats, in charge of Colonel Williams and his regiment of regulars, and leaving a garrison of four hundred and fifty men in Fort Strother, under Colonel Steele, he commenced his march with

Jackson marches upon the Savages at the Horseshoe.

A desperate Battle there.

Bravery of both Parties.

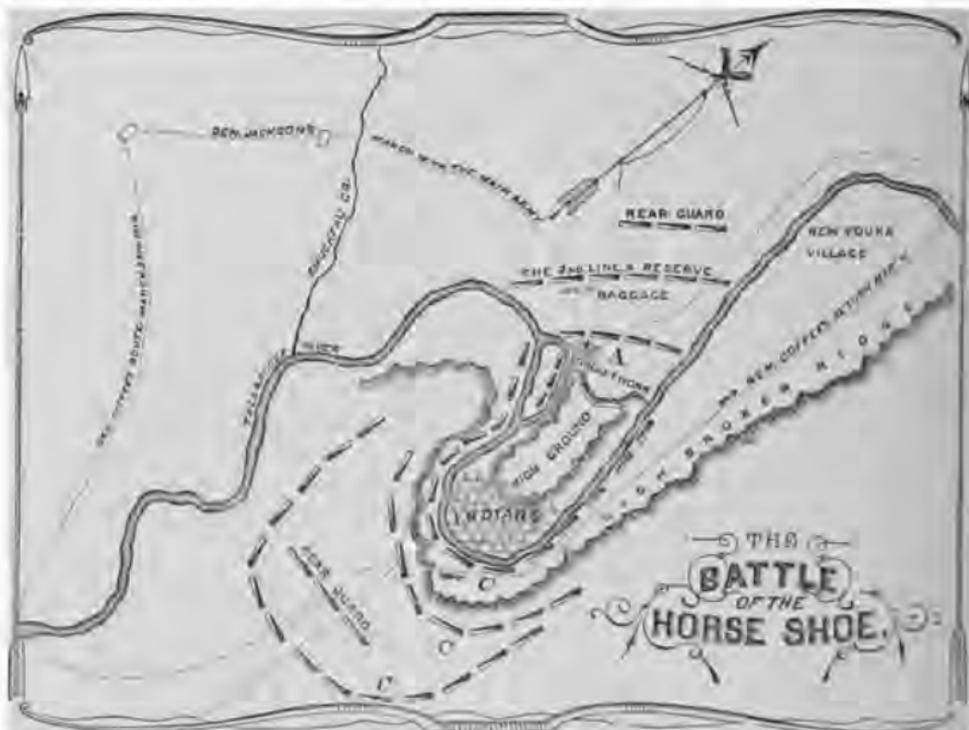
journey was slowly performed, for much of the way a road had to be cut through the woods. On the 21st they were at the mouth of Cedar Creek, where they were joined by the supply-boats the next day, and there Fort Williams was built to keep open the communication with Fort Strother. Then Jackson pushed on eastward, and early on the morning of the 27th halted within a few miles of the breastworks at the Horseshoe, and sent out parties to reconnoitre. His army now numbered about two thousand effective men.

Jackson's spies informed him of the position of the Indians, and he at once comprehended the folly which had permitted them to assemble in a pen, as if offering facilities for him to carry out his threat of extermination. He sent General Coffee, with all the mounted men and friendly Indians, to cross the river about two miles below the Bend, and take position on the bank opposite the village and boats. When, by signal, he was certified of the execution of his order, he went forward with the main body of his army toward the peninsula, and planted two field-pieces upon a little hill within eighty yards of the nearest point of the fortifications on the neck. At a little past ten o'clock these opened fire on the works, under the direction of Captain Bradford, chief engineer, but without seriously affecting the wall. As the small balls were buried in the logs and earth, the Indians set up a shout of derision, and the general was fairly defied.

Simultaneously with the attack on the Indians' breastworks, some of the Cherokees with Coffee swam across the river, seized the canoes, paddled back in them, and full two hundred men were at once conveyed over the stream, and, under the direction of Colonel Morgan and Captain Russell, set the little town on fire, and moved against the enemy in the rear of their works. The smoke from the burning huts assured Jackson that all was going on well in that quarter, but the slackening of the assailants' musketry gave evidence that they were too few to dislodge the savages, and were probably in peril. The general at once determined to storm the breastworks which he had been battering for full two hours with cannon-balls almost in vain. The Thirty-ninth United States Infantry, under Colonel Williams, formed the van of the storming party. They were well supported by General James Doherty's East Tennessee brigade under Colonel Bunch, and the whole assailing party behaved most gallantly. They pressed steadily forward in the face of a deadly storm of bullets and arrows, and maintained for some time a hand-to-hand fight at the port-holes. This desperate conflict lasted several minutes, when Major L. P. Montgomery leaped upon the breastwork, and called upon his men to follow. They did so, and at the same moment he fell dead with a bullet in his head. Ensign Sam Houston, a gallant youth at his side, was severely wounded in the thigh at the same time by a barbed arrow, but he leaped boldly down among the savages, and called upon his companions to follow. They did so, and fought like tigers. Very soon the dexterous use of the bayonet caused the Indians to break, and flee in wild confusion to the woods and thickets. They had fought bravely under great disadvantages, and believing that torture awaited the captive, not one would suffer himself to be taken, or asked for quarter. Some attempted to escape by swimming across the river, but were shot by the unerring bullets of the Tennesseans. Others secreted themselves in thickets, and were driven out and slain; and a considerable number took refuge under the river bluffs, where they were covered by a part of the breastworks and felled trees. To the latter Jackson sent word that their lives should be spared if they would surrender. The summons was answered by a volley that sent the messenger (an interpreter) back bleeding from severe wounds. A cannon was then brought to bear upon the stronghold, but it made little effect. Then the general called for volunteers to storm it, and the wounded Ensign Houston¹ was the first to step out. While reconnoitring

¹ This was the afterward soldier and statesman, General Sam Houston, one of the bravest of the leaders in the Texas Revolution, first President of the independent Republic of Texas, and for many years a member of the National Legis-

The Creeks defeated at the Battle of the Horseshoes.



NOTE.—The above plan of the battle of Cholocco Litabixee, or the Horseshoe, is arranged from one in Pickett's *History of Alabama*. A shows the position of the hill from which Jackson's cannon played upon the breastworks. CCC represent the position of Coffee's command.

the position above, he received from the concealed savages two bullets in his shoulder, and he was borne helpless away. Others lost their lives in attempts to dislodge the foe. It was conceded that the place was impregnable to missiles, so the torch was applied, and the savages, as they rushed wildly from the crackling furnace, were shot down without mercy by the exasperated riflemen. The carnage continued until late in the evening, and when it was ended five hundred and fifty-seven Creek warriors lay dead on the little peninsula. Of the thousand who went into the battle in the morning not more than two hundred were alive, and many of these were severely wounded.¹ Jackson's loss was thirty-two killed and ninety-nine wounded. The Cherokees lost eighteen killed and thirty-six wounded. Among the slain were Major Montgomery² and Lieutenants Moulton and Somerville. The spoils of victory were over

lature of the United States. He was a remarkable man. He was born in Rockbridge County, Virginia, on the 2d of March, 1793, and, while yet a child, he went with his widowed mother to Tennessee. He spent several years with the Cherokee Indians, and became enamored with their roving, restless life. He enlisted in the army in 1813, and at the close of the war had reached the position of lieutenant. Then he studied law at Nashville, and there commenced his long political life. In 1823 he was elected to Congress, and continued in that body until 1827, when he became Governor of Tennessee. Before the expiration of his term he resigned, and took up his abode among the Cherokees in Arkansas, where he befriended them much in their intercourse with dishonest agents of the Government. He became commander-in-chief of the little army of revolutionists in Texas, which achieved its independence in 1836. He was twice elected president of that republic, and when Texas was annexed to the United States he was sent as her representative to the Senate, where he remained until just before the breaking out of the great Civil War, when he was Governor of Texas. He died in November, 1863, aged seventy years.

¹ Pickett relates (*History of Alabama*, ii., 343) that many suffered long from grievous wounds. "Manowa," he says, "one of the bravest chiefs that ever lived, was literally shot to pieces. He fought as long as he could. He saved himself by jumping into the river where the water was four feet deep. He held to a root, and thus kept himself beneath the waves, breathing through the long joint of a cane, one end of which he held in his mouth, while the other end came above the surface of the water. When night set in, the brave Manowa rose from his watery bed, and made his way to the forest, bleeding from many wounds. Many years after the war we conversed with the chief, and learned from him the particulars of his remarkable escape. His face, limbs, and body, at the time we conversed with him, were marked with scars of many horrible wounds."

² Lemuel Purnell Montgomery was born in Wythe County, Virginia, in 1786, and was distantly related to the hero of

Jackson retires from the Fields of Conflict. The subdued Indians sue for Peace. Weathersford in Jackson's Tent.

three hundred widows and orphans who were made prisoners. The blow was appalling, and fatal to the dignity and power of the Creek nation.

On the morning after the battle^a at the Horseshoe Jackson commenced a retrograde march toward Fort Williams, carrying his wounded with him on litters, and leaving the bodies of most of his dead beneath the waters of the Coosa, safe from desecration by savage hands. They were five days on the way, and during as many more they rested there. They encountered some hostile Indians on the march, but they generally fled at their approach. The spirit of the proud Creeks was broken, and they had no heart to make a defensive stand any where.

From Fort Williams Jackson pushed on toward the Hickory Ground of the Creeks, at the confluence of the Coosa and Tallapoosa Rivers, over a country flooded by spring rains and swollen streams, and halted at the head of the peninsula, where the rivers approach each other within six hundred yards before uniting four miles below. There, on the sight of Fort Toulouse, erected by Governor Bienville a hundred years before, he built a stockade, cleaned out and deepened the old French entrance, and raised the national standard over a fortification named, in his honor, Fort Jackson. Thither deputation after deputation of humiliated Creek chiefs made their way to sue for pardon and peace in behalf of themselves and their people. They were received with courtesy, yet with sternness. "Give proof of your submission," said the general, "substantially by going and staying above Fort Williams, where you will be treated with, and the final demands of my Government will be made known to you. But you must first bring in Weathersford, the cruel leader of the attack on Fort Mims, who on no account can be forgiven." They cheerfully complied; but little did Jackson know the true character of Weathersford, or the plasticity of his own nature at that time.

Weathersford did not wait to be caught and dragged like a felon to the feet of the leader of the pale faces. He was a stranger to fear, and sagacious in plans. He saw clearly the flight of hope for his nation, at the Horseshoe, and resolved to submit. Mounting his fine gray horse, with whom he leaped from the bluff at the Holy Ground,¹ he rode to Jackson's camp. He arrived just at sunset.^b The general was alone in his tent when the chief entered it, drew himself up to his full height, and, folding his arms, said, "I am Weathersford, the chief who commanded at Fort Mims. I have nothing to request for myself. You can kill me if you desire. I have come to beg you to send for the women and children of the war-party, who are now starving in the woods. Their fields and cribs have been destroyed by your people, who have driven them to the woods without an ear of corn. I hope that you will send out parties who will conduct them safely here, in order that they may be fed. I exerted myself in vain to prevent the massacre of the women and children at Fort Mims.² I have come now to ask peace for my people, but not for myself."³ Jackson expressed astonishment that one so guilty should dare to appear in his presence and ask for peace and protection. "I am in your power; do with me as you please," the chief haughtily replied. "I am a soldier. I have done the white people all the harm I could. I have fought them, and fought them bravely; and if I had an army I would yet fight, and contend to the last. But I have none. My people are all gone. I can now do no more than weep over the misfortunes of my nation."

the same name who fell at Quebec at the close of 1775. His family settled originally in North Carolina, and were Scotch-Irish. In early life the major became a resident of East Tennessee, near Knoxville. He studied law, and became a rival of the eminent Felix Grundy. He was a daring horseman, and full of soldierly qualities. President Madison appointed him major of the Thirty-ninth Regiment, and he fell at their head when storming the breastworks at the Horseshoe, as we have observed in the text. Jackson wept over his body like a child, and exclaimed, "I have lost the flower of my army!" He was buried near where he fell, and in long after years the citizens of Tallapoosa County honored his memory by exhuming his remains, and burying them with military ceremonies at the capital of the county. The County of Montgomery and the political capital of the State of Alabama were named in honor of this brave soldier.—Pickett.

¹ See page 772.

² See an account of his exertions on page 756.

³ Weathersford's appeal for the women and children was kindly responded to, and not only to the women and children, but to the remnant of the nation succor was given. For a considerable part of the ensuing summer, five thousand Creek Indians drew rations from the public stores. But for this aid a large number of them must have perished by starvation.

Weathersford's manly Talk.

Jackson admires and releases him.

The Creek Nation ruined.

Here was a man after Jackson's own heart. A patriot who loved his people, had fought to protect the land of his birth from the invader, and now fearlessly expressed his patriotism in the presence of one who had power over his life. Jackson immediately informed him that submission and the acceptance of a home beyond the Mississippi for his nation was the only wise policy for him to pursue. He added, "If, however, you desire to continue the war, and feel prepared to meet the consequences, you may depart in peace, and unite yourself with the war-party, if you choose." Half scornfully, half sorrowfully, Weathersford replied, "I may well be addressed in such language now. There was a time when I had a choice and could have answered you; I have none now—even hope is ended. Once I could animate my warriors to battle, but can not animate the dead. My warriors can no longer hear my voice. Their bones are at Talladega, Tallasehatche, Emucfau, Econochopco, and Tohopeka. I have not surrendered myself thoughtlessly. While there was a chance for success I never left my post nor supplicated peace. But my people are gone, and I now ask it for my nation, not for myself. On the miseries and misfortunes brought upon my country I look back with deepest sorrow, and wish to avert still greater calamities. If I had been left to contend with the Georgia army, I would have raised my corn on one bank of the river and fought them on the other. But *your* people have destroyed my nation. You are a brave man; I rely upon your generosity. You will exact no terms of a conquered people but such as they should agree to. Whatever they may be, it would now be folly and madness to oppose. If they are opposed, you will find me among the sternest enforcers of obedience. Those who would still hold out can be influenced only by a mean spirit of revenge, and to this they must not and shall not sacrifice the last remnant of their country. You have told our nation where we might go and be safe. This is good talk, and they ought to listen to it. They *shall* listen to it."¹

Thus spoke the truly noble Weathersford for his nation. Words of honor responded to words of honor, and Weathersford was allowed to go freely to the forest to search for his scattered followers and counsel peace. But there was no safety for him in that region, for the relatives of those massacred at Fort Mims sought to kill him. He fled, and remained away until the end of the war, when he returned, and became a respected citizen of Alabama.²

General Pinckney arrived at Fort Jackson on the 20th of April with troops from North and South Carolina. Informed of the general submission of the Creeks, and considering the war virtually at an end, he directed the West Tennesseans to march home, and four hundred of General Doherty's brigade to garrison Fort Williams. The order to the West Tennesseans was so gladly and promptly obeyed that within ^{April 21,} two hours after its utterance¹⁸¹⁴ they were in motion up the Coosa. They pushed forward with great celerity, crossed the Tennessee River, and at Fayetteville were discharged. There Jackson bade them farewell in a stirring address, and then hastened to his own home at the "Hermitage," near Nashville, and indulged a short time in needed repose.

Here we will leave the consideration of the fearfully-smitten Creeks for the present, with the remark that they showed themselves to be a brave people, and, on many accounts, deserving of the respect of mankind.

¹ Drake's *Book of the Indians*, eleventh edition, page 390.

² Weathersford settled upon a farm in Monroe County, Alabama, well supplied with negro slaves, where he maintained the character of an honest man. Soon after his return he married, and General Sam Dale, frequently mentioned in this chapter, was his groomsman. His birth-place was the Hickory Ground, but he could not live there. He said that his old comrades, the hostile Creeks, ate his cattle from starvation, the peace-party ate them from revenge; and the squatters because he was "a damned Red-skin;" so, he said, "I have come to live among gentlemen."—See *Life of General Sam Dale*, page 120. Weathersford died from the effects of fatigue produced by a desperate bear-hunt in 1836.

CHAPTER XXXV.

" Farewell Peace ! Another crisis
Calls us to ' the last appeal,'
Made when monarchs and their vices
Leave no argument but steel.
Let not all the world united
Rob us of one sacred right :
Every patriot heart's delighted
In his country's cause to fight."—OLD SONG.



IT is proper here, before resuming a narrative of military events in the North, to take a brief survey of civil affairs in 1813.

In conformity to a law passed in February^a pre-
ceding the inauguration of Mr. Madison, the Thir-
teenth Congress assembled on the 24th of May, when Henry Clay was chosen Speaker of the House of Representatives. In that body ardent young men like Cheves, Calhoun, Lowndes, Grundy, and Troup had become leaders. Quincy had declined a re-election, but the extreme Federalists were well represented

^a February 26, 1813.

by the venerable patriots of the Revolution, Timothy Pickering and Egbert Benson. There was a strong administration working party in both houses, and the President felt well supported, notwithstanding there had been decided gains for the peace-party in New England at the spring elections. But in New York, where the Federalists were expecting a triumph, they had been defeated, and New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, and all of the slave-labor states, and their children in the Mississippi Valley, were decided friends of the administration.

With his message the President sent into Congress a letter from the Emperor of Russia offering his mediation. The President stated that it had been accepted by the government; that commissioners had been appointed to conclude a treaty of peace with persons clothed with like powers on the part of the British government, and that two of the American commissioners (Albert Gallatin and James A. Bayard) had already departed for St. Petersburg, there to meet John Quincy Adams, a third commissioner. While the President expressed a hope that a speedy peace might be the result, he conjured Congress to shape legislation as if the object might be obtained only by a vigorous prosecution of the war. He called attention, in a special manner, to the national finances, which were not in a promising condition, and laid before Congress an estimate of expenses for the year 1813, to the amount of about thirty million dollars.¹

The subject of an increase of internal revenue and of direct taxation had been agitated a little, but was deferred until after the Presidential election. Now the administration party felt strong enough to try these measures. Bills for the imposition of taxes and excise were adopted, and a new loan was authorized. No effort was spared for providing adequate means for the vigorous prosecution of the war, and only in New England was a voice of serious opposition heard. Governor Strong, of Massachusetts, denounced the war as cruel and unjust, and urged the Legislature to adopt measures for bringing about a speedy peace. The two houses being in political accord with the governor, they agreed to a remonstrance, in which they, too, declared

¹ The civil list for the year, \$900,000; payment of principal and interest on the national debt, \$10,510,000; and for the War and Navy Departments, \$17,820,000; making a total of \$29,230,000.

The War Policy denounced. Illicit Traffic considered. Recent Events auspicious. The Peace Party.

the farther prosecution of the war to be impolitic and unjust, and implored Congress to adopt measures for arresting it. They declared that they were influenced only by a sense of duty to the Constitution and the country, and appealed to God as a witness of the rectitude of their intentions. This remonstrance was presented to the

^a June 19, 1813, House of Representatives^a by Timothy Pickering. It was courteously received on account of that venerable man, when it was laid on the table, and there remained during the rest of the session, but excited much remark and severe condemnation throughout the country.¹

During the session effectual measures were taken for stopping a traffic carried on extensively by American merchant vessels, disguised as neutrals, with the British West India Islands and ports of Spain under licenses issued by the British government, by which they gave aid and comfort to the enemy, and injured their country. Congress also considered the charges of cruel and unusual conduct on the part of the British in making war, and a committee was appointed, with the eminent Nathaniel Macon, of North Carolina, as chairman, to gather information on the subject. Their

Nathaniel Macon

report, now on file at the national capital, is a melancholy picture of wrongs and outrages, especially in the Northwest where savages were employed, and on the Virginia coast.²

The special business of Congress at this early session was the providing of means for prosecuting the war vigorously. This was accomplished before the close of July, and that body adjourned on the 2d of August^b to reassemble on the 6th of ^c 1813. December. Before that meeting very important events had occurred, which have already been recorded in these pages, such as Harrison's campaign for the recovery of Michigan; Perry's victory on Lake Erie; Chauncey's operations on Lake Ontario; victories on the ocean; Wilkinson's unfortunate campaign on the St. Lawrence border; and Jackson's operations in the Creek country. England had refused to accept the mediation of Russia on the terms proposed, and peace seemed more remote than ever; and the National Legislature perceived that the honor, prosperity, and perhaps the very existence of the republic depended upon a vigorous prosecution of the war. This conviction was forcing itself upon every thoughtful mind even in New England, and the opposition of magistrates and law-makers was severely condemned as unpatriotic and shameful. The nation was involved in a war with a powerful, truculent, and haughty foe, and every right-minded man felt that it was the duty of every good citizen to lay aside his political prejudices, and to do all in his power to extricate his country from its serious trouble by first vanquishing the enemy with vigorous blows, and then treating with him as an equal for an honorable peace. Yet the peace-party was powerful and active in New England, and endeavored to convince the people of that section that the administration was a tyrant intent upon their injury. They pointed to the sad fact of the interference with their commerce, navigation, and fisheries; and the people were reminded that for years the Government, under the guidance of Virginia politicians, had been controlled by the planting interest in the slave-labor states by whom the war had been kindled. They justly complained that the statesmen of the free-labor states, and especially of New England, had been proscribed, and denied a share in the management of public affairs,

¹ Compare this action of the Massachusetts Legislature with a statement of its doings recorded in note 1, page 706.
² See page 683.

A revolutionary Proposition.

Condition of the Country.

A new Embargo Act.

and that the national government had left them wholly unprotected while war was at their doors, their coasts blockaded, and their sea-port towns exposed to instant destruction. In view of these undeniable facts, some of the popular leaders suggested the propriety of the New England States taking care of themselves, irrespective of the national welfare, by concluding a separate peace with Great Britain, and allowing the states beyond and south of the Hudson River to fight as long as they pleased. This revolutionary proposition did not find favor among patriotic men.

Such was the general aspect of public affairs when Congress met in December. The tone of the President's message to that body was hopeful and even joyous, for the late achievements of the national power gave promises of great good. Financial matters were quite as favorable as when Congress adjourned in August. Abundant harvests had rewarded the labors of the husbandman. The people were becoming more and more a unit in opinion concerning the righteousness of the war on the part of the Government, and its beneficial effects in developing the internal resources of the country; also in demonstrating the ability of a free government to protect itself against a powerful foe. "The war," said the President in his message, "is illustrating the capacity and the destiny of the United States to be a great, a flourishing, and a powerful nation, worthy of the friendship which it is disposed to cultivate with all others, and authorized by its own example to require from all an observance of the laws of justice and reciprocity."

In a confidential message^a the President recommended the passage of an Embargo Act to prevent supplies being furnished to the enemy from American ports by unpatriotic men, and the introduction of British manufactures in professedly neutral vessels. Such traffic was extensively carried on, especially in New England, where the magistrates were often willingly lenient toward violators of restrictive laws already in operation. A bill, in accordance with the President's suggestions, was passed by both houses of Congress on the 17th,^b the provisions of which were excessively stringent. It was provided that the act should remain in force until the 1st of January, 1815, unless hostilities should sooner cease.¹

^a December 9, 1813.

^b December.

¹ It prohibited, under severe penalties, the exportation, or an attempt at exportation, by land or water, of any goods, produce, specie, or live-stock; and, to guard as fully as possible against evasions, even the coast-trade was so entirely prohibited that it became necessary to pass an act afterward to prevent the crews of coasters, intercepted by the embargo when away from home, to employ their empty vessels as vehicles for their return to port. This provision bore very severely on the towns of the New England sea-board, for many of them depended on the coasting vessels for fuel, and other necessary articles. Their supply was suddenly stopped by it in the heart of winter. No transportation was allowed even on inland waters excepting by the special permission of the President. Wide latitude was given to custom-house officials and cruisers in the seizure of suspected goods; and fishermen were not allowed to go out without giving bonds not to violate the Embargo Act. "The effect of the measure," said the *National Intelligencer* of December 23, "will be to curtail our enemies of necessary supplies precisely to the amount of our exports, except the very small proportion of them which found their way to the ports of France. It can essentially injure no honest man—no man who would disdain to afford aid and comfort to the enemies of his country. . . . Speculators, knaves, and traitors shall no longer enrich themselves at the expense of the community."



A spirited caricature of the effect of this Embargo Act was designed and engraved by Dr. Alexander Anderson (see note 1, page 787) for David Longworth, a highly-esteemed publisher of New York. It will be recollected that a former embargo, during Jefferson's administration (see page 162), was called by the Opposition, or Federalist party, "a rapist policy." That idea is embodied in the caricature before us, in which the Embargo Act of 1813 is personified by a

Napoleon humbled.

Rumors of Peace.

Repeal of the Embargo Act.

Very soon after the promulgation of the Embargo Act, intelligence came from Europe which caused a change in the views of the administration concerning the necessity for the measure. An English flag of truce schooner arrived at Annapolis, Maryland, at the close of December, with the news of great disasters to Napoleon in the field. His triumphant march toward the German Ocean and the Baltic had been checked in a great battle at Leipsic, and he had been compelled to fall back across the Rhine with his magnificent army sadly shattered. Thoughtful men supposed the hour of the conqueror's downfall to be near, and reasonably concluded that such an event would allow the British government to withdraw its soldiers from the Continent and send them hither. The schooner also brought official assurance to our government that the British Cabinet was willing to treat for peace, and accept the mediation of Russia upon certain conditions. In his letter to Secretary Monroe communicating this fact, Lord Castlereagh was careful to say that his government was willing to treat with that of the United States "upon principles of perfect reciprocity *not inconsistent with the established maxims of public law¹ and with the maritime rights of the British empire.*" The Prince Regent, in his speech at the opening of Parliament, had used similar language on the subject.² He was willing to treat directly with the United States government through commissioners, but was unwilling to "accept the interposition of any friendly power *in the question which formed the principal object of dispute between the two states.*" Notwithstanding it was evident that the British government did not mean to recede a line from its assumptions concerning the right of search and impressment, and proposed the opening of negotiations at London, or at some point on the Continent near Great Britain, the President, sincerely desiring peace on honorable terms, acceded to the proposition of the prince, and nominated Henry Clay and Jonathan Russell as additional commissioners; and the five,³ by the concurrent action of the Senate in January,⁴ were duly commissioned to treat for peace, at Gottenburg, with British representatives.⁴

This movement toward peace, and the prospect of a general pacification of Europe, made the Opposition clamorous for a repeal of the Embargo Act. These considerations, and a desire to increase the revenue by impost duties so as to fully sustain the public credit, caused the President to recommend^b such repeal. That recommendation was hailed with great delight throughout the country, and an act of Congress for the repeal of the measure became a law on the 14th of April

huge terrapin, who seizes a violator of the law by the seat of his breeches. It was aimed at the New England people, who, it was alleged, were continually supplying the British cruisers with provisions, and thereby saving their coast from that devastation to which those of the Delaware and Chesapeake Bays had been subjected, and also putting money in their pockets by the infamous traffic. A British vessel of war is seen in the distance, with a boat, on the arrival of the knave with a barrel of flour, marked "superfine." The Embargo terrapin seizes him, and the fellow cries out, "Oh! this cursed O-grab-me!" the word embargo spelled backward, making these words. The government official, who has charge of the arresting terrapin, calls out in high glee, "Damn it, how he nicks 'em." One claw of the terrapin is upon a "license," such as the British authorities gave to professed neutrals. The designer and engraver of this caricature is yet (close of 1867) engaged in the practice of the art of engraving on wood at the age of almost ninety-three years. The copy of the caricature, seen on the preceding page on a reduced scale, was redrawn and engraved by him at the age of eighty-eight years.

¹ See note 1, page 84.

² In this speech the Prince Regent said: "I am happy to inform you that the measures adopted by the United States for the conquest of Canada have been frustrated by the valor of his majesty's troops, and by the zeal and loyalty of his American subjects." It was a singular coincidence that in the *London Courier*, November 4, 1813, in which this speech was printed, was an account of the signal victory of Perry, and the capture of the entire British fleet on Lake Erie, which was immediately followed by the conquest of all Canada west of the Grand River, an event that had already happened when that paper was printed. In the same issue of the paper was Lord Castlereagh's letter to Monroe proposing negotiations for peace.

³ Albert Gallatin, James A. Bayard, John Quincy Adams, Jonathan Russell, and Henry Clay.

⁴ Clay and Russell sailed on their mission from New York on the 23d of February, in the ship *John Adams*, which had been fitted out as a *cartel*. They were instructed to insist upon a cessation, on the part of the British, of the degrading practices of search and impressment of seamen. "Our flag," said the instructions, "must protect the crew, or the United States can not consider themselves an independent nation." And to remove all pretenses on the part of Great Britain for evading this demand, the President expressed a willingness to exclude all British seamen, and all natives of Great Britain, excepting the few already naturalized, from American vessels. Thus armed with righteous weapons, the envoys went forth on their errand of peace.

Provisions for the Increase of the Army.

The Navy neglected.

"Death of the Embargo."

following. This was claimed to be a victory for the Federalists—an evidence that the wisdom of the peace-party was perceived by the people and Congress.¹

The providing of recruits for the army and its permanent increase was really the most important business of the session of Congress whose doings we are now considering. Expectations concerning the increase of the army had not been realized. Sixty-one thousand men was the intended number of the regular force: at the beginning of 1814 it was but a trifle more than half that number. Something must be done speedily, or the cause would be lost. Short enlistments, as usual, had proved disastrous, and provision was made for engaging men for five years. Volunteers were to be accepted for a less term. Liberal bounties were to be offered; and power was given to the President to call out the militia of the country for six instead of three months, if he should consider it necessary. Provision was made for a large increase of the navy by a bill passed by the lower house, but it was lost in the Senate, where only an appropriation of five hundred thousand dollars was authorized for the construction of a steam frigate, or floating battery, for harbor defense, suggested by Robert Fulton. The subject of finance occupied much of the time of the session;²

¹ The claim was not valid. There had, indeed, been many violent, threatening, unparliamentary words spoken throughout New England against the government, more especially in Massachusetts, where the extreme doctrines of state sovereignty, on which the rebels in 1860-'61 founded their claims to the right of secession, were iterated and reiterated a thousand times. Even open defiance had been hurled in the face of the national government, and menaces of dissolution had been uttered daily; yet there was a war-party in New England altogether too powerful and restraining to cause the President to be affected by any apprehensions of secession or serious obstructions to the machinery of the national government. This was more eloquently proclaimed by acts than words. Notwithstanding the unpopularity of the war in that region, and especially in Massachusetts, that state furnished, during the year 1814, over fourteen thousand recruits, to whom two millions of dollars in bounties were paid. Indeed, Massachusetts furnished more recruits than any single state, and lukewarm New England more than all the hot slave states, who were ever clamorous for war, put together.

The "Death of the Embargo" was celebrated in verses published in the *Federal Republican* newspaper of Georgetown, in the District of Columbia. These were reproduced in the *New York Evening Post*, with an illustration designed by John Wesley Jarvis, the painter, and drawn and engraved on wood by Dr. Anderson. The picture was redrawn and engraved by Dr. Anderson, on a reduced scale, for this work, after a lapse of exactly fifty years. The lines which it illustrates are as follows:

TERRAPIN'S ADDRESS.

"Reflect, my friend, as you pass by,
As you are now, so once was I:
As I am now, so you may be—
Laid on your back to die like me!
I was, indeed, true sailor born;
To quit my friend in death I scorn.
Once Jemmy seemed to be my friend,
But basely brought me to my end!
Of head bereft, and light, and breath,
I hold *Fidelity* in death:
For 'Sailors' Rights' I still will tug;
And Madison to death I'll bug,
For his perfidious zeal displayed
For 'Sailors' Rights and for Free Trade.'
This small atonement I will have—
I'll lug down Jemmy to the grave,
Then trade and commerce shall be free,
And sailors have their liberty.
Of head bereft, and light, and breath,
The Terrapin, still true in death,
Will punish Jemmy's perfidy—
Leave trade and brother sailors free!"



DEATH OF THE TERRAPIN, ON THE EMBARGO.

PASSSENGER'S REPLY.

"Yes, Terrapin, bereft of breath,
We see thee faithful still in death.
Stick to 'Free Trade and Sailors' Rights.'
Hug Jemmy—press him—hold him—bite.
Never mind thy head—thou'lt live without it;
Spunk will preserve thy life—don't doubt it.
Down to the grave, 't' alone for sin,
Jemmy must go with Terrapin.

Bear him but off, and we shall see
Commerce restored and *sailors free*!
Hug, Terrapin, with all thy might—
Now for 'Free Trade and Sailors' Right.'
Stick to him, Terrapin! to thee the nation
Now eager looks—then die for her salvation.

"FLORIAN REEFERIGER."

² *Banks of Goose Creek, City of Washington, 12th April, 1814.*

³ A bill, authorizing a loan not exceeding twenty-five millions of dollars in amount, was offered in the House on the 14th of February. The debates on the subject took a very wide range, and the causes, origin, conduct, and probable results of the war were freely and sometimes acrimoniously discussed. Much that was said, especially by the Opposition, was irrelevant. The bill finally passed both houses of Congress by a large majority, and became a law by the approval of the President on the 15th of March. Then commenced among the leaders of the peace-party, or more ultra Federal-

and that concerning the exchange of prisoners became a very interesting topic. Difficulties, as we have observed, in regard to such exchange, appeared at the beginning of hostilities, caused by the British refusing to consider the Irishmen captured at Queenston as prisoners of war, claiming them to be British subjects. These were sent to England to be tried for treason. Scott then told the British authorities at Quebec that he should lay the matter before his government, and that an equal number of British prisoners should be held as hostages for their lives and freedom. He did so, and Congress, early in 1813, vested the President with the power of retaliation.¹

ists, a factious and at times treasonable efforts to destroy the public credit, and to so paralyze the sinews of war as to compel the government to make peace on any terms which the enemy might dictate. Of these efforts and their results I shall hereafter write.

¹ See page 409. Scott was faithful to his promise. As adjutant general and chief of Dearborn's staff, he selected from the prisoners captured by himself at Fort George [see page 599] twenty-three men as hostages for the unfortunate Irishmen sent over the sea. These were placed in close confinement, to await the action of the British government, and to be treated accordingly. Sir George Prevost immediately communicated this fact to the home government, and at the same time addressed a note to our government through General Dearborn. The latter was so negligent that it was three months before his letter reached Washington. Of this Sir George complained, and had even commenced sending prisoners to Halifax because of his inability to keep the large number which had accumulated on his hands in Canada while waiting a reply from our government. This neglect caused distress and inconvenience to the prisoners in Canada. They complained of their long detention, and Prevost gave them proof that Dearborn alone was to blame.

² August 19, 1813. Then General Winder, who was captured at Stony Creek [see page 604], wrote to the Secretary of War on the subject. After expressing a hope that Prevost would be promptly answered, he said, "But such unaccountable neglect or omission in answering the communications of Sir George has already taken place on the part of General Dearborn that I feel fearful that the same fatality may also attend that last communication." Winder's letter stirred the government to action, for already, as we have observed, prisoners had been sent to

³ August 9. Halifax from Canada,³ and Sir George Prevost threatened to send a large number to England. The whole business concerning the exchange of prisoners was placed in charge of General J. Mason, commissary general of prisoners, under the direction of the Secretary of State. That officer at once dispatched the now [1867] venerable Colonel Charles K. Gardner to Canada as agent for the prisoners, empowered by the proper authorities to negotiate their exchange.

While these movements were in progress, an order for retaliation came to Sir George Prevost from the Prince Regent, through Earl Bathurst, Secretary of State. It was promulgated at Montreal on the 27th of October⁴ 1813.

by a proclamation from the baronet, in which he stated that he was commanded "forthwith to put in close confinement forty-six American officers and non-commissioned officers, to be held as hostages for the safe keeping of the twenty-three British soldiers stated to have been put in close confinement by order of the American government." He was also instructed to apprise General Dearborn that "if any of the said British soldiers shall suffer death by reason that the soldiers now under confinement in England have been found guilty, and that the known law, not only of Great Britain, but of every independent state under similar circumstances, has been in consequence executed, he has been instructed to select out of the American officers and non-commissioned officers put into confinement as many as double the number of British soldiers who shall have been so unwarrantably put to death, and cause such officers and non-commissioned officers to suffer death immediately." He further stated that he was commanded to declare that instructions had been sent to the British commanders on land and sea "to prosecute the war with unmitigated severity against all cities, towns, and villages




Prevost obeyed orders, and imprisoned forty-six American officers in Beauport jail, near Quebec. Among these was Major C. Van De Venter (afterward chief clerk in the War Department), who was captured with General Winder. He and two room companions escaped, and had almost reached the State of Maine, when they were

captured and taken back. Under the humane care of General Glasgow, these and the other prisoners were well treated, but chafed under the long detention while the two governments were menacing the prisoners of each with peril. Madison responded to the order of the Prince Regent

⁴ November 17. by directing⁴ the imprisonment of a like number of British officers. This fact was communicated to Prevost at Montreal by Colonel Macomb, who had been sent for the purpose by General Wilkinson under a flag of truce. Wilkinson assured the baronet that the American government intended to adhere strictly to the principles and purposes avowed in relation to the twenty-three Irishmen sent to England; whereupon Prevost, by a general order by Adjutant General Baynes, on the 12th of December, directed all American officers, without distinction of rank, then prisoners in his department, to be placed in close confinement. Hitherto Generals Winchester, Chandler, and Winder had been allowed a wide parole around Beauport; now they were commanded not to go beyond the premises of their respective boarding-houses in that village, which lies on the St. Lawrence, in full view of Quebec.*



* Letter of General Winder to the Secretary of War.

Campaign on the Northern Frontier. Proposed Expedition to the Upper Lakes. Preparations on Lake Champlain.

Let us now consider the military events of 1814, which occurred more in accordance with the necessities of developing exigencies as the seasons passed on than with that of any well-digested plans excepting as to the Northern frontiers. It had been agreed in cabinet council that an expedition under Colonel Croghan, the hero of Fort Stephenson, with the co-operation of Commodore Sinclair, should proceed against the British on the upper lakes, and attempt the recovery of Mackinaw and St. Joseph's, which were lost at the beginning of the war.¹ An army, under Major General Brown, was to be collected on the desolated Niagara frontier of sufficient strength to seize the Canadian peninsula between Lakes Ontario and Erie, while General Izard, in command in the Lake Champlain region, should cut the connection on the St. Lawrence between Montreal and Kingston.

It was at the close of March^a when the campaign was opened on the Northern frontier by the incompetent General Wilkinson, who, we have observed, ^a 1814. took post with a part of the Army of the North, at Plattsburg, when the cantonment at French Mills was broken up.²

There were indications that efforts would be made in the spring by the British in Canada to gain possession of Lake Champlain, penetrate the State of New York to the valley of the Hudson, and attempt, by a movement similar to the one unsuccessfully put in operation by Burgoyne in 1777, to separate the New England commonwealths (where, they foolishly supposed, an overwhelming majority of the people were their friends) from the rest of the Union. To meet and frustrate such efforts countervailing measures were adopted. Vessels of war were constructed at the mouth of the Onion River, in Vermont, under the superintendence of Captain Macdonough; and General Wilkinson sent Captain Totten, of the Engineers, to select a site for a strong battery at or near Rouse's Point for the purpose of keeping the little British squadron, then lying at St. John's, on the Sorel, within the limits of Canada. Before this work could be accomplished, the breaking up of the ice in the streams earlier than common changed the aspect of affairs materially. Intelligence reached Wilkinson that a British force of twenty-five hundred men was about to be concentrated

^b These retaliatory measures were relaxed toward spring.^b At the middle of January Sir George Prevost allowed General Winder to go home on parole, with a promise not to reveal any thing of obvious disadvantage to the British, and to return to Quebec by the 15th of March. The general took that occasion to communicate freely in person with his government on the subject of an exchange of prisoners. He deprecated the retaliatory measures, and through his influence the Senate, first on the 2d of February and then on the 9th of March, by resolution, requested the President to cause to be laid before them such information as he might possess concerning the subject of prisoners and retaliatory measures, and "of the cases, with their circumstances, in which any civilized nation had punished its native subjects taken in arms against, and for which punishment retaliation had been inflicted by the nation in whose service they had been taken." Also, "on what grounds, and under what circumstances, Great Britain has refused to discharge native citizens of the United States impressed into her service; and what has been her conduct toward American seamen on board her ships of war at and since the commencement of the present war with the United States."^b 1814.

This was a task of no ordinary labor; and the Secretary of State, to whom the resolutions were referred, remarked, in a report which he submitted on the 14th of April, that a full answer from him on the subject of retaliation would require more extensive research into the history and jurisprudence of Europe than proper attention to his official duties would allow before the close of the session—an event then just at hand. He gave reasons, however, in justification of the course of the United States in the matter so satisfactory that a bill was introduced similar to the one at the last session of the Twelfth Congress giving the President full powers to retaliate. For reasons then presented, it did ^c April 18. not become a law. ^c Four days after the presentation of this report Congress adjourned.^d

General Winder promptly returned to Quebec at the middle of March, bearing to Sir George Prevost from Mr. Monroe, Secretary of State, a letter, dated the 9th of March, in which a mutual exchange of prisoners was solicited. General Winder was clothed with full powers to negotiate for such exchange. Prevost met the proposition with a friendly spirit, and appointed Colonel Baynes, his adjutant general, a commissioner for the purpose. The negotiation was commenced, but temporarily suspended, when, in a letter to General Winder, dated the 22d of March, Mr. Monroe positively prohibited any consent to the release of the twenty-three British prisoners who were held as hostages for the Irishmen sent to England eighteen months before, unless it should be stipulated that they, too, should be released. The negotiation was resumed, and on the 15th of April Winder and Baynes signed articles of a convention for the mutual release of all prisoners of war, hostages or others, except the twenty-three Queenston prisoners, the twenty-three Fort George prisoners held by the Americans in retaliation, and the forty-six American officers who were held for the last-named twenty-three. The mutual release took place on the 15th of May. Soon after that, Mr. Beasley, agent for the American government in England, sent word that no proceedings had ever been instituted against the Queenston prisoners, and that they were restored to the condition of ordinary prisoners of war. The hostages on both sides were immediately released, and early in July a cartel for the exchange of prisoners was ratified and executed. Thus ended a controversy unwarrantably begun by Great Britain, and which had produced much suffering. The just position taken by our government was firmly maintained. ^d See page 270. ^e See page 687.

Wilkinson crosses the Canada Border.

The British at La Colle Mill.

Positions of the opposing Forces.

at La Colle Mill, on La Colle Creek, a small tributary of the Sorel, three or four miles below Rouse's Point.

For the purpose of preparing for a march on Montreal, and to confront the expected force at La Colle, Wilkinson advanced his little army to Champlain, and on the 30th of March* crossed the Canada border, and pressed on toward La Colle.

* 1814. It was composed of about four thousand effective men. Five miles from Champlain, at a hamlet called Odelltown, the army stopped for refreshments; and, on resuming their march, they encountered the enemy's pickets, and drove them back. At about three o'clock in the afternoon they came in sight of La Colle Mill, a heavy stone structure, with walls eighteen inches in thickness, and its windows barricaded with heavy timbers, through which were loop-holes for muskets. It stood on the southern bank of La Colle Creek, at the end of a bridge. On the opposite bank was a block-house and a strong barn, and around them were intrenchments. For two hundred yards southward from the mill, and half that distance northward from the block-house, was cleared land, surrounded by a thick primeval forest which covered the country in every direction. The flat ground was half inundated by melting snows, and the highway was so obstructed by the enemy with felled trees and other hinderances that the Americans were compelled to diverge some distance to the right of it.



The advance of Wilkinson's army was commanded by Colonel Isaac Clark and Major (at that time lieutenant colonel by brevet) Benjamin Forsyth. These were followed by Captain M'Pherson, with two pieces of artillery, covered by the brigades of Generals Smith and Bissell. General Alexander Macomb commanded the reserves under Colonels Melancthon Smith and George M'Feely. Clark and Forsyth, with portions of their commands, crossed La Colle Creek some distance above the mill, followed by Colonel Miller's regiment of six hundred men, and took post in the rear of the enemy to cut off his retreat.

At this time the British garrison at the mill consisted of only about two hundred men, chiefly regulars, under Major Hancock, of the British Thirteenth. Re-enforcements were on the way, and it was important for Wilkinson to dislodge the enemy at the mill before their arrival. Macomb endeavored to send forward an 18-pound cannon to breach the walls, but failed on account of the softness of the ground. Hoping to perform the same service with M'Pherson's heavy guns, which consisted of a 12-pound cannon and a 5½-inch mortar, these were placed in battery at the dis-

Wilkinson attacks the British Garrison. The Latter re-enforced. The Americans repulsed. The Battle-ground.

tance of two hundred and fifty yards from the mill. They opened fire upon that citadel, but their missiles were harmless. They were responded to by Congreve rockets; and the whole American line, being in open fields, was exposed to the galling fire of the enemy. M'Pherson was wounded under the chin, but fought on until his thigh-bone was broken by a musket ball, when he was carried to the rear. Lieutenant Larrabee, his next in command, was shot through the lungs, and Lieutenant Sheldon kept up the fire with great gallantry. The conduct of these officers was so conspicuous as to attract the admiration and comment of their brethren in arms.

While this contest was waging, two flank companies of the British Thirteenth, under Captains Ellard and Holgate, arrived from *Isle aux Noix*, seven miles distant, and gave much strength to the beleaguered garrison. Major Hancock now determined to storm the American battery, and gave orders for an immediate and vigorous *sortie* by the two companies just arrived. They made several desperate charges, and were as often repulsed by the infantry supports of the artillery under Smith and Bissell. They were finally driven back across the bridge, and compelled to take refuge in the block-house on the northerly side of the stream. There they were soon joined by some Canadian Grenadiers and Voltigeurs from Burtonville, only two miles distant. These joined the companies of Ellard and Holgate in another *sortie* more desperate than the first, which, after a severe struggle, was repulsed by the covering brigades, and the cannonade and bombardment went on. They made no impression, however, upon the walls of the mill. The garrison had been augmented by re-enforcements to almost a thousand men, and, after a contest of two hours, Wilkinson withdrew, having lost thirteen killed, one hundred and twenty-eight wounded, and thirteen missing. The enemy lost eleven killed, two officers and forty-four men wounded, and four missing.

I visited the scene of this conflict on a pleasant evening toward the close of July,* 1860. I had been to French Mills (Fort Covington) in the morning, and had arrived at Rouse's Point, as before observed (page 665), toward evening. In a light wagon, behind a fleet horse, I rode from the village to La Colle Mill in time to make a sketch of the scene—the bridge, and the block-house, then part



LA COLLE MILL AND BLOCK-HOUSE.

of a dwelling, the property of Mr. William Bowman—and to obtain from that gentleman so exact a description of the form and size of the old mill, which had been de-

Graves of the Slain in the Battle. End of Wilkinson's military Career. Brown ordered to the Niagara Frontier.

molished only two years before, as to enable me, by observing the relative position of its ruins to the bridge, to reproduce the likeness of it given in the picture on the preceding page. Mr. Bowman accompanied me to the Ferry-road, opened by himself, a little southward of the bridge, where, about thirty rods southeast from the highway, might be seen the mounds which cover the remains of the slain in the battle there. Those of the Americans were buried on the right side of the road, and those of the British on the left side, about twenty feet from each other. Only one grave was made for the dead of each nation.

At twilight I passed through La Colle village and Odelltown, the road running through a level, well-cultivated region, which was covered by forest at the time of the war. I spent the night at an indifferent inn at Rouse's Point village, and on the following morning journeyed to Champlain and Plattsburg. Of this journey I shall hereafter write.

With the discreditable affair at La Colle Mill the military career of General Wilkinson was closed. By an order from the War Department, issued a week previous to that affair,^a he was relieved of the command of the army in the Department of the North, and his conduct while in command of that district was subsequently committed to the scrutiny of a court-martial. He proved that during the most important operations of the disastrous campaign, which ended at French Mills, the War Department, in the person of Minister Armstrong and Adjutant General Walbach, was on the Northern frontier, and that he acted under the Secretary's immediate instructions; that the failure of Hampton to meet him at St. Regis' justified his abandonment of an attack on Montreal; and that his encampment and stay at, and departure from French Mills, was in accordance with the views of the Secretary of War. These proofs being positive, Wilkinson was acquitted, and the public placed the chief blame, where it seemed to properly belong, on the War Department. Like Harrison, who had felt the baleful effects of the administration of that department, Wilkinson threw up his commission in disgust.

Many official changes were necessary. Dearborn was in retirement on account of ill health; Hampton had left the service in disgrace; and Winchester, Chandler, and Winder were still prisoners of war in the hands of the enemy in Canada. On the 24th of January Brigadier Generals Brown and Izard were commissioned major generals; and Colonels Macomb, T. A. Smith, Bissell, Scott, Gaines, and Ripley were appointed brigadiers. On the retirement of Wilkinson, Brown became chief commander in the Northern Department.

General Brown, as we have seen, left French Mills with a division of the army for Sackett's Harbor at about the middle of February.² He arrived there on the 24th, after a rather pleasant march for that season of the year. There he received a letter from the Secretary of War, dated on the 28th,^b informing him that Colonel Scott, who was a candidate for a brigadiership, had been ordered, with the accomplished Major Wood, of the Engineers, to the Niagara frontier. "The truth is," Armstrong said, "public opinion will not tolerate us in permitting the enemy to keep quiet possession of Fort Niagara. Another motive is the effect which may be expected from the appearance of a large corps on the Niagara in restraining the enemy's enterprises to the westward." After expressing doubts concerning the ability of the force under Scott to recapture Fort Niagara, the Secretary, "by command of the President," as he said, directed Brown to convey, with the least possible delay, the brigades which he brought from French Mills to Batavia, where "other and more detailed orders" would await him.³ On the same day, by another dispatch, the Secretary directed Brown to cross the ice at the foot of the lake, and attack the enemy at Kingston, if, on consultation with Chauncey, it should be considered practicable.

¹ See page 654.

² MS. Letter of Secretary Armstrong to General Brown, February 28, 1813.—General Brown's Letter-book.

³ See page 657.

Brown moving toward the Niagara. Ridiculous Orders from the War Department. Public Property in Danger.

In that event he was directed to use the instructions in the first letter of that date as a mask.

The two commanders considered the force of four thousand men at the Harbor insufficient for the capture of Kingston under the circumstances; and, mistaking the real intentions of the government, which was to make the movement on Kingston the *main object*, and that toward Niagara a *feint*, Brown put his troops in motion toward the latter at the middle of March. They numbered about two thousand, consisting of the Ninth, Eleventh, Twenty-first, and Twenty-fifth Regiments of Infantry, the Third Regiment of Artillery, and Captain Towson's company of the Second Artillery.¹ These troops had reached Salina, in Onondaga County, and Brown was at Geneva, when General Gaines thought he discovered his commander's mistake. Brown acquiesced in his opinion, and resolved to retrace his steps. He hastened back to Sackett's Harbor "the most unhappy man alive."² There Chauncey "and other confidential men" convinced him that his first interpretation of the Secretary's instruction was correct. "Happy again," he hastened back to his troops, and resumed the march westward. At the close of the month they arrived at Batavia, where they remained about four weeks, when they moved toward Buffalo. In the mean time Armstrong had written a soothing letter to the perturbed Brown, saying, "You have mistaken my meaning. . . . If you hazard any thing by this mistake, correct it promptly by returning to your post. If, on the other hand, you left the Harbor with a competent force for its defense, go on and prosper. Good consequences are sometimes the result of mistakes."³

While at Batavia and vicinity Brown was made very uneasy by alarming letters from Chauncey, and also from General Gaines, who had been placed in command at Sackett's Harbor. The British were in motion at Kingston early in April, the ice having broken up, and there were indications of another attack on the Harbor. With this impression, and feeling the responsibility laid upon him by the grant of discretionary power given him by the Secretary of War, Brown hastened back to that post, leaving General Scott in command of the troops on the Niagara frontier during his absence. Observation soon taught him that an attack on the Harbor was "more to be desired than feared,"⁴ and that the real point of danger was Oswego, at the mouth of the Oswego River. At the Great Falls of that stream, twelve miles from the lake, where the village of Fulton now stands, a large quantity of naval stores had been collected during the autumn and winter for vessels on the stocks at Sackett's Harbor. These would be very important objects for the British to possess or destroy; and, excepting the partly-finished vessels at Sackett's Harbor, they formed the most attractive prize for Sir James Yeo, the British commander on Lake Ontario. For the protection of this property, Lieutenant Colonel Mitchell, with a battalion of light artillery, was sent to garrison the fort at Oswego.

At the beginning of May Sir James Yeo sailed out of Kingston Harbor with an effective force of cruising vessels. Chauncey was not quite ready for him. Both parties, one at Kingston and the other at Sackett's Harbor, had been bending all their energies during the preceding winter in making preparations for securing the command of Lake Ontario, an object considered so important by the two governments

¹ MS. Letter to Colonel E. Jenkins, March 12, 1814.

² MS. Letter to the Secretary of War, March 24, 1814.

³ MS. Letter, March 20, 1814. It must be confessed that many of the orders issued from Washington at this time were exceedingly perplexing to the officers in the field. A great portion of the frontier was yet in a wilderness state, and the topography and geography of the country was very imperfectly known. In a letter before me from the venerable John R. Kellogg, of Allegan, Michigan, dated 15th March, 1864, some amusing anecdotes bearing upon this subject are given. He says that he heard Captain (afterward Commodore) Woolsey relate to Chauncey and other officers, in the old two-story wood tavern at Oswego, the fact that he had received the following order from Washington: "Take the *Lady of the Lake* and proceed to Onondaga, and take in, at Nicholas Mickle's Furnace, a load of ball and shot, and proceed at once to Buffalo." In other words, go over Oswego Falls, then up the Oswego and Seneca Rivers to Onondaga Lake to Salina or Syracuse, and then two miles south of that city by land, where the furnace was situated, and, returning to Oswego, proceed to the Niagara, and up and over Niagara Falls to Buffalo!

⁴ MS. Letter to the Secretary of War, April 25, 1814.

that they withdrew officers and seamen from the ocean to assist in the lake service. The American government also added twenty-five per cent. to the pay of those engaged in that service.

In February Henry Eckford¹ had laid the keel of three vessels, one a frigate designed to carry fifty guns, and two brigs of five hundred tons each, to carry twenty-two guns. Deserters who came in reported heavy vessels in great forwardness at



CHAUNCEY'S DISMANTLED FLAG-SHIP SUPERIOR.

Kingston; and Chauncey, who returned from the national capital at the close of February, ordered the size of the frigate to be increased so as to carry sixty-six guns. The brigs, named respectively *Jefferson* and *Jones*, were ready for service, except their full armament, at the close of April; and the frigate, which was named *The Superior*, was launched on the 2d of May, just eighty days after her keel was laid.² But the naval stores and heavy guns designed for her were yet at Oswego Falls, to which point they had been carried by tedious transportation from Albany up the Mohawk, and through Wood Creek and Oneida Lake into the Oswego

River, the roads across the country from Utica to Sackett's Harbor being impassable with heavy ordnance. They were kept at the Falls for security from the enemy, until schooners employed by Captain Woolsey for the purpose could be loaded and dispatched singly from Oswego.

The ice, as we have remarked, broke up earlier than usual, and the British made attempts to destroy the large frigate at the Harbor. On the night of the 25th of April, Lieutenant Dudley, while out with two guard-boats, discovered three others in Black River Bay. Not answering his hail, he fired. They fled. On searching, six barrels of gunpowder were found, each containing a fuse, and slung in pairs by a rope in a way that a swimmer might convey them under a ship's bottom for the purpose of explosion. A few days afterward the British squadron was seen in sailing trim at Kingston; and on the 4th of May Lieutenant Gregory, in the *Lady of the Lake*, saw six sail of the enemy leave Kingston Harbor and move toward Amherst Bay. This was the squadron of Sir James Yeo, bearing a little more than one thousand land troops, under Lieutenant General Sir George Gordon Drummond. The active cruising force of Sir James consisted of eight vessels, ranging from 12 to 62 guns, making in the aggregate 222 pieces of ordnance, besides several gun-boats and other small craft, whose armament, added to the others, gave to the British much superiority in the weight of metal.

When Sir James sailed his squadron was so much superior in strength to the one that Chauncey could then put to sea that the latter prudently remained in Sackett's Harbor, and the enemy moved unimpeded against Oswego on the morning of the 6th of May. His vessels were seen at *reveillé* from that port, and preparations were speedily made to dispute his landing. The village, standing on the west side of the har-

¹ See page 615.

² On the 1st of June the American squadron consisted of the following vessels: *Superior*, 65, Lieutenant Elton, Chauncey's flag-ship; *Pike*, 28, Captain Crane; *Mohawk*, 42, Captain Jones; *Madison*, 24, Captain Trenchard; *Jefferson*, 23, Captain Ridgely; *Jones*, 22, Captain Woolsey; *Sylph*, 14, Captain Elliott; *Onida*, 15, Lieutenant Commandant Brown; and *Lady of the Lake*, 2, Lieutenant Mix, a look-out vessel. Besides these were several gun-boats and other small craft, among the best known of which were the *Governor Tompkins*, 6, Midshipman Elliott; *Pert*, 3, Lieutenant Adams; *Conquest*, 2, Lieutenant Wells; *Fair American*, 2, Lieutenant Wolcott; Chauncey; *Ontario*, 2, Sailing-master Stevens; *Aep*, 2, Lieutenant Jones; *Hamilton*, 5, *Grosvler*, 5; *Julia*, 2; *Elizabeth*, 1; and bomb-vessel *May*. The aggregate number of guns was 292.

The Defenses and Defenders of Oswego.

Attack on Fort Ontario.

Landing of British Troops.

bor formed by the mouth of the Oswego River, contained less than five hundred inhabitants. Upon a bluff on the north side of the river was old Fort Ontario, partly built in colonial times, spacious, but not strong. It then mounted only six old guns, three of which were almost useless because they had lost their trunnions. The garrison consisted of Mitchell's battalion of less than three hundred men. The schooner *Growler*, having on board Captain Woolsey and Lieutenant Pearce, of the Navy, was in the river for the purpose of conveying guns and naval stores to the Harbor. To prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy she was sunk, and a part of her crew under Lieutenant Pearce joined Mitchell, who had sent out messengers to arouse and bring in the neighboring militia.



SIR JAMES LUCAS YEO.

Mitchell had too few troops for the defense of both the village and the fort, so he ordered all the tents in store there to be pitched near the town, while with his whole force he took position at the fort. The deception had the desired effect. To the enemy the military array seemed much stronger on the side of the village than at the fort, and the British proceeded to assail the latter position. Leaving the absolutely defenseless village unmolested, the British troops, in fifteen large boats, covered by the gun-boats and small armed vessels, moved toward the shore, near the fort, early in the afternoon, while the cannon on the larger vessels opened fire on the fort. Meanwhile Captain James A. Boyle and Lieutenant Thomas C. Legate had been sent down to the shore with an old iron 12-pounder, and as soon as the enemy's boats were within proper distance they opened on them with deadly effect. Some of the boats were badly injured; some were abandoned, and all of the remainder hastily retired to the ships. Just then a heavy breeze sprung up, and the entire squadron put to sea. Drummond, in a general order, stated that he did not intend to attack on that day. He was only feeling the position and strength of the Americans.

On the morning of the 6th the fleet again appeared off Oswego, and the larger vessels immediately opened a heavy fire on the fort. The *Magnet* took station in front of the village, and the *Star* and *Charcell* were towed in near the mouth of the river for the purpose of covering the spot selected for the landing of troops. Under this shield were landed the flank companies of De Watteville's regiment, under Captain De Bersey; a light company of the Glengary Regiment, under Captain M'Millan; a battalion of marines under Lieutenant Colonel Malcolm; and two hundred seamen, armed with pikes, under Captain Mulcaster. The whole force, about twelve hundred in number, was commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Fischer. A reserve of troops was left on the vessels.

The enemy effected a landing early in the afternoon, and were compelled to ascend a long, steep hill in the face of a heavy fire of the Americans in the fort, and of a small body of the militia, who had been hastily summoned, and were concealed in a wood.¹ These, however, fled when the enemy had secured a footing on the shore. Finding it impossible to defend the fort with so few men, Mitchell left the works, and met the invaders in fair fight, covered only by woods. With the companies of Captains Romeyn and Melvin, he gallantly moved forward and attacked the front of the

¹ The British landed near where the City Hospital now stands, and the battle was just in the rear of it.

The British capture Oswego.

The Fort dismantled and Barracks burned.

Conduct of Yeo and Drummond.



ATTACK ON OSWEGO.—(From an old Print.)

enemy, while the remainder of his command, under Captains M'Intyre and Pierce of the heavy artillery, annoyed them prodigiously on the flank. By desperate fighting the enemy was kept in check for a long time, but overwhelming numbers finally compelled Mitchell to fall back. The British took possession of the fort and all the works and stores in the vicinity. Mitchell retired up the river to a position where he might protect the naval stores should the enemy attempt to penetrate to the Falls in search of them.

In this gallant but hopeless defense the Americans lost the brave Lieutenant Blaney, and five killed, thirty-eight wounded, and twenty-five missing. The British lost nineteen killed and seventy-five wounded. Among the latter were Captain Mulcaster, of the *Princess Charlotte*, severely, and Captain Popham, of the *Montreal*, slightly.

At five o'clock on the morning of the 7th the invaders withdrew, after having embarked the guns and few stores found there, dismantled the fort, and burned the barracks. They also raised and carried away the *Grounder* and two sunken boats; and, under circumstances not at all creditable to Sir James Yeo as an officer and gentleman, several citizens, who had been promised protection and exemption from all molestation, were abducted and borne away by the squadron. Among these was the after-

Alvin Bronson

ward eminent merchant of Oswego, Honorable Alvin Bronson, who was then the public store-keeper, and who is still (1867) a resident of that place.¹ After the capture of the post, and while Yeo was personally superintending the load-

ing of his boats with salt and public stores, that officer applied to Mr. Bronson for pilots to conduct the boats out to the squadron. When he replied that all the men had left the place, and that he had none under his control, Sir James angrily growled out, with an oath, "Go yourself, and if you get the boat aground I'll shoot you." The gallant and gentlemanly Colonel Harvey, who was standing on the bank above,

¹ His clerk, Carlos Colton, then a boy, was taken with him. Mr. C. was clerk of the County of Monroe, Michigan, in 1856.

Firmness of Store-keeper Bronson.

His Captivity and Release.

Survivors of the War in Oswego.

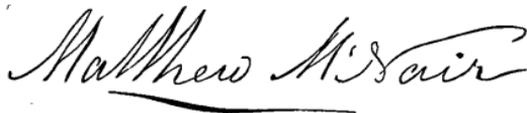
called out to Sir James, "That, sir, is the public store-keeper, and may be useful to us." Sir James called Mr. Bronson back, and said, "You are my prisoner, and I shall expect you to inform me what stores have recently been forwarded for the army and navy, what remains in the rear of the post, and what, if any, are secreted in its neighborhood. "My books and papers," replied Mr. Bronson, have been removed for safety, and I can not, therefore, give you the desired information; nor would it be proper for me to do so if I could." Sir James threatened to take him off with him if he withheld the coveted information. "I am ready to go, sir," was Mr. Bronson's calm reply. This was followed by an order to Captain O'Connor to take him on board the flag-ship *Prince Regent*. At midnight the naval and military officers came on board the *Regent*. Among them was General Sir George Gordon Drummond, who lavished upon the captive store-keeper such coarse and vulgar abuse that Colonel Harvey, as soon as an opportunity was afforded, apologized for the brutality of his superior officers, of whom he was evidently ashamed.¹ Mr. Bronson was confined a short time in the guard-house at Kingston, and again taken to the squadron when it proceeded to the blockade of Sackett's Harbor. He was well treated, and associated familiarly with the subordinate officers. He was soon afterward released.

Among the survivors of the war, besides Mr. Bronson, whom I had the pleasure of meeting in Oswego, were the late Henry Eagle and Matthew M'Nair; the venerable bookseller James Sloan; the lively but aged light-house-keeper Jacob M. Jacobs; and the late Abram D. Hugunin. Mr. Eagle was a Prussian by birth, and possessed a fine figure when more than threescore and ten years of age. He learned the busi-



ness of a ship-carpenter of a Scotchman on the border of the Baltic Sea, and worked his passage to America as such. He was the constructor of the *Oneida* at Oswego in 1808, and he accompanied Eckford to the frontier in 1812-'13. He became purser at the Navy Yard at Sackett's Harbor, where he was very active. He gave me many interesting particulars concerning the building of the *New Orleans*. Five hundred and fifty-three men were employed on her. The timber for her masts was cut near Watertown, in Jefferson County, and the cost of their transportation to the Harbor was one hundred and sixty dollars apiece. They were afterward used in the construction of the ship-house.

Mr. M'Nair, a Scotchman, was government commissary at Oswego, and had a store-house there and at the Falls. At the time of the British attack he had twelve hundred barrels of bread and other provisions in store at Oswego, and a quantity



of whisky.² These became spoils for the enemy. Mr. Jacobs had been a companion in cruises with Commodore Rodgers, and went to Lake Ontario in 1812 with a midshipman's warrant. Although, when I last saw him [1864], he was eighty-eight years of age, his complexion was so fresh and his step so elastic that he appeared like a man less than sixty years old. Mr. Sloan was Macdonough's clerk on the *Saratoga* at

¹ Colonel Harvey was as generous as he was brave. He was governor of Nova Scotia in 1839 when General Scott was sent by his government to settle the dispute concerning the boundary-line between that country and the State of Maine either by arms or negotiation. Scott and Harvey were adjutant generals in their respective armies on the Niagara frontier, and at that time formed an intimacy which ripened into friendship. On going to the capital of Maine, Scott opened a friendly correspondence with Governor Harvey, which resulted in an amicable settlement of a difficulty which threatened to involve the United States and Great Britain in war.

² Mr. M'Nair died at Oswego on the 31st of March, 1862, at the age of eighty-eight years. He had resided in Oswego sixty years.

The British return to Kingston.

Sackett's Harbor blockaded.

Woolsey's Expedition.

the time of the battle of Plattsburg in the autumn of 1814. Mr. Hugotin, who died at Oswego in February, 1860, had lived in that place since 1805. He was in the military service when Oswego was captured in 1814, and was made a prisoner.

The conduct of Lieutenant Colonel Mitchell in his defense of Oswego received the commendation of his superiors. His prudence and gallantry secured the large amount of ordnance and naval stores at the Falls,¹ and the British derived very little advantage from their attack. With their small booty they returned to Kingston, and Oswego was not again attacked during the war. The dilapidated fort was repaired, the garrison strengthened, and the enemy was defied. For many years that fort has been a strong and admirably-appointed fortress, but without a garrison, and in charge of a sergeant. Its situation and appearance, as seen from the lantern of the light-house, is given in the little engraving below from a sketch made in 1855. The place where the British landed is seen at the point on the extreme left of the picture.



FORT AT OSWEGO IN 1855.

The British troops were landed at Kingston, and the vessels were thoroughly overhauled during the succeeding fortnight. On the 19th the renovated squadron again weighed anchor, and, a few hours afterward, drove Chauncey's look-out, *Lady of the Lake*, into Sackett's Harbor, and established a strict blockade of that port, to the great discomfort of the American commander, who was making untiring efforts to get his squadron, and especially the *Superior*, ready for sea. Heavy guns and cables destined for her were yet at the Oswego Falls. The roads were in such condition that they could not be taken to the Harbor by land, and the blockade made a voyage thither by water extremely perilous. But something must be done, or Sir James Yeo would roam over Ontario unrestricted lord of the lake. The ever-active and gallant Woolsey was sufficient for the occasion. He declared his willingness to attempt carrying the ordnance and naval stores to Stony Creek, three miles from Sackett's Harbor, where they might be carried across a narrow portage to Henderson Harbor, and reach Chauncey in safety. The commodore gave Woolsey permission to attempt the perilous adventure, and before the close of May he had a large number of the heavy guns sent over the Falls in scows, preparatory to an embarkation when the vigilance of the blockading squadron should be relaxed.

At sunset on the 28th of May Woolsey was at Oswego with nineteen boats heavily laden with twenty-two long 32-pounders, ten 24's, three 42-pound carronades, and twelve cables. One of the latter, destined for the *Superior*, was an immense rope. The flotilla went out of the harbor at dusk, and bore Major Appling and one hundred and thirty riflemen under his command. About the same number of Oneida Indians were engaged to meet the flotilla at the mouth of Big Salmon River, near the present village of Port Ontario, and traverse the shore abreast of it, to assist in the event of an attack by the British gun-boats.

Woolsey found it unsafe to attempt to reach Stony Creek, for the blockaders were

¹ The public store-houses at the Falls (now Fulton) were on the east side of the river, a little above the Cascades. The surrounding land belonged to the government. When I visited the spot in 1854, the land belonged to Timothy Pratt, Esq., a large land-holder at the Falls. The stores were demolished after the war, and not a vestige of them now remains.

Woolsey's Force on Big Sandy Creek.

The confident British in Pursuit.

Preparations to receive Them.

rigilant, so he determined to run up Big Sandy Creek, within a few miles of the Harbor, and debark the precious treasures there. The night was very dark, and there was little danger of discovery under its friendly shadows. By dint of hard rowing, all the boats reached the Big Salmon at dawn excepting one which had fallen out of the line during the night. It was bewildered in the fog, and was captured by the British at sunrise the next morning. The Oneidas were there, and flotilla and Indians moved on toward the Big Sandy, where they all arrived at noon.⁴ Sir James, meanwhile, had gained information of the flotilla from the crew of the lost boat. He immediately sent out two gun-boats, commanded respectively by Captain Popham, of the *Montreal*, and Captain Spilsbury, also of the Royal Navy, accompanied by three cutters and a gig, to intercept them. They cruised all day in vain, but at evening learned that Woolsey and his boats had gone up the Big Sandy. Confident of their ability to capture the whole flotilla, and ignorant of the presence of Major Appling and his riflemen, or of the Indians, the British cruisers lay off the mouth of the creek all night, and entered it early in the morning. In the door of a fisherman's house (yet standing when I visited the spot in 1860) Popham saw a woman, and ordered her to have breakfast ready for himself and officers when they should return. She knew how well Woolsey was prepared to receive his pursuers, and said, significantly, "You'll find breakfast ready up the creek." The British passed on in jolly mood up the creek, but soon became very serious.



PLACE OF BATTLE AT SANDY CREEK.

For two miles or more the Big Sandy winds through a marshy plain, and empties into the lake through a ridge of sand dunes cast up by the winds and waves of Ontario. That plain is now barren of timber, but at the time we are considering the stream was fringed with trees and shrubbery. In these, about forty rods below a bend in the creek, seen in the engraving, and half a mile below where the flotilla was moored, Major Appling ambushed his riflemen and the Indians. At the same time, a squadron of cavalry under Captain Harris, and a company of light artillery under Captain Melvin, with two 6-pound field-pieces and some infantry, about three hundred in all, whom General Gaines had sent down from Sackett's Harbor, were stationed near Woolsey's boats.

The confident and jolly Britons approached with little caution, and when they came

⁴ This view is from the bridge, about one hundred and fifty rods above the point where the engagement took place. The stream is about eight rods wide, and the portion of it seen in the foreground was the position of the flotilla. The light strip seen in the extreme distance is Lake Ontario, and the irregular shore-line shows the sand dunes spoken of. The fisherman's house alluded to is seen between two of them, toward the extreme left of the picture.

Battle on Big Sandy Creek. The British defeated and captured. John Otis. The great Cable for the *Superior*.

in sight of the flotilla they commenced hurling solid shot upon it, but with slight effect. At the same time strong flanking parties were landed, and marched up each side of the stream, their way made clear, as they supposed, by discharges of grape and canister shot into the bushes from the gun-boats. These dispersed the cowardly Indians, but the gallant young Appling's sharpshooters were undisturbed.¹

It was now ten o'clock. When the invaders reached a point within rifle range of the ambuscade, Appling's men opened destructive volleys upon them, and occasional shot came thundering from Melvin's² field-pieces, stationed on the bank, near the present bridge. So furious and unexpected was the assault on front, flank, and rear, that the British surrendered within ten minutes after the first gun was fired in response to their own. They had lost Midshipman Hoare and seventeen men killed, and at least fifty men dangerously wounded. The Americans lost one rifleman and one Indian warrior wounded, but not a single life. They gained the British squadron,³ with officers and men as prisoners, in number about one hundred and seventy. A negro on one of the gun-boats, who had been ordered to throw the cannon and small-arms overboard in case of danger, did so when the fight was ended. The Americans called on him to desist or they would shoot him. He paid no attention to them, and, with a sense of duty, had cast overboard one cannon and many muskets, when he fell dead, pierced by twelve bullets.

The wounded British were taken to the house of John Otis, yet standing,⁴ and still occupied by the then owner when I visited the spot in

July 20, 1860. It was the second house above the

1860. bridge. Otis, a venerable man when I saw him, gave Woolsey the first notice of the presence of pursuers. He had been out upon the lake since midnight, watching for the enemy, and, discovering them at early dawn making for the mouth of the creek, he hastened up the stream with the information. He pointed out to me the place, near a large chestnut-tree in a lot adjoining his garden, where the British dead were buried. He took care of many of the wounded for more than a fortnight, for which service and expenses his country rewarded him after a lapse of forty-three years. In 1857 Congress voted him a little more than nine hundred dollars; but one of those harpies known as lobby agents, who know how to approach legislators of easy virtue, took one half of it as compensation for his services in procuring the "appropriation."

The cannon and cables were landed safely from the flotilla, and transported by land sixteen miles to the Harbor. The great cable for the *Superior* had occupied, in ponderous coils, one of the boats of ten tons burden. The cable was twenty-two inches in circumference, and weighed nine thousand six hundred pounds. No vehicle could be found to convey it over the country to the Harbor; and, after a delay of a week,



OTIS'S HOUSE, SANDY CREEK.

¹ Daniel Appling was born in Columbia County, Georgia, in 1787, and entered the army as second lieutenant of rifle-men in 1808. He was promoted to captain in the spring of 1812, and major of the First Rifle Corps in April, 1814. For his gallant conduct at Sandy Creek he was breveted lieutenant colonel in August. He was breveted colonel for distinguished services at Plattsburg in September following. He was retained on the peace establishment in 1815, but resigned in June the following year. He died at Montgomery, Alabama, in March, 1817, at the age of only thirty years.

² George W. Melvin was a native of Georgia. He entered the military service as second lieutenant of artillery at the close of 1808. In August, 1812, he was commissioned captain. He was retained on the peace establishment, and resigned in August, 1820.

³ One of the boats mounted a 68-pound carronade; one a long 32-pounder; one a long 24; one two long 12's, and another two small brass howitzers.

⁴ Dr. Alfred Ely, who was an assistant of Surgeon Amasa Trowbridge, was at Sandy Creek, and attended the wounded British at the house of Mr. Otis. I had the pleasure of meeting him at the inauguration of the statue of Perry, at Cleveland, in September, 1860. He is now (1867) a resident of Oberlin, Ohio.

Alfred Ely

Carrying the great Cable to Sackett's Harbor. Visit to the Sandy Creek Region. Survivors of the War met there.

men belonging to the militia regiment of Colonel Allen Clark, who had hastened to the creek on hearing the din of battle, volunteered to carry it on their shoulders. About two hundred men were selected for the labor. They left the Big Sandy at noon, and arrived at the Harbor toward the evening of the next day. They carried it a mile at a time without resting. Their shoulders were terribly bruised and chafed by the great rope. They were received by loud cheers and martial music. A barrel of whisky was rolled out and tapped for their refreshment, and each man received two dollars extra pay. In less than a fortnight from the time of the battle all the cannon and naval stores were at Sackett's Harbor.² But many difficulties had to be overcome, and the fleet was not ready to leave the Harbor on a cruise until the 1st of August.

* June 10,
1814.

It was a sultry morning in July when I visited the theatre of events just described. I arrived at Little Sandy Creek Village on the previous evening, and there met Har-

Harmon Ehle

mon Ehle, a sprightly little man, now (1867) eighty-seven years of age, who was one of the two hundred who carried the great cable to

Sackett's Harbor. From him I learned most of the facts concerning it just related. I spent the evening very pleasantly with him. For forty-nine years he had lived there, and had seen the country transformed from a wilderness to the pleasant abode of civilized man.¹ The night succeeding our interview was tempestuous. At dawn a heavy thunder-shower drenched that whole region; yet at an early hour I started in a light wagon for Sackett's Harbor, on the road that would lead to the battleground on the Big Sandy. When within about a mile of it, we saw standing at a rustic gate, resting upon crutches, a venerable man of seventy-five years, with palsied legs, beard of a fortnight's growth, a slouched felt hat on his head, and a blue linen sack covering all that we could see of him. It was Jebaziel Howard, a native of Vermont, an old seaman of the lake, who was with Woolsey at the time of the battle of the Big Sandy. He had been with him since early in the war, and was with Chauncey at the taking of Fort George.² He saw the negro shot on the British gun-boat in the Big Sandy, and assisted in taking the British wounded to Otis's. Bidding him good-morning, we rode to the bridge, where I made the sketch on page 799. There we spent half an hour with Mr. Otis, and then rode on to Ellisburg, where we breakfasted between nine and ten o'clock. Meanwhile very heavy clouds were gathering in the west, and we had ridden only two or three miles from the village, through the "garden of Jefferson County," when a thunder-storm burst upon us with great fury. We took refuge in a tavern by the way-side, and arrived at Sackett's Harbor at little past meridian, in pleasant sunshine, as already mentioned.³



JEBAZIEL HOWARD.

Let us now leave the more easterly shores of Lake Ontario, and consider events on the Niagara frontier, where the broom of destruction during the year 1813 had swept away almost every thing worth contending for excepting territory. But Canada was to be conquered by one party and defended by the other, if possible, and the possession of the Ontario and Erie peninsula was of vast importance to the contestants. For that possession the military movements we are about to consider were commenced.

¹ In February, 1861, Congress granted Mr. Ehle a pension of \$15 a month during his natural life.
² See page 599. ³ See page 615.

We left a portion of the Army of the North on its march from Batavia to Buffalo, under the command of Brigadier General Scott, while Major General Brown, the commander-in-chief, hastened back to menaced Sackett's Harbor. That post and others on Lake Ontario were soon considered safe from attack, and, with the bulk of his army, Brown stood on the east bank of the Niagara River at the close of June, 1814. He made Buffalo his head-quarters, and on the 1st of July he found himself at the head of a military force strong enough, in his judgment, to carry out the orders and wishes of the War Department by invading Canada. His army consisted of two brigades of infantry, commanded respectively by Generals Scott and Ripley, and to each of these was attached an efficient train of artillery, commanded by Captain Nathan Towson and Major Jacob Hindman, and a small squadron of cavalry under Captain Samuel D. Harris. These troops were well equipped and highly disciplined. They were the regulars. There was also a brigade of miscellaneous troops, composed of five hundred Pennsylvania Volunteers; six hundred New York Volunteers, of whom one hundred were mounted; and between five and six hundred Indian warriors, embracing almost the entire military force of the Six Nations then remaining in the United States. These had been aroused to action by the stirring eloquence of the then venerable Red Jacket, the great Seneca orator, chief, and sachem,² whose in-

¹ General Scott had taken special pains to discipline these troops thoroughly. General Jesup (then major), in a manuscript "Memoir of the Campaign on the Niagara" now before me, says that "he [Jesup] began, under the orders of General Scott, a course of instruction, and kept his command (Twenty-fifth Infantry) under arms from seven to ten hours a day. A similar course was pursued by the chiefs of other corps. The consequence was, that when we took the field in July our corps manœuvred in action and under the fire of the enemy's artillery with the accuracy of parade."

² Sa-go-ye-wat-lis, or Red Jacket, was born about the year 1759 where the city of Buffalo now stands, that being the chief residence of the leaders of the Seneca tribe of the Six Nations. He was a swift-footed, fluent-tongued being. During the Revolution he, in common with his tribe, took part with the British and Tories. His business was more in the way of arousing his people to action by his eloquence than the performance of great actions himself. Indeed, Brant spoke very disparagingly of him, and called him a traitor and dishonest man; and he was charged with having been found in a place of safety cutting up a cow belonging to another Indian (which he had killed) while Sullivan was marching through the Seneca country in 1779, fighting the warriors whom Red Jacket had aroused by his eloquence. He first appears conspicuous in history at the treaty of Fort Stanwix (now Rome, New York) in 1784, when, by certain concessions of territory by the Six Nations, those of the tribes who had not emigrated to Canada were brought under the protection of the government of the United States. It was on that occasion that Red Jacket's fame as a great orator was established. Two years afterward he was prominent at a council held at the mouth of the Detroit River; and in all the disputes between the white people and Indians respecting land-titles in Western New York Red Jacket was ever the eloquent defender of the rights of his race. His paganism never yielded to the influence of Christianity, and he was the most inveterate enemy to all missionary efforts among the Senecas. Under his leadership the Senecas became the allies of the Americans against the British in the War of 1812, and in the battle of Chippewa in the summer of 1814 he behaved well as a soldier, although he seems to have been constitutionally timid, and always braver in council than in the field. For many years he was the head chief of the Senecas. The influence of Christianity and the civilization that affected his people disturbed the latter years of his life, and he was made more unhappy by the intemperate use of intoxicating liquors. So great and disgusting became his excesses that in 1827 he was formally deposed by an act in writing signed by twenty-six of the leading men of the Senecas. This blow was severe. He went to the National capital for redress, and he returned to his people with such evidences of reform that he was reinstated. But he soon became an imbecile, and in a journey to the Atlantic sea-board he permitted himself to be exhibited for money. How his proud spirit in its vigor would have scorned such degradation! He died on the 29th of January, 1836, at the age of almost eighty years. His remains were buried in the church-yard of the Seneca mission, three or four miles from Buffalo, and over his grave Henry Placide, the comedian, furnished with funds by a subscription which he set on foot among the actors connected with the Buffalo theatre, placed a slab of marble in 1889, upon which were engraven these words: "SAGOYEWATHA (He-keeps-them-awake), Red Jacket; chief of the Wolf Tribe of the Senecas; the friend and protector of the people. Died January 29, 1836, aged seventy-eight years."



RED JACKET'S MEDAL.

Toward the close of the Revolution a British officer gave the young chiefs richly-embroidered scarlet jackets, from the wearing of which he derived his English name. In his later years he wore, with pride, a large medal, which was presented to him by President Washington in 1793 on the conclusion of a treaty of peace and amity between the

The Volunteers and Indians.

Chief Engineer M'Ree.

Fort Erie and the Invasion of Canada.



RED JACKET.

fluence among his people had been very great since the close of the Revolution, in which he took a part, not, however, very much to his credit as a soldier.

The volunteers and Indians were under the chief command of General Peter B. Porter, who was then quarter-master general of the New York Militia, and, as we have seen, was not only an eloquent advocate of the war in Congress¹ before it was commenced, but a ready and patriotic actor in its more stirring and dangerous scenes in the field. The accomplished Major William M'Ree, of North Carolina, was the chief engineer in Brown's army,² and he was assisted by the equally accomplished and gallant Major Eleazer D. Wood, with whom we have



Wm M'Ree

become well acquainted while following General Harrison in his campaign in the far Northwest.

On the Canada shore, at the foot of Lake Erie, nearly opposite Buffalo, stood Fort Erie, then garrisoned by one hundred and seventy men, mostly of the One Hundredth Regiment, under the command of Major Buck, of the British army. It was the most serious impediment in the way of our invasion of Canada in that quarter; but when, on the 1st of July, Brown received orders from the Secretary of War to cross the river, capture Fort Erie, and march on Chippewa, at the mouth of Chippewa Creek, where some fortifications had been thrown up, menace Fort George, and, if assured of the co-operation of Chauncey's fleet, and its capability of with-

United States and the Six Nations after the Revolution. It is made of silver, with a heavy rim, and is five inches in width, and nearly seven inches in length. The devices upon it were engraved, it is said, by the eminent David Rittenhouse, the philosopher, who, as a jeweler in his younger days, had acquired some facility in the use of the burin. It will be observed that the painter of the above portrait did not correctly draw the device on the medal which is given in the engraving on the preceding page from a photograph. The medal is now (1867) in the possession of Bravet Brigadier General Parker, of General Grant's staff, chief Sachem of the Six Nations. I saw it in his possession at City Point in 1864. Red Jacket's children being all dead at the time of his death, this insignia of leadership passed out of the possession of his immediate family. The stricken chief regarded the death of his eleven children as a punishment for his drunkenness. The late venerable Mr. Hosmer, of Avon, Livingston County, told the writer in 1855 that on one occasion a lady at his table with Red Jacket, who did not know of his bereavement, inquired after his children. The old chief, with deep sadness, replied with unsurpassed eloquence, "Red Jacket was once a great man and in favor with the Great Spirit. He was a lofty pine among the smaller trees of the forest. But, after years of glory, he degraded himself by drinking the fire-water of the white man. The Great Spirit has looked down upon him in his anger, and his lightning has stripped the pine of its branches."¹

¹ See page 212.

² William M'Ree was born in Wilmington, North Carolina, on the 13th of December, 1787. He was of Irish descent. His father was an active officer in our old War for Independence, and this son was educated at the Military Academy at West Point. He entered the corps of Engineers in 1805, and was commissioned a major, and assigned to the duty of chief engineer of the Northern Army in 1813. He was conspicuous in the events on the Northern and Niagara frontier during the war, at the close of which his government sent him on a tour of military inspection in Europe. After serving on a commission of engineers to determine upon a system of fortifications for the United States, he retired from the army in 1819. He became United States surveyor general, and was almost continually in public employment until his death, which occurred at St. Louis, Missouri, in May, 1833. He was never married. The silhouette from which the above engraving was made is the only likeness of him extant. I am indebted for its use to his nephew, Griffith J. M'Ree, of Wilmington.

Plan of the new Invasion of Canada. General Ripley. American Troops cross the Niagara. Major Gardner.

standing that of Sir James Yeo, to seize and fortify Burlington Heights, at the head of Lake Ontario, he did not hesitate a moment to set about its execution. If these results could be obtained, the Americans would not only hold the peninsula in their grasp, but might proceed leisurely to the conquest and occupation of all Upper Canada.

In obedience to his instructions, General Brown issued orders on the 2d of July for his troops to cross the Niagara River from Black Rock. Accompanied by Generals Scott and Porter, he made a reconnaissance of Fort Erie and the upper part of the Niagara, and concerted a plan of attack. His means of transportation were few. The arrangements for embarking and debarking were made with the brigadiers and the senior engineers, M'Ree and Wood. General Scott was to cross with one division through a difficult pass in the Black Rock Rapids, and land about a mile below Fort Erie, and at the same time General Ripley was to cross from Buffalo, and land at the same distance above the fort. This was to be accomplished by the dawn of the 3d, and the fort was to be immediately invested. The boats that conveyed these divisions were to return immediately to Black Rock, and transport the residue of the army, ordnance, and munitions of war to the Canada shore.¹

Toward the evening of the 2d, when the arrangements were all completed, General Ripley expressed a desire for a change. He believed that his division would have to bear the brunt of battle should the enemy oppose the crossing, and he asked for a larger number of troops. He complained that he could not cross with sufficient force to promise success; and when General Brown, who knew that delay would be perilous, endeavored to convince him that his force would be adequate, and assured him that no change could then be made in the arrangement, Ripley was angry, and tendered his resignation. It was not accepted, and the movement went on.

General Scott crossed the river while it was yet dark on the morning of the 3d, with the Ninth, Eleventh, part of the Twenty-second, and the Twenty-fifth Regiments, and a corps of artillery under Major Hindman, and landed below Fort Erie unmolested. His movements were so prompt that in less than two hours after he embarked, his brigade was formed on the Canada shore. General Brown, with his suite, consisting of his adjutant general (the now venerable Colonel Charles K. Gardner, of Washington City²), Major Jones, the assistant adjutant general, Majors M'Ree and Wood, of the Engineers, and Captains Austin and Spencer, his aids-de-camp, prepared to follow in a small boat. He would have landed on the Canada shore as early as the rear of Scott's division did, had not Ripley been tardy in his obedience of orders. It was broad daylight before that officer's brigade was embarked. Brown was disappointed. He pushed across the river, leaving orders for Ripley to follow as soon as possible, and join Scott, who by that time had formed his troops on the Canadian beach.

¹ In his general orders announcing the contemplated invasion General Brown prescribed stringent rules for his troops in the treatment of the inhabitants and their property. All found in arms were to be treated as enemies, and all others as friends. Private property was to be held sacred, and public property, when seized, was to be disposed of by the commanding general. He prescribed the punishment of death for all plunderers.

² Charles K. Gardner was born in Morris County, New Jersey, in 1787, and in 1791 removed with his parents to Newburg, on the Hudson, where he finished his education. He was a student of medicine with Dr. Hosack, in New York, when he received the appointment of ensign in the old Sixth Regiment of Infantry in 1808. In the following year, while on duty at Oswego, he was appointed adjutant of his regiment. He served as such at various points, and at Baton Rouge, Louisiana, General Wade Hampton appointed him his brigade inspector. In July, 1812, he was appointed captain of the Third Artillery, and in the following month General Armstrong, then in command at New York, made him his brigade inspector. In March, 1813, he was in charge of the adjutant general's office at Washington as assistant, but was soon afterward promoted to major of the Twenty-fifth Infantry, and ordered to the Northern frontier at Sackett's Harbor. He was in the battle of Chrysler's Field. In the following spring he accompanied General Brown's division first from French Mills to Sackett's Harbor, and then to Buffalo, and in April received the appointment of adjutant general, with the rank of colonel. For distinguished services on the Niagara frontier he was breveted lieutenant colonel, but, being then colonel, he declined it. In May, 1816, he was recommissioned adjutant general of the Army of the North, and in 1818 he married and resigned. In 1822-'3 he edited the *New York Patriot*, and was appointed corresponding clerk in the Post-office Department. In 1829 he became assistant postmaster general. He became auditor of the treasury for the Post-office Department in 1836, and was afterward postmaster at Washington City, and surveyor general of Oregon. Colonel Gardner is now (1867) a resident of Washington City. He is the author of a *Compend of Infantry Tactics*, and a very comprehensive *Dictionary of the Army*.

Fort Erie captured by the Americans.

Re-enforcements for it sent too late.

General Riall



Ch Gardner

Brown ordered Scott to push forward a battalion nearer the fort, to observe the movements of the garrison. This battalion, consisting of light troops and a few Indians, were under the command of Major Jesup, of the Twenty-fifth. They drove in the enemy's pickets; and so favorable to success was every appearance, that Brown resolved to invest the fort with Scott's brigade, without waiting for the landing of Ripley's. Taking with him a corps just formed by Major Gardner, he pushed into the woods, in the rear of the fort, where he seized a resident, and compelled him to act as guide. He then directed Gardner to press forward through the forest to the lake shore above the fort, extend his left so as to connect with Jesup's command, and in that manner inclose the post. This movement was accomplished before Ripley, at a late hour, crossed the river with the Nineteenth, Twenty-

first, and Twenty-third Regiments, and met at the landing the adjutant general with orders for his brigade to take the investing position in connection with Scott's forces. This was promptly done.

No time was lost in crossing the ordnance and selecting positions for batteries under the direction of Chief Engineer M'Ree. A long 18-pound cannon was mounted and ready for action upon an eminence called Snake Hill, when Brown demanded the surrender of the fort, giving the commander, Major Buck, two hours for consideration. Very soon afterward a white flag came out, and was received by Major Jesup; the fort, which was in a very weak condition, was surrendered; and at six o'clock in the evening the British soldiers, almost two hundred in number, including seven officers, marched out and stacked their arms, became prisoners of war, were sent across the river, and posted immediately for the Hudson. During the morning the British had fired cannon from the fort, which killed four Americans, and wounded two or three others. When the pickets were driven in the British had one man killed. These were all the casualties attendant upon the capture of Fort Erie.

Prompt measures were taken to secure the advantage gained by the capture of Fort Erie. Had Ripley's desire for delay prevailed, the prize would not have been won, for the British commander on the frontier, General Riall,¹ had been apprised of the danger impending over the fort, and at eight o'clock that morning had sent forward five companies of the Royal Scots to re-enforce it. In front of Chippewa they were met and checked by intelligence of the surrender of the fort. General Riall then determined to make an immediate attack on the Americans, but was induced to forbear by the assurance that the Eighth Regiment was hourly expected from York, now Toronto. He agreed to postpone the attack until the next morning.

P Riall

¹ History is almost silent concerning the character of General Riall. A contemporary, who served under him at the time we are now considering, speaks of him as a gallant man, but possessed of very little military skill: who had "attained his rank by the purchase of all purchasable grades." He was from Tipperary, in Ireland, a little less than middle age, and a man of fortune.

Scott moves down the Niagara.

Preparations for Battle at Street's Creek.

Origin of the "Cadet's Gray."

To confront and drive back this force of British regulars, Scott was sent toward Chippewa with his brigade, accompanied by Captain Towson's artillery corps, on the morning of the 4th. It was late in the afternoon before the second brigade, under Ripley, and Hindman's artillery, were prepared to move. Scott marched down the



STREET'S CREEK BRIDGE.

Canada shore of the Niagara River to a position on a plain behind Street's Creek, opposite the lower end of Navy Island, and little more than a mile above Chippewa. On the way he met a considerable British force under Lieutenant Colonel Pearson, and, after a sharp skirmish, he drove them be-

yond Street's Creek. In fact, the march, for sixteen miles, according to Jesup, was "a continual skirmish,"² chiefly with the British One Hundredth Regiment, under the Marquis of Tweeddale, who were driven to their intrenchments beyond the Chippewa. Believing Scott's troops to be only "Buffalo militia," the marquis could account for their bravery only by the fact of its being the anniversary of American Independence, which gave them patriotic inspiration and courage. He was undeceived on the following day.³ On the plain between Street's Creek and the Chippewa River, Captain Turner Crooker, of the Ninth, with a detachment of light infantry, received and repulsed a detachment of the Nineteenth British Dragoons. Finding the enemy strongly posted beyond the Chippewa, General Scott called in his light troops, and took a position behind Street's Creek, where he encamped for the night. At about midnight the main body of Brown's army, embracing Ripley's brigade, a field and battery train, and Major Hindman's artillery corps, came up, accompanied by the commanding general. With only the small creek between them, the belligerent armies slumbered that hot July night.

The morning of the 5th of July dawned gloriously. The positions of the two armies were simple. On the east was the Niagara River, along the margin of which was a road. On the west was a heavy wood, and between the parties coming in from the woods were two streams, namely, Street's and Chippewa Creeks, the latter, sometimes called the Welland Creek, being the larger in volume.⁴ Below the Chippewa, and about two miles from Scott's camp, was that of Riall. On one side of it was a block-house, and on the other was a heavy battery. At the mouth of the Chippewa, on the south side, some fortifications had been thrown up to cover the bridge, called a *tête-de-pont* (or head of the bridge) battery, whose ruins are still (1867) visible. A little farther up the river the British had a small navy yard and some barracks.

¹ This is a view of the bridge at the mouth of Street's Creek looking up the Niagara, from a sketch made by the author in the summer of 1860. On the extreme right is seen a chimney, which composes the remains of the house of Mr. Street, from whom the stream derives its name. In the distance, on the left, is seen Grand Island.

² Jesup's MS. Memoir, etc.

³ General Scott explained to the writer the cause of the marquis's mistake. While at Buffalo Scott wrote to the quartermaster for a supply of new clothing for his regulars. Word soon came back that blue cloth, such as was used in the army, could not be obtained, owing to the stringency of the blockade and the embargo, and the lack of manufactures in the country, but that there was a sufficient quantity of gray cloth (now known as "Cadet's Gray") in Philadelphia. Scott ordered it to be made up for his soldiers, and in these new gray suits they marched down the Niagara on Canada soil. Believing them to be only militia, Riall regarded them with contempt when preparing for battle on the 5th. Because of the victory, won chiefly by them, at Chippewa on the 5th, and in honor of Scott and his troops, that style of cloth was adopted at the Military Academy at West Point as the uniform of the cadets. It has been used ever since, and is known to be the best color for field service.

⁴ The Chippewa is navigable with small boats for about forty miles. It is obstructed, however, by its connection with the Welland Canal, about nine miles from its mouth.

Scott re-enforced.

British light troops and Indians dislodged by Porter.

Captain Joseph Treat.



REMAINS OF TÊTE-DE-PONT BATTERY.¹

At about noon of the 5th Scott was joined by three hundred Pennsylvania Volunteers, and about four hundred Indians under Captain Pollard and the famous Red Jacket. The whole were commanded by General Porter, who had been accompanied from Black Rock by Majors Wood and Jones, of Brown's staff. The British were re-enforced during the night by the expected Eighth, or King's Regiment, from York or Toronto, and small parties went out from their line at dawn on the beautiful plain between the Chippewa and Street's Creek—a plain then bounded on the west, three fourths of a mile from the river, by a dense wood. For several hours the belligerents were feeling each other, the pickets and scouts of each keeping up a desultory fire all the morning.² Finally the American pickets on the extreme left of Scott's line became so annoyed by a heavy body of British light troops and Indians in the woods, that at four o'clock in the afternoon General Porter was sent with his corps to dislodge them. He was successful. The enemy fled in affright toward Chippewa, dreadfully smitten by the pursuers. There Porter found himself within a few yards of the entire British force advancing in battle order.

In this affair, up to the meeting of the British in force, the Indians behaved well. They were in the woods, on the left of Porter's column, with Red Jacket on their extremity in the forest. Porter, with Captain Pollard, the Indian leader, took post in the edge of the woods, between the pale and dusky soldiers. The Indians, led by

¹ The engraving represents the remains of this battery when I visited the spot and sketched them in the summer of 1860. In the front, between the two figures and the mounds, are seen the waters of the feeder of the Welland Canal. On the left is the mouth of Chippewa Creek, and beyond, the Niagara River at the head of the Great Rapids. Beyond that is the New York shore; and to the left, looking by the head of Goat Island, is seen Niagara Falls Village. Over the most westerly point of the remains of tête-de-pont battery, on the New York shore, is seen the residence of Colonel Peter Augustus Porter, son of the general, who accompanied me at that time. This gentleman lost his life while at the head of his regiment fighting for the republic in the Battle of the Wilderness, Virginia, in 1864.

² It was during these movements early in the morning that Captain Treat, in command of a picket-guard of forty men and a patrol of ten, "retired disgracefully, leaving a wounded man on the ground," as General Brown said in his report. For this alleged offense, Brown ordered Treat, on the spot, to retire from the army; and, in his report of the affair, he advised the dismissal of the captain and one of his lieutenants from the service. "This punishment," says Brown, in a manuscript "Memorandum of Occurrences, etc., connected with the Campaign of Niagara," "though severe, was just, and at the moment indispensable. It had the happiest effect upon the army."

This affair gave rise to much feeling in and out of the army. Captain Treat was a most valuable officer, and had been highly esteemed by General Brown. On the day after his disgrace he called on General Brown and demanded a court-martial. It was finally granted, after long and tedious delays, but the result was not reached until the 5th of May, 1815, when the court declared, "After mature deliberation on the testimony deduced, the court find the accused, Captain Joseph Treat, not guilty of the charge or specification preferred against him, and do honorably acquit him." This finding of the court was approved by Major General Brown at Rackett's Harbor on the 3d of July following. At about the same time Captain Treat published a vindication "against the atrocious calumny," which was dedicated to President Madison. It contains a report of the proceedings of the court-martial, and occupies sixty-two pages. The vindication of his character as a soldier was triumphant.

Captain Treat was the son of one of the earliest settlers on the Penobscot, in Maine. He entered the army as captain of the Twenty-first Regiment of Infantry in the spring of 1812. With his company, recruited chiefly at Bangor, he joined the Northern Army. On the day of his disgrace on Chippewa Plain he volunteered to fight as a private; and such was the confidence of Major Vose, of the Twenty-first Regiment, in Captain Treat, that he requested him to take command of a platoon in the fight. He declined, but fought bravely in the ranks. He became brigadier general of militia in his native state in 1820, and the memory of General Treat is cherished with the most cordial respect.

Joseph Treat

Porter's Troops and the Indians retreat. Scott advances to meet the British. Composition of the British Force.

their war-chiefs, were allowed to conduct their share of the battle as they pleased; and, when the enemy had delivered his fire, they rushed forward with horrid yells, spreading consternation in the ranks of the foe, and making fearful havoc with tomahawk and scalping-knife. They fought desperately, hand-to-hand in many instances, and in every way they won the applause of their commanding general. But the tide of fortune soon changed. The heavy line of the foe, after an exchange of two or three rounds of musketry, charged Porter's troops with the bayonet furiously. Hearing nothing of General Scott, and finding no support against an overwhelming force near, Porter gave an order to retreat and form on the left of Scott's brigade, beyond Street's Creek. The retreat became a tumultuous rout.

Riall, it seems, had intended to fall upon the American camp with his whole force, and for that purpose he had led it across Chippewa Creek. There Porter had confronted it, as we have observed. General Brown was on the extreme left, watching Porter's movements at this time, and, seeing an immense cloud of dust in the direction of Chippewa, at once comprehended its meaning. He correctly supposed the whole force of the enemy to be advancing, and at once dispatched Colonel Gardner with an order to General Ripley to put in motion the Twenty-first Regiment of In-

fantry and Biddle's Battery. He also ordered Captain Ritchie, with his artillery company, to follow him to the plain, where he properly posted him, and then rode to the quarters of General Scott to direct him to cross Street's Creek at once with his whole brigade and Towson's artillery to meet the advancing foe. He found Scott almost ready, with his horse



STREET'S CREEK BRIDGE, LOOKING NORTH.¹

before his tent, to lead his brigade over for the purpose of drilling them on the plain. He did not believe the enemy to be so near in force, but, like a true soldier, he obeyed the order promptly, rather captiously remarking that he would march and drill his brigade, but did not believe he would find three hundred of the enemy there.² Just then Porter's flight was observed. It uncovered Scott's left, and exposed it to great peril; but Ripley had been ordered to advance cautiously through the woods, under the direction of Colonel Gardner, and produce a diversion in Scott's favor by falling on the rear of the British right.

General Riall's advancing army was composed of the One Hundredth Regiment, commanded by the Marquis of Tweeddale; the First, or Royal Scots, under Lieutenant Colonel Gordon; a portion of the Eighth, or King's Regiment, under Major Evans; a detachment of the Royal Artillery, under Captain Macconnochie; and also of the

¹ This is a view of the bridge over Street's Creek, looking down the Niagara River. Across the Niagara, in the extreme distance, immediately to the right of the figures on the bridge, is seen Schlosser Landing, and, nearer, the foot of Navy Island. The house beyond the willow-tree, on the left, is on a portion of the battle-ground, and belonged, when I was there, to Mr. William Gray. It was the scene of a tragedy during the troubles in Canada in 1837 and 1838. Some miscreants came over from Navy Island one night (among them the scoundrel Lett, who destroyed Brock's Monument), and, after enticing a Mr. Edgeworth Usher, who was at this house, to come to the door, shot him through the side-lights as he was seen approaching with a candle in his hand.

² General Brown's MS. *Memoir of Events in the Niagara Campaign.*

Beginning of the Battle of Chippewa.

Charge of the Eleventh Regiment.

Nathan Towson.

Royal Nineteenth Dragoons, under Major Lisle; a regiment of Lincoln militia, under Lieutenant Colonel Dixon, and a body of Indians. These were supported by a heavy battery of nine pieces. He advanced from his intrenchments at Chippewa in three columns, his vanguard being composed of light companies of the Royal Scots and of the One Hundredth Regiments, and the Second Regiment of Lincoln militia. These were commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Pearson. On his right, in the edge of the woods, were about three hundred Indian warriors. It was these, with the vanguard, who fell upon Porter. On the road that skirts the Niagara River, Riall placed two light 24-pounders and a 5½-inch howitzer.

Scott in the mean time had crossed Street's Creek over the bridge with the greatest coolness, in the face of a heavy cannonade from the enemy's full battery within point-blank range, and formed in battle order with the Ninth and part of the Twenty-second Regiment, under Major Leavenworth, covered by Towson's artillery, on the extreme right, the Eleventh Regiment, under Major M'Neil (Colonel Campbell, its commander, having received a severe wound in the knee), in the centre, and the Twenty-fifth Regiment, commanded by Major Jesup, on the extreme left. In this movement Scott was greatly aided by Towson,¹ whose artillery, placed near the bridge, kept the enemy at bay, and at times caused him to slacken his cannonade.

When Porter's corps came flying in confusion from the enemy's right, they were partially checked by Captain Harris's cavalry behind a ravine fronting Brown's camp, and Jesup, by an oblique movement, covered Scott's left, while Ripley was making unavailing efforts to gain the position to which he was ordered by Brown. Jesup was joined by Porter and his staff, and some of the more courageous volunteers, and as the conflict became general, the major engaged and held in check the enemy's right wing. The battle raged with fury along the entire line of both armies. Several times the British line was broken, and then closed up again; and it often exposed as many flanks as it had regiments in the field. This unskillful manoeuvring had been observed by Scott, who had advanced, halted, and fired alternately, until he was within eighty paces of his foe. Observing a gap in his lines which made a new flank, he ordered a quick movement in that direction by M'Neil's Eleventh Regiment. He shouted with a voice that was heard above the din of battle, "The enemy say that we are good at long shot, but can not stand the cold iron! I call upon the Eleventh instantly to give the lie to that slander! *Charge!*"² This movement was immediately made, with the most decisive effect. A similar charge was made by Leavenworth,



GENERAL TOWSON'S GRAVE.

¹ Nathan Towson was one of the most useful officers of the army at this time. He was born in Maryland in 1784, and was appointed captain in the Second Regiment of Artillery in March, 1812. He aided Lieutenant Elliott, of the navy, as we have seen (page 286), in capturing the *Coloche* at Fort Erie in October of that year, and for his gallant conduct there he was brevetted a major. In repelling the attack of the British on Fort George, Upper Canada, in July, 1813, he was wounded. He greatly distinguished himself under Brown as an artillery officer, and was brevetted lieutenant colonel for his good conduct in the battle of Chippewa. He performed equally distinguished service at Niagara and Fort Erie. In the latter a bastion was named in his honor, after the Americans took possession of it, early in July, 1814. He was retained in the service at the close of the war, and was made paymaster general in 1819. In 1834 he was brevetted brigadier general; and for his distinguished services in the Mexican War he was brevetted major general in March, 1840. He died in Washington City on the 20th of July, 1854, at the age of seventy years. His remains lie interred on a pleasant slope in Oak Hill Cemetery, Georgetown, District of Columbia, by the side of those of his wife, and over them is a beautiful white marble monument on which is the following simple inscription: "NATHAN TOWSON, Brevet Major General and Paymaster General, United States Army. SOPHIA TOWSON, wife of Nathan Towson."

² Mansfield's *Life of Scott*, page 107.

M'Neil's flank movement.

The British routed.

The Losses of the Combatants.



NOTE.—The above map indicates the movements of the troops in the battle of Chippewa. A H show the position of M'Neil and Leavenworth when they made the final charge. a, a, a, the point to which Porter drove the British and Indians (see page 807). b, Street's barr.

missing. The British lost two hundred and thirty-six killed, three hundred and twenty-two wounded, and forty-six missing.¹ The horrors of the battle-field were

who held an oblique position on the American right. At the same time Towson's battery poured in an oblique fire of murderous canister-shot, after silencing the enemy's most effective battery by blowing up an ammunition-wagon; and presently the whole left and centre of the British broke and fled in confusion. That effective flank movement by M'Neil was the one, there can be no doubt, which gave the victory to the Americans. "He deserved," said General Scott in his report, "every thing which conspicuous skill and gallantry can win from a grateful country." He was soon afterward breveted a lieutenant colonel "for his intrepid behavior on the 5th day of July, in the battle of Chippewa."

At this time Jesup, hotly pressed by the British right, and finding his men falling thickly around him, ordered his soldiers to "support arms and advance!" In the face of a deadly and destructive fire this order was obeyed, and a more secure position was gained, when Jesup opened such a terrific fire on the enemy that they broke and fled toward their intrenchments beyond the Chippewa. Captain Ketchum, with one of the light companies of the Twenty-fifth, hotly pursued the fugitives, and halted only when within half musket-shot of Chippewa Bridge, where they received some damage from the *tête-de-pont* battery. They captured many prisoners. The British did not cease their flight until they were fairly behind their breastworks below Chippewa Creek, and taken up the planks of the bridge. The plain was strewn with the dead and the dying of both nations. The American loss during the morning skirmishing and in the evening battle on that long, hot July day, was sixty-one killed, two hundred and fifty-five wounded, and nineteen

¹ The American musketry was very effective. Over each ball, in loading, the Americans placed three buckshot, which scattered and did severe execution. The British lost largely in officers. A member of the Marquis of Tweeddale's One Hundredth Regiment afterward stated that two officers of that regiment were killed and twenty wounded. Among the latter was the marquis himself. Fourteen of the British were made prisoners. These, added to the prisoners captured at Fort Erie two days before, made the number 151. The writer above alluded to says that the American officers were seen on the field freely exposing themselves in front of their men. "As to General Riall, as soon as his line fled, he

Bravery of Adjutant O'Connor. The British Position at Chippewa. The Americans fall back. Indians disheartened.

mitigated by a gentle shower, that came like an angel of mercy at the close of the conflict to cool the throbbing temples and moisten the feverish lips of the wounded.

At the close of the battle on the plain, when Scott was about to commence a vigorous pursuit of the enemy, Porter was ordered forward to his support with two hundred Pennsylvania militia who had been left in camp as reserves. These took post on Scott's left, where they awaited the arrival of Ripley's brigade, which had not reached the field in time to participate in the action. The gallant Adjutant O'Connor¹ dashed forward alone to reconnoitre the enemy's position. He saw them tearing up Chippewa Bridge, and comprehended the situation at a glance. Having satisfied himself, he wheeled his horse and galloped back to the lines, followed by several bullets from the men at the bridge, which did no harm. Scott pressed forward, and at a point of woods came into an open field in full view of the enemy. The guns at the *tête-de-pont* battery and at the British camp opened upon them, the corps of Porter receiving the first discharge. Just then a building near the bridge, touched by a British torch, burst into flame; and at the same moment a thunder-gust, followed by gentle rain, went skurrying up the river, filling the air with blinding clouds of dust. The commanding general resolved to bring up all his ordnance, and force the enemy's position by a direct attack, when Major Wood, of the Engineers, and Captain Austin, the general's aid, who had been forward and made observations, assured him that the position of the enemy was too strong to be easily moved. This report, and the advice of Scott and Wood, caused the general to issue an order for a retrograde movement. The victorious little army marched slowly back through mud where deep dust had lain only an hour before, and at sunset reached their encampment behind Street's Creek. On that eventful night Chippewa Plains were deserted, and the two armies occupied the same relative position which they did at dawn. In the morning General Brown had assured General Porter that not a British regular would be seen on the south side of the Chippewa that day, and in this belief Scott had shared.² But they had been there, left a sanguinary record, and were gone; and the stars looked down that night on a scene of repose, tranquil and profound, where the horrid detonations of fierce conflict had been heard, and the smoke of battle had obscured the light of the evening sun.

There was joy in the American camp that night. A decisive battle had been fought by small numbers,³ and gallantly won by the Americans. The chief glory properly belonged to General Scott, whose brigade was the principal instrument in the achievement.⁴ It was very important in its results—more important, perhaps, than any preceding battle of the war. The Indian allies of the British were disheartened. Their disaffection, begun at the Thames, was now made complete. Nearly all of the sav-

rodé up straight to the enemy's line, as if to court death; but, as is usual in such cases, he failed to find it, while his fashionable and well-dressed aid-de-camp, obliged to accompany him in what he must have thought not a very agreeable enterprise, was seriously wounded in the thigh."—See *The Spirit of our Times*, Montreal, March 16, 1861.

Among the American officers who were wounded was Colonel Campbell, and Captains King, Read, and Harrison. The first-named fell, as we have seen, at the very beginning of the action. Captain Harrison had his leg shot off by a cannon-ball, but heroically refused to allow a man to be taken from the ranks to bear him off until the British retreated. Lieutenants Palmer, Barron, De Witt, Patchin, and Brimhall were also wounded.

¹ John Michael O'Connor was a native of New York. He was commissioned first lieutenant in the Third Artillery in March, 1812. He was soon afterward appointed regimental quartermaster, and in the spring of 1813 was promoted to captain. On the 20th of June, 1814, he was appointed assistant adjutant general, under Gardner, on General Brown's staff, and held that office at the time of the battle of Chippewa. He was retained in the army at the close of the war, and left it in 1821. In 1824 he translated for the Military Academy at West Point Guy de Vernon's *Science of War and Fortifications*.

² Manuscript Narrative of the Battles of Chippewa and Niagara, by General Porter. General Brown expressed this belief to General Porter while the latter was marching from Black Rock to Scott's encampment. He informed Porter that the British militia and Indians were annoying his pickets very much, and when proposing to that officer to employ his Indians in driving the former from the woods he promised him ample support, and gave him the assurance that no regulars would be seen.—See Stone's *Life of Red Jacket*, page 257.

³ According to the most careful estimates, the whole number of troops actually engaged in the battle did not exceed 2000, namely, 1300 Americans and 1700 British.

⁴ "Brigadier General Scott," said Brown, in his report to the Secretary of War on the 7th of July, "is entitled to the highest praise our country can bestow; to him more than any other man I am indebted for the victory of the 5th of July. His brigade has covered itself with glory. . . . The family of General Scott were conspicuous in the field—Lien-

ages, who had been a terror to all in every district in the West in which military movements occurred, now left the British army and returned to their homes. The victory also gave a needed impetus to enlistments. It created great joy throughout the country. The people were amazingly inspired, and recruiting became so active that almost any number of men might have been added to the army for another campaign. This victory also won more genuine respect for the Americans from the enemy than had ever been accorded before; and among the peevish expressions of mor-

tenant Smith, of the Sixth Infantry, major of brigade,* and Lieutenants Worth† and Watts,‡ his aids. From General Ripley and his brigade I received every assistance that I gave them an opportunity of rendering." He gave equally warm praise to General Porter and his command, and all the other officers and troops. Of Gardner and Jones,‡ of his own military family, he made particular mention, and said, "I shall have occasion again to speak to you."

* Gerard D. Smith, who was made adjutant in 1813, was now Scott's brigade major, having been appointed in March. He was a native of New York. He had been promoted to captain in June, but his commission had not yet been made known to General Brown. In the battle of Niagara he so distinguished himself that he was breveted a major. He was wounded there, with his chief. He was retained in the army at the peace, but resigned in 1819.

† William Jenkins Worth was a native of Columbia County, New York, and died a major general by brevet in the army of the United States. He entered the army as first lieutenant, and was aid-de-camp to Major General Lewis in 1813. In March, 1814, he became aid to Brigadier General Scott, and was breveted captain for his gallant services in the battle of Chippewa. For his distinguished conduct in the battle of Niagara, twenty days later, he was breveted a major. In that battle he was severely wounded. He was com-

missioned a captain the next month, and was retained in the service at the close of the war. In 1842 he was breveted brigadier for his valuable services in Florida, having previously attained to the rank of full colonel of the Eighth In-



JONES'S MONUMENT.

duct on the field of battle—at Chippewa and the sortie at Fort Erie. A brave soldier and a good man."

For his services at Chippewa Jones was breveted a major, and at Fort Erie lieutenant colonel. He was retained in the army, and was made aid-de-camp to General Brown in June, 1815. He was appointed adjutant general, with the rank of colonel, in 1818, and in 1824 was breveted colonel for ten years' faithful service. In June, 1832, he was breveted a brigadier general, and relinquished his rank in line in 1835. He engaged in the Mexican War, and for his services there was breveted major general in March, 1849.

On the west side of Jones's monument are the names of the battles in which he was engaged in the War of 1812, namely, Fort George, Stony Creek, Chippewa, Niagara, and Fort Erie sortie. On the east side of the obelisk is sculptured, in high relief, a straight sword, garlanded by laurel and olive leaves.

1848, offering to surrender the capital. He died at his head-quarters at San Antonio, Texas, on the 7th of May, 1849. Nine years afterward, a monument, composed of Quinsey granite, fifty-one feet in height, on which is inscribed the names of the several battles in which he had been engaged, was erected in the city of New York, at the junction of Broadway and Fifth Avenue. Anthony Street, in the same city, was named Worth Street at about the same time, in honor of the hero.

‡ George Watts, who was a native of New York, greatly distinguished himself on this occasion. In a letter to General Brown, written ten days after the battle, General Scott spoke in the highest terms of Worth and Watts. "They both rendered essential services," he said, "at critical moments, by assisting the commandant of corps in forming the troops under circumstances which precluded the voice from being heard. Their conduct has been handsomely acknowledged by the officers of the line, who have joined in requesting that it might be particularly noticed." Young Watts was breveted first lieutenant for his good behavior on that occasion. He belonged to the First Light Dragoons, of which he was third lieutenant. In Brown's sortie from Fort Erie, a few weeks later, he distinguished himself. He was retained in the army as first lieutenant of infantry in 1815, but resigned the following year. A fine portrait of him is in the possession of General J. Watts Depeyster, of Tivoli, New York.

‡ Roger Jones was a native of Virginia. On the southern border of the Congressional Burying-ground at Washington City, overlooking the eastern branch of the Potomac, is a beautiful clouded Italian marble monument, erected to his memory, upon which is inscribed the following brief history of his life: "Born in Westmoreland County, Virginia; died at Washington on the 15th day of July, 1852, in the 64th year of his age. He entered the service of his country as a lieutenant of marines in 1809, and was appointed captain of artillery at the commencement of the war with Great Britain, and served with honor 43 years. He was twice breveted for distinguished gallantry and con-



WORTH'S MONUMENT.

Brown expects the Co-operation of Chauncey. Preparations to cross the Chippewa. Tardiness of General Ripley.

tification which it elicited from English writers and speakers were found honorable acknowledgments of the prowess and genius of American soldiers.¹

It was late in the evening after the battle^a before the wounded of both armies could be taken care of.² The dead remained unburied all night, but early on the morrow they were sought for over the open battle-field and in the woods, and committed to the earth with great respect. Much of the 6th and 7th^b was occupied in this business, while General Brown was impatient to advance, for he expected the arrival of Chauncey at the mouth of the Niagara River to co-operate with him. He was satisfied that the passage of the Chippewa Bridge in the face of the intrenched enemy would be too hazardous to warrant the undertaking, and, informed that an interior route for Queenston would lie through a heavy forest, almost impassable because of a lack of roads and paths, he sent a small reconnoitring party in search of a place to cross the Chippewa not far above the camp of the enemy. An inhabitant informed them that an old and deserted timber road, seen at the rear of Street's house, led by a circuitous route to the Chippewa, at the mouth of Lyon's Creek, about a mile above the British camp. Early on the morning of the 7th,^c General Brown, accompanied by General Porter and Colonel M'Ree, the senior engineer, went out to explore it, and were satisfied that it might soon be made passable for artillery. A heavy detail was sent out for the purpose, and before evening the way from Street's to Lyon's Creek was ready for the contemplated movement.

Anxious to diffuse the right spirit of emulation throughout his army, General Scott resolved to send Ripley in advance, as he was not able to participate in the fatigues and honors of the battle on the 5th, while Scott, who had already won laurels, should keep the left of the enemy at Chippewa Bridge in check. Ripley was accordingly ordered to lead his own brigade and that of Porter, with two companies of artillery under Hindman, to the extreme right of the enemy, cross the Chippewa at the mouth of Lyon's Creek, and fall upon his flank. This order did not suit General Ripley, and he hesitated in obedience.

The day was rapidly wearing away, and General Brown, impressed with the importance of a prompt movement, rode to the front and took command in person. The materials for the construction of a temporary bridge over the Chippewa were soon



MOUTH OF LYON'S CREEK IN 1860.

on its southern bank, and Hindman posted his artillery on a rise of ground so as to cover the field of operations.³

Riall in the mean time had discovered Brown's movement, and perceived his own peril involved in it; and while a few troops, with some field-pieces, that were sent up

¹ "The important fact is," said an English writer quoted by Mansfield, "that we have now got an enemy who fights as bravely as ourselves. For some time the Americans cut no figure on land. They have now proved to us that they only wanted time to acquire a little discipline. They have now proved to us what they are made of; that they are the same sort of men as those who captured whole armies under Burgoyne and Cornwallis; that they are neither to be frightened nor silenced."

² Among the British officers who were wounded was the present (1867) Sir James Wilson, governor of Chelsea Hospital. He received five wounds in the battle of Chippewa. He has been over sixty years in the British military service.

³ When I visited the spot in 1860, the rise of ground on which Hindman placed his guns was occupied by the steam saw-mill of Mr. Barnabas Crane, whose smoke-stack is seen in the above picture rising like a steeple above the trees of an intervening orchard. Lyon's Creek, a small stream named after the first settler there, is seen in the foreground, making its way through a boggy swale, and the Chippewa beyond the two trees. This is about a mile from the mouth of Chippewa Creek.

Passage of the Chippewa.

Riall re-enforced.

Brown advances toward Fort George.

to oppose the passage of the Chippewa by the Americans, were performing that duty, he broke camp and fled with his whole army to Queenston. Brown's opponents, after a brief cannonade, retired, the bridge-building was abandoned, and Ripley's brigade was marched down the Chippewa and formed a junction with Scott's, which had advanced to the southern margin of the stream. The British had destroyed the Chippewa Bridge, but by the use of boats both brigades and some of the artillery crossed the stream before the morning of the 8th.^a On that day the whole American force under Brown, excepting Porter's brigade, which was left to guard the baggage and rebuild Chippewa Bridge, pursued the flying enemy down the Niagara River. They encamped at Queenston on the 10th,^b and toward the evening of that day Porter, who had been re-enforced by some New York Volunteers, came into camp with the baggage from Chippewa. Riall had retired on the approach of Brown, thrown part of his troops into Forts George and lately-constructed Mississauga, and established his head-quarters at Twenty-mile Creek. Brown resolved to wait at Queenston for the arrival of Chauncey, for he could draw no supplies from the Genesee or Sodus without the fleet. The government had assured him of its co-operation, and the 10th of July was the day appointed for its arrival. The general anxiously watched from the heights of Queenston for its approach, and hour after hour he spent in expectation of seeing its white sails on the waters of Ontario, which were only seven miles distant. But word soon came that Chauncey was sick, and his fleet blockaded in Sackett's Harbor. Expected re-enforcements were also detained there.

Riall in the mean time had marched with fifteen hundred men for Burlington Heights, at the head of Ontario, leaving some veteran soldiers of the Forty-first and Eighth Regiments, and seamen and marines from two of Yeo's vessels in the Niagara River, to garrison the forts. Riall expected to be re-enforced at Burlington, and was agreeably surprised by meeting the One Hundred and Third, and the flank companies of the One Hundred and Fourth Regiment on the way. He turned back, took position at Fifteen-mile Creek (only thirteen miles from Brown's camp), and there watched the movements of his foe.

At that time General Brown was contemplating an advance upon Fort George. On the 14th he called a council of officers to consider the matter. A majority were in favor of attacking Riall that very night, before he should receive re-enforcements; while the minority, coinciding with the wishes of the commanding general, advised an immediate investment of Fort George, notwithstanding there was no competent siege-train with the army, nor provision made for the safe transportation of supplies from Buffalo.¹ In the mean time foraging and reconnoitring parties were out continually. One of the latter, composed of the venerable John Swift, of the New York militia, and one hundred and twenty volunteers, advanced toward Fort George to obtain information. They captured a picket-guard of five men near an outpost of the fort,^c and Swift was conducting them back to head-quarters, when one of them, who had begged and obtained quarter, murdered the general by shooting him through the breast. The discharge of this gun brought out fifty or sixty of the enemy. Terribly wounded as he was, the brave Swift, who had served his country in the field during the entire War of the Revolution, formed his men, and advanced at their head to attack the foe. He fell, exhausted. The enemy were driven back to Fort George, and the dying general was conveyed to Queenston.² "After serving his country seven years in the War of the Revolution," said General Porter in his brigade order the next day, "he again stepped forward as a volunteer to give

¹ According to Wilkinson (*Memoirs*, i., 609 and 671), Brown's engineers (M'Ree and Wood), and Generals Ripley and Porter, advised an immediate attack on Riall, while General Scott and Adjutant General Gardner advised an investment of Fort George. Major Hindman declined to give any opinion.

² General Porter's Brigade Orders, dated Queenston, July 13, 1804. General Swift was a brother of the late General Joseph G. Swift, the accomplished engineer officer in the War of 1812.

St. David's Village burnt.

Fort George approached.

Brown falls back to Chippewa.

the aid of his experience in support of the violated rights of his country; and never was that country called on to lament the loss of a firmer patriot or braver man."

A few days after this sad occurrence, Colonel Stone, of the New York militia, while out on a foraging expedition, wantonly burned the little village or hamlet of St. David's, a short distance from Queenston; and similar unwarrantable acts caused great exasperation against the Americans. General Brown promptly dismissed Stone from the service as a punishment for his crime, in accordance with the sentence of a court-martial.¹

While Brown's council of officers were debating, word came of the retrograde movement of Riall to Fifteen-mile Creek, but no intelligence was received of his re-enforcements. Brown evidently did not believe that any were near, for on the preceding day he wrote to Chauncey, saying, "All accounts agree that the force of the enemy in Kingston is very light. Meet me on the lake-shore north of Fort George with your fleet, and we will be able, I have no doubt, to settle a plan of operations that will break the power of the enemy in Upper Canada, and that in the course of a short time. . . . I doubt not my ability to meet the enemy in the field, and to march in any direction over his country, your fleet carrying for me the necessary supplies. We can threaten Forts George and Niagara, and carry Burlington Heights and York, and proceed directly to Kingston and carry that place. For God's sake let me see you. Sir James will not fight."

July 13,
1814.

With such opinions and expectations General Brown prepared to invest Fort George. Generals Porter and Ripley were ordered to reconnoitre the position of the enemy, one along the river, and the other in the interior, by way of St. David's; and on the 20th the military works at Queenston were blown up, and the whole army left that post and advanced toward Fort George. There Brown was apprised of the arrival of Riall's re-enforcements, when he withdrew, and occupied his old position at Queenston on the 22d.

On the morning of the 23d Brown received a letter from General Gaines at Sackett's Harbor apprising him of the sickness of Chauncey, the blockade of the fleet, and the peril to be apprehended to re-enforcements that might be sent by water in small vessels hugging the coast. Abandoning all hope of co-operation by the fleet, or the speedy reception of re-enforcements, the general changed his plan of operations, and at once ordered a retreat to the Chippewa, there to be governed by circumstances. He expected by this retreat to draw Riall on to the Niagara again, or, failing in this, to draw a small supply of provisions from Schlosser, on the opposite shore, disencumber his army of all baggage which could possibly be dispensed with, march against Riall by way of Queenston, and fight him wherever he might be found. The army reached the Chippewa on the 24th, encamped on the south side of it, on the battleground of the 5th, and prepared to make the 25th a day of rest. On the night of the 24th, General Scott, ever anxious for duty and ambitious of renown, requested leave to lead his brigade immediately in a search for Riall, not doubting his ability to win victory for his troops, glory for himself, and renown for the army. He repeated the request on the morning of the 25th, and was vexed because General Brown would not consent to divide his army.² He had an opportunity to try his powers and skill in combat with the enemy sooner than he expected, and in that trial he won fadeless laurels. The story is told in the following chapter.

¹ "The militia have burnt several private dwelling-houses," wrote the gallant Major Daniel M'Farland, of the Twenty-third Infantry, who was killed a few days afterward at Niagara Falls, "and on the 19th burnt the village of St. David's, consisting of about thirty or forty houses. This was done within three miles of the camp. . . . I never witnessed such a scene; and had not the commanding officer, Colonel Stone, been disgraced and sent out of the army, I should have resigned my commission."

² General Brown's manuscript *Memorandum of Occurrences of the Campaign on the Niagara Frontier.*

CHAPTER XXXVI.

"O'er Huron's wave the sun was low,
The weary soldier watch'd the bow
Fast fading from the cloud below
The dashing of Niagara.
And while the phantom chain'd his sight,
Ah! little thought he of the fight—
The horrors of the dreamless night,
That posted on so rapidly."—*OLD SONG.*



BEAUTIFUL to the senses was the morning of the 25th of July, 1814, on the banks of the Niagara River—a day memorable in the annals of the Republic. It was serene and sultry. Not a cloud appeared in the heavens, nor a flake of mist on the waters. The fatigued American army lay reposing upon the field of its late victory, with the village of Chippewa in front, and had enjoyed half a day of needed rest, when a courier came in haste with intelligence from Colonel Philetus Swift at Lewiston that the enemy were in considerable force at Queenston and on the Heights; that five vessels of Yeo's fleet had arrived during the night; and that a number of boats were in sight moving up the river. A few minutes afterward another courier arrived from Captain Denman, of the quartermaster's department, with a report that the enemy, a thousand strong, were landing at Lewiston, and that the American baggage and stores at Schlosser were doubtless in imminent danger of capture.

These rumors were true only in part. Vessels had arrived in the river, boats had ascended it, and a considerable British force was occupying Queenston. Lieutenant General Sir George Gordon Drummond had arrived with re-enforcements from Kingston, composed in part of some of Wellington's veterans, and landed at Fort Niagara, and in boats many of them had gone up and disembarked at Queenston. In the mean time the troops under Riall had been put in motion. Loyal Canadians had early informed him of the retreat of the Americans to Chippewa; and at near midnight of the 24th he sent forward a column under Lieutenant Colonel Pearson, composed of a regiment of the ever-active Glengary militia, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Battersby; the incorporated and sedentary militia, under Lieutenant Colonels Robinson (late chief justice of Canada) and Parry; detachments from the Royal Artillery, with two 24-pounders, three 6-pounders, and a howitzer; and the One Hundred and Fourth Infantry, under Lieutenant Colonel Drummond, and a troop of the Nineteenth Light Dragoons. Pearson moved forward with celerity, and at seven o'clock on the morning of the 25th took position on an eminence in and near Lundy's Lane, a public highway leading directly westward into the heart of the peninsula and the head of the lake from the road along the river from Chippewa to Queenston. The position was a short distance from the great cataract of Niagara, and a commanding one.

Of Pearson's movement Brown seems to have had no intelligence, and his efforts to counteract the supposed invasion at Lewiston were rather tardily begun. He heard of the invasion at noon, but it was quite late in the afternoon before he ordered a forward movement of any of his troops. At two o'clock Major Jesup, who had crossed Chippewa Bridge, brought him word from Lieutenant Colonel Leavenworth,¹

¹ Henry Leavenworth was born in Connecticut, December 10, 1783, and was made captain in the Twenty-fifth Regiment United States Infantry in April, 1812. He was promoted to major in the Ninth Infantry in August, 1813. For

Scott ordered to march on Fort George. The Widow Wilson's Story. Scott suddenly confronted by the British.

the officer of the day, that a considerable body of the enemy had been seen at Niagara Falls, not more than two miles distant;¹ but so impressed was the general with the idea that the enemy were after his supplies at Schlosser that he would not believe that more than a few light troops on a reconnoissance were in front. Conceiving the best plan for recalling the foe would be a menace of the forts at the mouth of the Niagara River, he ordered General Scott to march rapidly upon them with his brigade, Towson's artillery, and all the cavalry and mounted men at command. This order was issued between four and five o'clock in the afternoon,² and within twenty minutes afterward the impatient Scott had all his troops in motion. He crossed Chippewa Bridge between five and six o'clock, and pushed on toward the great cataract, fully impressed with the belief that a large force of the enemy was on the other side of the river, and not directly before him. His battalion commanders were Lieutenant Colonel Leavenworth, Major McNeil, Colonel Brady, and Major Jesup. Towson was with his artillery, and Captains Harris and Pentland commanded the mounted men. The whole force numbered full twelve hundred persons.

A widow named Wilson lived in a pleasant white house at the great Falls, near Table Rock; and when the vanguard of Scott's command came in sight of her dwelling they discovered a number of British officers there, who mounted their horses and rode hastily away after surveying the approaching column of Americans with their glasses.³ The widow, with the skill of a diplomat, assured Major Wood, of the Engineers, who were in the van, that she extremely regretted their tardiness, as they might have captured General Riall and his staff, whom they had seen riding off. She also assured them, with more truthfulness, that eight hundred regulars, full three hundred militia, and two pieces of artillery were just below a small strip of woods near. Scott, who had come up with his staff and heard her story, did not believe it. Had not the British army been beaten on the 5th? And was there not in the possession of the commander-in-chief positive information that a large part of that army had been thrown across the Niagara at Lewiston? He believed that only a remnant of it was in his front, and he resolved to obey his instructions to "march rapidly on the forts." He sent a message to his general by Lieutenant Douglass, to inform him of the appearance of the enemy, and then dashed gallantly into the woods to disperse the foe. What was his astonishment on finding the story of the widow literally true! Riall had been re-enforced, and there he was, with a larger number of troops than Scott had encountered twenty days earlier, drawn up in battle order in Lundy's Lane—a highway, as we have observed, running from the Niagara River to the head of Lake Ontario. His position was one of extreme peril. To stand still would be fatal; to retreat would be very hazardous. The latter movement might jeopardize the whole army by the creation of a panic, especially among the reserves under Ripley, who were not in the former battle. There was no time for reflection, for a heavy fire of musketry and cannon had been opened upon him. From that wonderful wealth of resource, at the moment of great need, which always distinguished him, Scott drew immediate inspiration, and resolved to fight the overwhelming number of the enemy, and impress Riall with the conviction that the whole American army was at hand.

his bravery at Chippewa he was breveted lieutenant colonel, and for his distinguished services at the battle of Niagara Falls he was breveted colonel. He was retained in the army, and made lieutenant colonel of the Fifth Infantry in February, 1818. He performed able service in the wilderness westward of the Mississippi, far up the Missouri, and a fort in that region bears his name. In July, 1824, he was breveted brigadier general for ten years' service, and the following year he was made full colonel. He died near the Cross Timbers, on the False Washita River, July 21, 1834.

¹ Jesup's Manuscript *Memoir*, etc.

² Within three or four days the British had erected beacons in this vicinity in order to give alarms. These were constructed under the direction of Lieutenant Colonel Myers, an officer who was made prisoner at Fort George the year before, and afterward exchanged. Writing to Captain James Cummings (now of Chippewa) on the 21st of July, he said, "The best place at Wilson's is on the cleared point, near the paling of Wilson's garden, and not far from the head of the path that goes down to the Table Rock."—*Autograph Letter*.

Junction of British Forces.	Their Line of Battle.	Scott attacked.	The British flanked.
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Trusting to rumor instead of actual observation through scouts, Brown was wholly uninformed, or at least misinformed, concerning the movements of the British. Not a soldier of that army had been sent across the Niagara at Lewiston. Every man left fit for service since the late battle was with Riall preparing for this advance movement. On the night of the 24th Lieutenant General Sir George Gordon Drummond, as we have observed, had arrived at the mouth of the Niagara River in the British fleet from Kingston. He brought eight hundred men with him, and sent Lieutenant Tucker, with about five hundred of them and a body of Indians, to disperse or capture a small American force at Lewiston. This movement gave rise to the report of invasion. Drummond had apprised Riall of his intentions; and these officers, with their respective commands, had formed a junction on the Niagara without discovery by General Brown. These united forces, not less than four thousand five hundred strong, with the exception of a portion of the re-enforcements, were confronted by Scott and his "twice six hundred men," with two field-pieces. When, forty minutes before sunset, the battle began, the line that opened fire on Scott was full eighteen hundred in number, well-posted on the slope and brow of an eminence over which Lundy's Lane passed.

The enemy's line was a little inclined to a crescent form, the wings being thrown forward of the artillery in the centre. Its left rested on the Queenston Road, and



VIEW AT LUNDY'S LANE IN 1860.

extended over the hill, on the brow of which was planted a battery of seven guns, nearly in the rear of the Methodist church on Lundy's Lane, and not far south of the house of Mr. Fraleigh when I visited the spot in 1860. Into the bowl of this crescent Scott suddenly found himself advancing with his little force, within canister-shot distance of a greatly superior army and powerful field-battery. His quick eye instantly discovered a

blank space between the British extreme left and the river of two hundred yards, covered with brushwood. He saw the advantage it afforded, and directed Major Jesup to creep cautiously behind the bushes in the twilight, with his command, and attempt to turn the enemy's left flank. Jesup obeyed with alacrity. In the mean time Scott was hotly engaged with the British veterans, some of them from Wellington's army, while the battery on the hill poured destruction upon his men. Towson, with his little field-pieces right gallantly handled, could make but a feeble impression. Brady, and Leavenworth, and M'Neil managed their battalions with skill, and fought bravely themselves; not, however, with the expectation of conquering the enemy, but only of keeping him in check until the reserves should come up. This was done, and more. There they stood, the brave Ninth, Eleventh, and Twentieth, mere skeletons of regiments, hurried into battle without warning or preparation, while Jesup's Twenty-fifth, unaided, was battling manfully and successfully with more than a thousand of the enemy to gain possession of the Queenston Road.

Capture of General Riall.

Brown advances from Chippewa.

He orders a formidable Battery to be taken.

The sun went down, the twilight closed, and the darkness of night, relieved by a waning moon, enveloped the combatants. Jesup had gallantly turned the British left, gained his rear, kept approaching re-enforcements of Drummond in check, and secured many prisoners. Among the latter was General Riall, several officers of his staff, and one of General Drummond's aids, Captain Loring. Their capture was an accident. One of Riall's aids saw one of Jesup's flanking parties, commanded by Captain Ketchum, and, mistaking them for a company of their own troops, called out, "Make room there, men, for General Riall!" Captain Ketchum immediately replied, "Ay, ay, sir!" allowed the aid to pass by, and then directed a portion of his own men, with fixed bayonets, to surround the general and his officers, seize the bridles of their horses, and make them prisoners. Riall was astonished, but made no resistance. He was, indeed, quite badly wounded. Ketchum delivered him to General Scott in person, who ordered him to be taken to the rear, and every attention to be given to his comfort. Jesup, perceiving that his own position was not tenable, gallantly charged back through the British line, and took his place in that of the Americans.

It was now nine o'clock in the evening. The British right, which made a furious assault, had been driven back by General Scott with a heavy loss; their left had been turned and cut off by Jesup's bold movement, and their centre, on the ridge, supported by the artillery, alone remained firm. The most of Drummond's re-enforcements had come up, and the remainder were only a short distance off, and pressing forward.

Let us leave the battle-field a moment and turn back to Chippewa. We have seen that a messenger had been sent to apprise General Brown of the presence of the enemy. This messenger was immediately followed by another (Major Jones), who bore the startling intelligence that the whole British army was within two miles, and that General Scott had attacked them to keep them in check. Already the cannonade and musket-firing had been heard in the camp, and General Brown had ordered General Ripley, with his brigade and all the artillery reserve, to press forward to the support of Scott. Mounting his horse, and leaving Adjutant General Gardner to see that his orders were promptly executed, he rode forward, and met Major Jones near the Falls with the exciting message from Scott. Brown ordered Jones to continue his journey to the camp with directions for Porter and his volunteers to follow Ripley as speedily as possible.

On his arrival upon the battle-field, accompanied by Major Wood, General Brown sought and obtained correct information of the situation of affairs from General Scott himself. By this time Jesup had accomplished his bold operations on the enemy's left, and Ripley's brigade was near. Convinced that the men in action were greatly exhausted, and knowing that they had suffered severely, the commanding general determined to form and interpose a new line with the fresh troops, disengage General Scott, and hold his brigade in reserve for rest. Orders to this effect were given to General Ripley, and the second brigade advanced in the pale moonlight on the Queenston Road toward the enemy's left. It was now perceived that the key of the enemy's position was their battery on the hill, and Colonel M'Ree assured General Brown that he could not hope for success until that height was carried and the cannon taken. General Brown instantly turned to the gallant Colonel Miller (now of the Twenty-first, and former leader of the Fourth in the campaigns under Hull and Harrison) and said, "Colonel, take your regiment, storm that work, and take it." "I'll try, sir," responded Miller, promptly, and immediately moved forward to the perilous task.¹ At that moment the First Regiment, under Lieutenant Colonel

¹ "Who gave this order to Miller?" has been an unsettled question. A late writer on this battle says, "I am constrained to believe, on the testimony of Colonel Miller himself, as well as that of Captain M'Donald, that the idea on which was based the assault was General Ripley's; that he ordered its execution; and that the troops had moved to execute it before General Brown knew any thing about the matter." I have before me an autograph letter of General Miller, written to his wife three days after the battle from Fort Erie, in which he says, "Major M'Ree, the chief engineer, told



James Miller

Nicholas,¹ which had arrived that day, and was attached to neither of the brigades, and which had been ordered to draw the fire of the enemy and direct his attention from Miller's movement, gave way. Miller paid no attention to that disaster, but moved steadily forward up the hill with less than three hundred men, mostly concealed by an old rail fence, along which was a growth of thick, low shrubbery. They approached undiscovered to a point within two rods of the battery, where the gunners were seen with their lighted matches waiting for the word to fire. In whispers Miller ordered his men to rest their pieces across the fence, take good aim, and shoot the gunners. This was promptly done, and not a man was left to apply the matches. Miller and his men followed the volley with a shout, and, rushing forward, were in the very centre of the park of artillery before the enemy had a chance to resist. A British line, formed for the protection of the cannon,

were lying near in a strong position, and immediately opened a most destructive enfilading fire, which slew many of the gallant Miller's men. They then attempted to charge with their bayonets, but the Americans returned their fire so warmly that they were kept in check. Hand-to-hand the combatants fought for some time, and so closely that the blaze of their guns crossed. The British were finally pushed back,

General Brown he could do no good until that height was carried, and those cannon taken or driven from their position. It was then night, but moonlight. General Brown turned to me and said, "Colonel Miller, take your regiment and storm that work, and take it!" General Brown, in his Manuscript *Memorandum*, etc., says, "The commanding general rode to Colonel Miller, and ordered him to charge and carry the enemy's artillery with the bayonet. He replied, in a tone of good-humor, that he would *try* to execute the order." See, also, Stillman's *Gallop among American Scenery*. This positive testimony of the chief actors settles the question. It was General Brown, and not General Ripley, who gave the order. Miller's modest response, "I'll try, sir," is one of the sayings which Americans delight to remember, and History loves to repeat.

James Miller was born in Peterborough, New Hampshire, on the 25th of April, 1776, and was thirty-eight years of age at this time. He was educated for the bar, but in 1808 he entered the United States Army as major of the Fourth Regiment of Infantry. In 1810 he was made lieutenant colonel, and, as we have already observed in this work, performed gallant services under Harrison in the campaign that ended at the battle of Tippecanoe. In August, 1812, he was brevetted as colonel for his distinguished services near Detroit, which we have already recorded; and in May of the following year he commenced an equally distinguished series of services on the Niagara frontier in the Sixth Regiment. In March, 1814, he was promoted to full colonel of the Twenty-first Regiment, and accompanied General Brown, in the brigade of General Ripley, in the invasion of Canada in July. He fought gallantly at the battles of Chippewa and Niagara Falls, and also at Fort Erie; and for his services in capturing the battery in Landy's Lane, and general good conduct on the Niagara frontier, he was brevetted a brigadier general, and received from Congress a gold medal, with suitable emblems and devices, delineated in the engraving on the opposite page. General Miller resigned his commission in the army in 1819, when he was appointed governor of Arkansas Territory. He held that office until March, 1820, when he was appointed collector of the port of Salem, Massachusetts, which position he held twenty-four years, or until 1840, when he was prostrated by paralysis. He had a second stroke of paralysis on the morning of the 4th of July, 1851, and died on the 7th at the age of seventy-five years. He was then living at Temple, New Hampshire, where part of his family still reside.

The gold medal presented by Congress is the size delineated on the following page. On one side is a bust of General Miller, with his name and title, and the words "E PLURIBUS UNUM." On the other, a battle scene on a slope and embankment as at Landy's Lane. Troops are seen advancing in the distance. Over the scene are the words "EVOLUTION OF GUNNERS, NOVEMBER 8, 1814." Below, the words "BATTLE OF CHIPPEWA, JULY 8, 1814; NIAGARA, JULY 25, 1814; FORT MONTGOMERY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1814."

¹ Robert Carter Nicholas, of Kentucky, entered the army as captain of the Seventh Infantry in 1808. He became a major in 1810, and lieutenant colonel of the First Infantry in August, 1812. After the battle of Niagara he was promoted to colonel of the Nineteenth (September, 1814), and was retained at the peace. He resigned in 1819, and in 1821 became United States Indian Agent for the Chickarawa.



and compelled to abandon their whole artillery, ammunition-wagons, and every thing else. Seven splendid brass cannon remained with Miller, one of which was a 24-pounder with eight horses, some of them killed. Twice the British attempted to expel Miller from the height, but were repulsed, when Ripley, with the First and Twenty-third Regiments, came gallantly to his aid. At that moment the last of Drummond's re-enforcements, which had been rapidly advancing from Queenston under Colonel Scott, nearly fifteen hundred in all, came up, when the enemy rallied, and made a fourth unsuccessful attempt to drive the victors from the heights and regain their battery.¹



MAJOR JOHN M'NEIL.

The exploit of Miller elicited universal admiration. The American officers declared that it was one of the most desperate and gallant acts ever known. "It was the most desperate thing we ever saw or heard of," said the British officers, who were made prisoners. The moment that General Brown met Miller afterward, he said, "You have immortalized yourself! My dear fellow, my heart ached for you when I gave you the order, but I knew that it was the only thing that would save us."²

Meanwhile the first brigade, commanded by General Scott, had maintained its position with the greatest pertinacity under terrible assaults and destructive blows. The gallant Eleventh Regiment lost its commander, Major John M'Neil, by severe wounds,³ and all of its captains. Its ammunition became spent, and as a regiment

¹ Autograph Letter of General Miller to his Wife from Fort Erie, July 28, 1814.

² Miller's Autograph Letter.

³ John M'Neil was born in New Hampshire in 1784. He very early evinced a taste for military life. At the age of seventeen years he was an ensign, and soon afterward a captain of a grenadier company in his native state, which was remarkable for its physical vigor. His youth and early manhood were spent in rural labors and sports. In March, 1812, he entered the army as captain of the Eleventh Infantry, and in August the next year he was promoted to major. For his gallant conduct at Chippewa, where he commanded his regiment, he was breveted lieutenant colonel, and for similar conduct in the battle of Niagara he was breveted colonel. In that battle he behaved with the greatest gallantry. When the Twenty-second Regiment broke and was about to flee in disorder, M'Neil spurred his horse in front of them, and, with his tremendous voice uttering persuasions and threats, he succeeded in rallying them and leading them into action. His horse was killed under him, and he was wounded in both legs by canister-shot. A six-ounce ball passed through and shattered his right knee, and nearly carried away the limb. But he continued to fight until, be-

A desperate struggle in Darkness.

Both Parties re-enforced.

Sketches of Colonels Brady and Jesup.

it retired from the field, its more gallant spirits rallying around the flags of the Ninth and Twenty-second as volunteers. Very soon Colonel Brady, of the Twenty-second, was severely wounded,¹ with several of his subordinates. Its ammunition became exhausted, and it, too, dissolved, and its remnant clung to the banner of the Ninth, commanded by the brave Lieutenant Colonel Leavenworth, as volunteers. This was now the only regiment remaining of the first brigade, and it fought with a courage that partook of the character of desperation. The three skeleton regiments were consolidated, and contended fearfully in the darkness. Finally Scott ordered them to charge, and they were moving gallantly forward for that purpose when the taking of the battery turned the current, and the order was countermanded. They took their old position at the foot of the slope, ready for any emergency.

It was now about half past ten o'clock at night. The troops were enveloped in thick darkness, for the smoke of battle, untouched by the slightest breeze, hung like a thick curtain between them and the pale light of the moon. Around the tattered colors of the Eleventh the shattered fragments of the first brigade were rallied, commanded by the officers of the Ninth who remained unhurt. The Twenty-fifth, under Jesup,² with their regimental banner pierced with scores of bullet-holes received at Chippewa and in this engagement, reposed a moment after their victory on the river side of the Queenston Road, where the village of Drummondville now stands, while the second brigade, skillfully handled by Ripley, bore the brunt of the battle in the fierce contention for the battery on the height. Yet the others were by no means idle. Every corps was engaged in the desperate struggle, which had continued for more than two hours, the way of the combatants lighted only by fitful gleams of the moon darting through the murky battle-clouds, and the lurid flashes of exploding powder.



THE FLAG OF THE TWENTY-FIFTH.³

Both parties were re-enforced during the struggle; the British by Colonel Scott's

coming faint from loss of blood, he was carried off the field, a cripple for life, and his iron constitution shattered. He was retained in the army at its reduction as major of the Fifth Infantry, and served upon the Western frontier. He was breveted brigadier general in 1824, and in 1826 promoted to the rank of full colonel. He was appointed an Indian commissioner in 1829. In 1830 he resigned his commission, and was appointed by President Jackson surveyor of the port of Boston, which office he held until his death at Washington City, on the 23d of February, 1850. He married a half-sister of Franklin Pierce, the fourteenth President of the United States. He was a powerful man, standing six feet six inches in his stockings.

¹ Hugh Brady was a Pennsylvanian by birth, and was born in Northumberland County in 1768. He entered the army as ensign in 1792, and served in the Northwest under General Wayne. He was captain of the Fourth Infantry in 1799, and was out of service from June, 1800, until July, 1812, when he was commissioned colonel of the Twenty-second Infantry. He was distinguished at both Chippewa and Niagara Falls. He was retained in 1815, and in 1821 was breveted a brigadier general. He was in the war with Mexico, and for meritorious conduct there, at the age of eighty years, he was breveted major general. He died at Detroit on the 16th of April, 1851, aged eighty-three years.

² Thomas Sidney Jesup was a native of Virginia, and was born in 1788. He entered the army as second lieutenant of infantry in May, 1808. He was General Hull's brigade major in the campaign of 1812, in which he was also acting adjutant general. He was promoted to captain in January, 1813, and major of the Nineteenth Infantry in April following. Early in 1814 he was transferred to the Twenty-fifth—a regiment which he had raised mostly by his own exertions in Hartford, Connecticut, and its vicinity. For his gallant conduct at Chippewa he was breveted lieutenant colonel, and for like distinguished conduct in the battle of Niagara, where he was wounded, he was breveted colonel. He was retained in the army in 1815, and was made lieutenant colonel of the Third Infantry in 1817. The following year he was made adjutant general, with the rank of colonel, and shortly afterward quartermaster general, with the rank of brigadier general. In May, 1828, he was breveted major general for ten years' faithful service. In 1836 he was appointed to the command of the army in the Creek Nation, and the same year succeeded General Call in command of the army in Florida. He was active during the war with the Seminole Indians, and was wounded in one of the battles. He was succeeded by Colonel Zachary Taylor, and retired to the duties of the quartermaster general's department, in the performance of which he continued until his death at Washington City, at the age of seventy-two years, on the 16th of June, 1860.

³ This picture of the tattered banner and its broken staff of the Twenty-fifth Regiment, as it appeared on the day after the battle of Niagara Falls, is from a drawing made then, belonging to the Rochester Light Guard, and hanging in their armory in the spring of 1862, when a careful copy was kindly sent to me by Mr. Jeremiah Watts, one of the members of the Guard. The flag was white silk, with a yellow fringe, and the words "THE TWENTY-FIFTH REGIMENT OF U. S. INFANTRY" were inscribed upon a blue ribbon, with gilt scrolls at each end.

Generals Brown and Scott wounded. The Troops fall back to Chippewa. Injurious Tardiness of General Ripley.

command, as we have seen, and the Americans by a part of Porter's brigade, which took post on Ripley's left, and participated in the closing events of the battle. The enemy was beaten off by sheer hard blows given by the muscle of indomitable Perseverance, but at the expense of precious blood. Generals Brown and Scott were severely wounded and borne from the field, and the active command devolved on General Ripley, the senior officer on duty.¹

When the absolute repulse of the enemy was manifest, and General Brown observed great numbers of stragglers in all directions from the broken regiments, he ordered the new commander to fall back with the troops to Chippewa, there reorganize the shattered battalions, give them a little rest and refreshments, and return to the field of conflict by daydawn, so as to secure the fruits of victory by holding the ground and securing the captured cannon, which, on account of a lack of horses, harness, or drag-ropes,

could not be removed at once. Ripley had not moved from Chippewa when the day dawned, and Brown, disappointed and angered by his tardiness, ordered his own staff to go to the commanders of corps and direct them to be promptly prepared to march. It was sunrise before the army crossed the Chippewa, and they were halted by Ripley at the Bridgewater Mills, a mile from the battle-ground, where he was informed that the enemy was again in possession of the heights of Landy's Lane and his cannon, had been re-enforced, and was too strong to be attacked by a less force than the entire army of the Niagara with any promise of success. With this information Ripley returned to head-quarters. The commanding general was irritated. He resolved not to trust the brigadier with the command of the army any longer than necessity required; and he dispatched a courier to Sackett's Harbor with an order for General



¹ The gallant Major M'Farland was mortally wounded while fighting at the head of his battalion of the Twenty-third Regiment. Daniel M'Farland was a Pennsylvanian, and entered the army as captain in the Twenty-second Infantry in March, 1812. In August, 1812, he was promoted to major in the Twenty-third, and was killed in the battle of Niagara Falls.

Captains Biddle and Ritchie, of the artillery, were both wounded in that battle early in the action, and the brunt of the artillery service fell on Towson. Thomas Biddle, Junior, was a gallant officer from Pennsylvania. He entered the army as captain of infantry in the spring of 1812, but joined the Second Artillery soon afterward. He was distinguished in the capture of Fort George, and also at Stony Creek in May and June, 1813. In September he was brigade major under General Williams. He was slightly wounded at Niagara, and for gallant service at Fort Erie afterward he was breveted a major. There he was again wounded. In December following he was aid-de-camp to General Izard. He remained in the army some years, and was finally killed in a duel at St. Louis, Missouri, August 29, 1831.

John Ritchie, who was also in this battle, was a Virginian. He entered the army in the spring of 1812 as captain in the Second Artillery. Although severely wounded in the battle of Niagara Falls, he stuck to his gun, and was killed. He had declared that he would never leave his piece, and, true to that declaration, he fell by it, covered with wounds.

Circumstances of the Battle of Niagara. Number of Troops engaged in it. The Victory claimed by both Parties.

Gaines to come and take the temporary leadership of the Niagara forces.¹ Ripley's delay had doubtless deprived the Americans of all the substantial advantages of victory, for the enemy was allowed to return, reoccupy the field of battle, and retake the captured cannon, excepting one beautiful brass 6-pounder, which was presented to Colonel Miller's regiment on the spot. This they bore away with them as a precious trophy of their prowess. The remainder were retaken by the British a few hours afterward.²

Thus ended the sanguinary BATTLE OF NIAGARA FALLS, sometimes called *Lundy's Lane*, and sometimes *Bridgewater*.³ It has few parallels in history in its wealth of gallant deeds. It was fought wholly in the shadows of a summer evening between sunset and midnight. To the eye and ear of a distant spectator it must have been a sublime experience. Above was a serene sky, a placid moon in its wane, and innumerable stars—a vision of Beauty and Peace; below was the sulphurous smoke of battle, like a dense thunder-cloud on the horizon, out of which came the quick flashes of lightning and the bellowing of the echoes of its voice—a vision of Horror and Strife. Musket, rocket, and cannon cracking, hissing, and booming; and the clash of sabre and bayonet, with the cries of human voices, made a horrid din that commingled with the awful, solemn roar of the great cataract hard by, whose muffled thunder-tones rolled on, on, forever, in infinite grandeur when the puny drum had ceased to beat, and silence had settled upon the field of carnage. There the dead were buried, and the mighty diapason of the flood was their requiem.

According to the most careful estimates, the number of troops engaged in the battle of Niagara Falls was a little over seven thousand, the British having about four thousand five hundred, and the Americans a little less than two thousand six hundred. Both parties lost heavily. The Americans had one hundred and seventy-one killed, five hundred and seventy-one wounded, and one hundred and ten missing—a total of eight hundred and fifty-two. The British lost eighty-four killed, five hundred and fifty-nine wounded, one hundred and ninety-three missing, and forty-two prisoners—a total of eight hundred and seventy-eight. A large proportion of those taken by Jesup on the British left, and by Miller on the height, escaped during the night.

Both parties claimed a victory, the Americans because they drove the enemy from the field and captured his cannon, and the British because their foe did not retain the field and the cannon he had won. While the American people rejoiced over the affair as a genuine triumph, as it undoubtedly was, as a victory in battle, the governor general of Canada was right in complimenting his troops for their steadiness and valor; and the Prince Regent did a proper thing when he gave permission to one of the regiments to wear the word NIAGARA upon their caps.

Major General Brown was twice severely wounded, yet he kept the saddle until the victory was won. First a musket-ball passed through his right thigh; and a few

¹ General Brown's *Manuscript Memoir*, etc. He says, "General Brown entertained no doubt of the intelligence or bravery of General Ripley," but his conduct on the morning of the 26th was such that "his confidence in him as a commander was sensibly diminished. The general believed that he dreaded responsibility more than danger. In short, that he had a greater share of physical than moral courage."

² Miller's Autograph Letter to his Wife, July 28. Brown's *Memorandum*, etc., and his Official Report to the Secretary of War, dated "Buffalo, August, 1814." In that report the commanding general spoke in the highest terms of all his officers and troops. He particularly mentioned the gallant services of Scott, Porter, Jesup, Towson, Hindman, Biddle, Ritchie, Gardner, his adjutant general, M'Ree and Wood, his engineers, his aids-de-camp Austin and Spencer, and Lieutenant Randolph, of the Twentieth Regiment, "whose courage was conspicuous." "The staff of Generals Ripley and Porter," he said, "discovered great zeal and attention to duty."

³ The battle was fought within sight and hearing of the great Falls of Niagara, and should bear that dignified name. It was so called in one of the first published accounts of it. "The battle of NIAGARA," said the Albany Argus at the beginning of August, "commands, like the achievements of our naval heroes, the admiration of all classes of the American people, a few excepted." The hottest of the contest having occurred in the struggle for the battery in *Lundy's Lane* caused the battle to be called after the name of that road. About a mile above the field of battle, on the banks of the Niagara, were mills called *The Bridgewater Mills*. A person attached to the American army, but not in the battle, wrote while it was in progress to some friend in the interior of New York, saying that a great battle was then raging near the Bridgewater Mills. This letter was published extensively, and the conflict was called the *Battle of Bridgewater*. It was so announced in Niles's *Register*, August 13, 1814.

Officers wounded in the Battle of Niagara.

Scott proceeds to Washington.

Honors conferred upon him.

minutes afterward the gallant Captain Spencer, his aid-de-camp, received a mortal wound.¹ Then came a ball of some kind which struck Brown in the side, not lacerating, but severely contusing it. Both hurts were so severe that the general felt doubtful of his ability to keep his seat, and so informed Major Wood, his confidential friend. That brave officer, deeply engaged in the battle, exclaimed, "Never mind, my dear general, you are winning the greatest battle ever gained for your country!" The enemy were soon repulsed, and the general, supported by Captain Austin, his only remaining aid, moved from the field, leaving the command, as we have seen, with General Ripley. Brown rapidly recovered, and was able to resume the command of the army of the Niagara early in September.

General Scott was wounded by a bullet that entered his left shoulder while he was conversing with Major Jesup on the extreme right. He had been exposed to death on every part of the field, and had two horses shot under him. He was spared until the last struggle of the battle, when his aid, Lieutenant Worth, and Brigade Major Smith, were very severely wounded. His own hurt was so great that he could no longer remain on the field, and he was borne first to the Chippewa camp, then to Buffalo, and finally to Williamsville, a hamlet in the east part of the present town of Java, Wyoming County, New York. At the latter place he found the wounded General Riall well-cared for.

Scott suffered intensely, and for a month his recovery was considered doubtful. He was finally removed to the house of a friend (Mr. Brisbane) in Batavia, where kind nursing made his convalescence rapid. At length, when able to bear the motions of a litter, he was carried on the shoulders of gentlemen of the country from town to town, to the house of a friend (Mr. Nicholas) in Geneva, where he remained until he was able to resume his journey, when he went to Philadelphia, and placed himself in charge of the eminent Doctors Physic and Chapman, of that city. He was everywhere received with demonstrations of the warmest respect and admiration for his personal achievements, and as the representative of the now glorious army of the Niagara.² From Philadelphia he passed on to Baltimore early in September, then threatened by the British, who had just destroyed the public buildings of the national capital; and on the 16th of October he was so far recovered as to be able to take command of the Tenth Military District, whose head-quarters were at Washington City. Honors were conferred upon him by public bodies in many places. The Congress of the United States, by a resolution on the 8th of November, 1814, voted him the thanks of the nation, and requested the President to have a gold medal, with suitable devices, struck in his honor, and presented to him.³ The Legislatures of

¹ Ambrose Spencer, of New York, was commissioned a first lieutenant in the Twenty-ninth Infantry in April, 1813, and promoted to captain in February, 1814. He had been made aid to General Brown in August, 1814, and remained in his family until his death. He was greatly distinguished in the battle of Niagara Falls. General Brown relates, in his *Manuscript Memoir*, etc., already cited, that when the last heavy re-enforcements of the British were coming up in the dim moonlight, and he was watching them with intense interest, Captain Spencer suddenly put spurs to his horse, and rode directly to the front of the advancing foe. Then, turning to the enemy's right, he inquired, in a firm, strong voice, "What regiment is that?" He was promptly answered, "The Royal Scots, sir." "Halt! Royal Scots," he replied, and they obeyed. With this information he returned to his general, and soon afterward received a wound which caused his death, at Fort Erie, on the 5th of August. General Drummond had sent a message to Brown asking an exchange of their aids. Spencer was mortally wounded, but Loring was well. Affection for his aid caused Brown to depart from the usages of war, and he complied. On the very day that Spencer was brought to Fort Erie he died, and Captain Loring was sent back to his general.

² It was the annual Commencement at the College of New Jersey, at Princeton, when General Scott arrived there on his way to Philadelphia. The faculty of the college invited him to attend the ceremonies at the church. He was carried thither on a litter, pale and emaciated from suffering, and was placed upon the stage among the professors and invited guests. He was greeted by both sexes with the greatest enthusiasm. The orator of the day was the now deceased brother of Bishop M'Ilvaine, of Ohio, and his subject happened to be "The public duties of a good citizen in peace and war"—an appropriate one for the occasion; and toward its close he turned to Scott and pronounced a most touching eulogy of his conduct. This compliment was followed by the conferring upon the wounded hero the honorary degree of Master of Arts. With grateful heart Scott passed on, and was met, when approaching Philadelphia, by Governor Snyder and a division of militia.—See *Mansfield's Life of Scott*, Chapter XI.

³ Her engraving on the following page is a representation of the medal, a trifle smaller than the original. On one side is a bust of General Scott, with his name. On the other side, surrounded by a wreath, composed of palm and olive leaves entwining a snake, emblem of youth and immortality, are the words "RESOLUTION OF CONGRESS, NOVEMBER 8,

Medal awarded to Scott. Other Gifts. Biographical Sketch. Appointed Brevet Lieutenant General.



GOLD MEDAL AWARDED TO GENERAL SCOTT.

* February 12, 1816. Virginia^a and New York^b thanked him, and each voted him an elegant sword.¹ The Society of the Cincinnati, founded by Washington and his companions in arms, elected him an honorary member,^c and many towns and counties were named in his honor in the course of time. He was breveted a major general; and for almost fifty years longer he served his country actively in its military operations, ten of them as general-in-chief. When, in the autumn of 1861, the great Civil War assumed immense proportions, the Nestor of the republic, feeling the disabilities of increasing physical infirmities, retired from active service, bearing the commission given him a few years before of lieutenant general.²

1814. BATTLES OF CHIPPEWA, JULY 5, 1814; NIAGARA, JULY 25, 1814." This medal was not presented until about the close of Mr. Monroe's administration (February 26, 1825), when the President, in the presence of his cabinet, handed it to him with a brief address. Many years afterward, while it was in the City Bank for safe keeping, the safe of that corporation was entered one night by robbers. They carried off \$250,000, but left the medal. Several years afterward, one of the rogues, when on trial for another offense, said that "when he took the money from the City Bank he saw and well knew the value of the medal, but scorned to take from the soldier what had been given by the gratitude of his country." The profile of General Scott on the medal is said to be the best likeness extant of the hero at the time he won the honor.

¹ The New York sword was presented to General Scott by Governor Tompkins in the City Hall, New York, on "Evacuation Day" (November 25), 1816. The Virginia sword was not presented until 1825, when it was bestowed by Governor Pleasants. It was an elegant weapon, with suitable devices on the scabbard, hilt, and blade. On one side of the blade is seen Scott, just as Miller had carried the Lundy's Lane battery, mounting a charger, another having been torn in pieces under him. Below this is an eagle between two scrolls, bearing the names and dates of his two battles. On the opposite side of the blade are the words "Presented by the Commonwealth of Virginia to General Winfield Scott, 12th February, 1816;" and below this the arms of Virginia.

² Winfield Scott was born in Petersburg, Virginia, on the 13th of June, 1784. He was left an orphan in his boyhood, and was educated, under the care of friends, at William and Mary College. He chose the law for a profession, but soon changed it for that of arms. He entered the United States Army as a captain of light artillery in 1803, and was stationed at Baton Rouge, Louisiana, under General Wilkinson. He had some difficulty with that officer, and during a temporary suspension from duty returned to his profession in his native state. He rejoined the army, and, as lieutenant colonel, went to the Canada frontier in 1812. His career there until the close of the battle of Niagara Falls has been delineated in the text of this work. As we have observed, he took command

Winfield Scott

of the Tenth Military District, with his head-quarters at Washington City, late in the autumn of 1814, when he held the commission of major general by brevet. His wound was very severe. It was in the left shoulder, and his arm was left partially disabled. He was offered and declined a place in the cabinet as Secretary of War. After assisting in the reduction of the army to a peace establishment, he was sent to Europe in a military and diplomatic capacity, where he met some of the most distinguished of Napoleon's generals. He compiled some useful military text-books, and was in active service wherever there was a speck of war until that with Mexico broke out, in which he was chief actor on the part of the United States. He was then general-in-chief of the armies of the United States, with the rank of major general. For his distinguished services in that war he received many civic honors. In 1862 he was an unsuccessful candidate for the Presidency of the United States. In 1856 the brevet rank of lieutenant general was revived and conferred upon him. When the great Civil War broke out he was found, unlike a great proportion of the officers of the regular army who were born in the Slave-labor states, a powerful supporter of his government, and by his skill and courage secured the peaceful inauguration of Mr. Lincoln as President of the United States at a time when the national capital and the life of the chief magistrate elect were menaced by banded rebels. He retired from active service in the autumn of 1861, and died at West Point, on the Hudson, May 29, 1866.

Visit to the Niagara Frontier.

Colonel Cummings.

Battle-ground of Niagara at Lundy's Lane.

I visited the theatre of events described in this and a part of the preceding chapter in the summer of 1860. I was at Niagara Falls, as already observed (page 412), on the evening of the 16th of August. On the following morning, accompanied by Peter A. Porter, Esq., son of General Peter B. Porter (and conveyed in his carriage), I crossed the Niagara on the great Suspension Bridge, and rode up to the Chippewa battle-ground. We went over the great chasm at about ten o'clock, and halted at Chippewa Village, where we were joined by Colonel James Cummings, a venerable Canadian, seventy-two years of age, who was an aid to General Riall in the battle of the 5th of July, 1814.¹ He seemed as vigorous as most men at sixty, and we were fortunate in having the company of so good a cicerone, for he was familiar with every place and event of that battle. He owns a part of the land whereon it was fought; has resided near there for more than fifty years, and is full of reminiscences of the past. He cherishes, as a precious heir-loom for his family, the cocked hat and plume which he wore when he was fighting for his king and country.

After viewing the different portions of the battle-ground at Street's Creek and Chippewa Plains, and making the sketches printed on pages 806, '7, and '8,² we returned to the village, where I made a drawing of the remains of the *tête-de-pont* battery,³ not far from the mansion of Colonel Cummings. There we partook of some refreshments, and, accompanied by the colonel, rode up to the mouth of Lyon's Creek, where the Americans prepared to cross the Chippewa and flank the British, causing Riall, as we have observed,⁴ to hasten back to Queenston. On returning to Chippewa we spent an hour with Colonel Cummings and his family, and then left with enduring recollections of time spent pleasantly and profitably. We rode slowly by the great cataract, observing the site of the Widow Wilson's house, near Table Rock, the stupendous falls, and the grand flood as it rushes in wild and resistless energy toward the great bend in the river at the seething whirlpool.

At Drummondville, a pleasant little town of about five hundred inhabitants, skirting the highway from Chippewa to Queenston, we turned into Lundy's Lane, and rode to the top of the hill on which stood the British battery captured by Miller. It is a pleasant spot, and sufficiently elevated to command extensive views of the country in Canada and New York. On the crown of the hill was the dwelling of Mr. Fraleigh and a Methodist church; and on the slope toward Drummondville was a small cemetery, a view of which may be seen on page 818. A little to the left of the large tree in that picture was the site of the British battery taken by Miller. Near the middle of that cemetery was the grave and monument of Lieutenant Colonel Bisshopp, delineated on page 628; and on its western margin, close by the fence, was the grave of Captain Abraham F. Hull, who appears somewhat conspicuously in the narrative of the surrender of Detroit by his father, General William Hull, in the summer of 1812. On the spot where he fell, gallantly fighting in the battle of Niagara, the brother officers of Captain Hull erected a wooden slab, with a suitable inscription, to mark the spot;⁵ and in after years his friends erected the one of marble, which, with an

¹ Colonel Cummings is yet (1867) living at Chippewa, at the age of eighty years. He entered the military service as lieutenant of a volunteer flank company in 1812, and was stationed on the spot where the battle of Chippewa was fought two years later. He was promoted to the cavalry, but was soon called to Fort George by General Brock, and appointed deputy quartermaster general of militia, with the rank of captain. He was in the battle at Stony Creek, the taking of Berstler at the Beaver Dams, and was the one who received Colonel Chapin's sword when he surrendered there. He was with Lieutenant Colonel Bisshopp at the taking of Black Rock, and was near him when he fell. He was in several skirmishes, and participated in the battles of Chippewa and Niagara as aid to General Riall. He was an active officer, and between these battles had charge of the establishing of beacons between Chippewa and Queenston, under the direction of Lieutenant Colonel Christopher Myers. These beacons were made by setting up a pole, from which was suspended an iron basket filled with resinous bark.

² Nothing of Samuel Street's house was left but the chimney, as delineated on page 806. His orchard, on the south side of the stream, which was young at the time of the battle, now appeared venerable, but vigorous.

³ See page 807.

⁴ See page 818.

⁵ The cut on the following page represents the board slab which I found near the grave of Captain Hull, on which

James Cummings

Observatory at Lundy's Lane. Objects seen from it. Daring Feats at the Niagara Suspension Bridge.

inscription, now (1867) stands at the head of his grave, seen near the fence in the picture on page 818.¹

Fronting on Lundy's Lane, a little northwestward of the position of the British battery, was an observatory, made of timbers, and latticed. It was one hundred and thirty feet in height, and was ascended on the interior by one hundred and twenty-five steps. We climbed wearily to the top, and were richly rewarded for the toil by a magnificent panoramic view of the surrounding country, including in the vision, by the aid of a telescope, the statue of Brock on its lofty pedestal on the Heights of Queenston. Westward we looked far over the Canadian peninsula to the broken country around the Beaver Dam region, and eastward as far over the cultivated lands of the State of New York, while at our feet was the great cataract, which gave a tremor to the pile of timber work on which we stood, and formed a conception in the mind of the amazing power of that mighty pouring flood. An elderly man, who acted as guide to the surrounding scenery as seen from the observatory, ascended with us, and, in monotonous tone, began his well-learned task of repeating the record of historical events there. We only wanted to know the exact locality of certain incidents of the battle, and, after four times preventing him going farther in his tedious details than the words "In the year one thousand eight hundred and fourteen," we obtained what we wished, and descended. We climbed into the little cemetery, and I sketched the tomb of Bisshopp and the view on page 818, and at the same time Mr. Porter made a neat pencil drawing for me of a small house in Drummondville, which was used as a hospital after the battle, as seen from Bisshopp's grave. It is copied in the annexed engraving.



HOSPITAL NEAR LUNDY'S LANE.

On returning to the Suspension Bridge to recross the river, we observed large crowds of people on both banks, above and below the aerial highway, who had come to see the perilous feats of Blondin and a rival upon slack ropes stretched across the river from bank to bank. They were both performing at the same time, cheered on by their respective friends, one above and the other below the bridge. Beneath these daring acrobats was the foaming river, rushing down hill to the great whirlpool at the rate of thirty miles an hour. It was an unpleasant spectacle, for a sense of fearful danger oppressed the mind of the beholder. We rode slowly across the bridge, viewing the foolish and yet heroic performances of both young men, and arrived at Niagara Falls village in time for a late dinner. Toward evening I rode down to Queenston, behind a blind horse, to make the visits on the Canadian peninsula described in preceding chapters.²

Let us now resume the narrative of events in which the Army of the Niagara was engaged in the summer and early autumn of 1814.

General Ripley's tardiness, if not absolute disobedience, as we have observed, left the battle-field of Niagara, so gloriously won by the Americans, in the possession of



WOODEN SLAB.

was the following inscription: "This was erected by his brother officers to mark the spot where Captain Hull, U. S. Army, fell in the memorable action at Lundy's Lane, 25th July, 1814, gallantly leading his men to the charge."

¹ This is a plain stone, two and a half feet in height, which bears the following inscription: "Here lies the body of Abraham Hull, captain in the Ninth Regiment U. S. Infantry, who fell near this spot in the battle of Bridgewater (see note 3, page 824), July 25, 1814, aged twenty-eight years."

² Captain Abraham Fuller Hull entered the army as captain in the Ninth Infantry on the 14th of April, 1812, and was with his father during the march of the army from Dayton to Detroit. He was made *ad-de-camp* to his father in May, 1812, and served as such until the surrender in August. When he again assumed his place in the line, he took command of his old company in the Ninth, under Major Leavenworth. He was an excellent officer, and his loss was much lamented.

³ See page 412.

Ripley attempts to abandon Canada.

Brown's Indignation.

He orders the Army to Fort Erie.

the foe on the morning of the 26th of July. At that time Generals Brown and Scott, Major Jesup, and other wounded officers, were placed in boats for conveyance to Buffalo, and they departed with the expectation that Ripley would hold the strong position at Chippewa until the arrival of re-enforcements. The commanding general had scarcely disappeared behind Navy Island in his upward voyage when Ripley ordered the destruction of the military works and bridge, and some of his own stores at Chippewa, and made a precipitate flight with the whole army to the Black Rock Ferry, a short distance below Fort Erie. His intention was to lead the whole army across the river, and utterly abandon Canada. This design would have been accomplished had not the firmness of the principal officers, by a vehement opposition, prevented. Ripley crossed the river to Black Rock, where Brown lay, to get from him an order for the army to pass over; but that indignant commander not only refused, but treated the brigadier with scorn.¹ Ripley returned, and, by order of General Brown, he led the army to a good position, just above Fort Erie, along the lake shore, encamped it there, and proceeded to strengthen the old works, and to construct new and more extensive ones preparatory to an expected siege.² General Porter, at about the same time, issued a stirring appeal to his fellow-citizens, asking for four thousand volunteers.

The labor at Fort Erie for that purpose was commenced with great zeal and energy by the engineers, and from the 27th of July until the 2d of August the troops were employed in the business day and night, casting up intrenchments, constructing redoubts, making traverses, and preparing *abatis*. Fortunately for the Americans, Drummond did not know their real weakness, and he remained quietly at Lundy's Lane and vicinity, resting his men and receiving re-enforcements for two or three days. Finally, on the 29th, having been re-enforced by about eleven hundred men of General De Watteville's brigade, he prepared to push forward and invest Fort Erie.

At this time Fort Erie was an indifferent affair, small and weak, standing on a plain about twelve or fifteen feet above Lake Erie, at its foot. Efforts to strengthen it having been made ever since it was captured at the beginning of July, it was beginning to assume a formidable appearance. On the extreme right of the American encampment, and near the lake shore, a strong stone work had been erected, and two guns mounted on it, *en barbette*, or on the top without embrasures. It was called the Douglass Battery, in honor of Lieutenant David B. Douglass, of the Engineer corps, under whose superintendence it was built. From the left of this battery to the right of the old fort continuous earthworks were thrown up, seven feet in height, with a

¹ "While the wounded," says Major Jesup, "were moving by water to Buffalo, the army abandoned its strong position behind the Chippewa, and, after destroying a part of its stores, fell back, or, rather, fled to the ferry opposite Black Rock, but a short distance below Fort Erie; and General Ripley, but for the opposition made by M'Ree, Wood, Townson, Porter, and other officers, would have crossed to the American shore. Had the enemy availed himself of this blunder, not a man of our army could have escaped. . . . The American general could have maintained his position [at Chippewa], and have held General Drummond in check during the remainder of the campaign."—Jesup's Manuscript *Memoir of the Niagara Campaign*.

Early on the morning of the 27th the commanding general at Black Rock "was advised that the army had fallen back in haste, and was then near him on the opposite side of the strait. This movement was unexpected, and greatly affected the general. General Ripley intended to have proceeded with the army immediately to the American side of the strait, but the honorable stand taken by the officers whom he consulted induced him to shrink from this intention. Majors M'Ree, Wood, and Townson, as well as General Porter, deserve particular honor for their high-minded conduct on this occasion. General Ripley left the army, and came to General Brown with a hope of obtaining an order for him to cross with the forces. No proposition could have been more surprising to the major general; and perhaps, at this interview, he treated General Ripley with unjustifiable indignation and scorn."—General Brown's Manuscript *Memoir of Occurrences connected with the Campaigns of Niagara*.

² When General Ripley left General Brown's chamber and went below, he remarked to persons there that he would not be responsible for the army if it remained in Canada, and insisted that a written order should be given him. When informed of this, Brown sent to Ripley the following note:

"Head-quarters, Buffalo, 27th July, 1814.

"Sir,—All the sick and wounded, and the surplus baggage, will be immediately removed to this place. Those men who are sound and able to fight will encamp at Fort Erie, so as to defend that post, and, at the same time, hold the ferry below until the wounded, sick, and surplus baggage have crossed. You will send Major Wood or Major M'Ree to me immediately."—General Brown's Manuscript Letter-book.



REMAINS OF DOUGLASS'S BATTERY AND FORT ERIE.¹

ditch in front and slight *abatis*; and from the left of the fort, and in a line nearly parallel with the lake shore, strong parapet breastworks were commenced, with two ditches and *abatis* in front. At the southwestern extremity of this line of works, on a natural sand-mound called Snake Hill,

a sort of bastion, twenty feet in height, was cast up, five guns mounted on it, and named Towson's Battery, in honor of the gallant artillery captain in whose charge it was placed. From this battery to the lake shore, near which lay at anchor the three armed schooners *Porcupine*, *Somers*, and *Ohio*, was a line of *abatis*, thus completing the inclosure of the American camp, with defenses on land and water, within an area of about fifteen acres. All of these works, excepting old Fort Erie, were incomplete when, on the 2d of August, it was discovered that the British army was approaching. They moved steadily onward in considerable force, drove in the American pickets, and in the woods, two miles from Fort Erie proper, formed a camp, and commenced casting up double and irregular lines of intrenchments, and constructing batteries in front at points from which an effectual fire might be poured upon the American works.

Drummond perceived the importance of capturing the American batteries at Black Rock, and seizing or destroying the armed schooners in the lake, before proceeding to the business of besieging Fort Erie; and before dawn on the morning of the 3d of August, he sent over Lieutenant Colonel Tucker with a detachment of the Forty-first Regiment, in nine boats, to attack the batteries. They landed about half a mile below Shogeoquady Creek, where they found themselves unexpectedly confronted by a band of riflemen, two hundred and forty in number, and a small number of militia and volunteers, under Major Morgan. That officer had been intrusted with the defense of Buffalo. He had perceived the advance of the British on the 2d, and believing their intention to be to feign an attack on Fort Erie, but really to attempt the capture of Buffalo and the public stores there, and the release of General Riall, he had hastened to Black Rock, destroyed the bridge over the creek, and during the night had thrown up a breastwork of logs.

Morgan's movement was timely and fortunate. When the British commenced an attack at dawn, and a party moved forward to repair the bridge, the Americans offered very little resistance until the foe were within full and easy range of their rifles, when they poured upon them such destructive volleys that the invaders recoiled. In the mean time Drummond sent over re-enforcements, which swelled the number of Tucker's troops to about twelve hundred. With these he attempted a flank movement, but was gallantly met at the fords of the creek by a small party under Lieutenants Ryan, Smith, and Armstrong, who disputed their passage with success. After a severe contest the British fell back, withdrew to Squaw Island, and with all possible dispatch recrossed the Niagara and joined in the investment of Fort Erie. The British lost a considerable number, of which no official record seems to have been given. The Americans lost two private soldiers killed, and Captain Hamilton, Lieutenants Wadsworth and McIntosh, and five private soldiers wounded.

While Tucker was busy in the invasion at Black Rock, Drummond opened fire with some 24-pounders in front of Fort Erie; but from that time until the 7th can-

¹ This little sketch shows the general appearance of the remains when I visited the spot in the summer of 1860. In the front, on the extreme right, are the crumbled walls of Douglass's Battery, and in the extreme distance those of Fort Erie. Intermediately are seen the mounds of the intrenchments which connected the old fort with Towson's Battery.

nonading was seldom heard. Both parties were laboring intensely in preparing for the impending battle, Drummond in constructing works for a siege and assault, and Ripley in preparations for a defense. On that day most of the new works about Fort Erie were completed. Towson's and Douglass's batteries were in readiness for action. The parapeted breastworks from Fort Erie to Towson's Battery were completed; two ditches were dug in front of them, and *abatis* were laid in continuous line from Douglass's Battery around the front of the fort and breastworks to Towson's, and from thence to the lake shore. Between Towson's and the old fort two other batteries had been constructed. One, mounting two guns, was placed in command of Captain Biddle, and the other, also two guns, was put in charge of Lieutenant Fontaine. The dragoons, infantry, riflemen, and volunteers were encamped between the southwestern ramparts and the water; and the artillery, under Major Hindman, were stationed in the old fort.¹

General Gaines² arrived at the camp at Fort Erie on the 5th,³ and was welcomed with delight by the little army. He immediately assumed the chief command, and his presence inspired them with confidence and courage. General Ripley, who had labored faithfully in preparations for defense, yet not without gloomy forebodings, resumed the command of his brigade, and perfect good feeling prevailed.

Gaines soon made himself acquainted with the condition and position of his force, and on the morning of the 6th⁴ he sent out

Major Morgan and his riflemen (who had been called over from Buffalo) to reconnoitre the enemy, and, if possible, draw him out from his intrenchments. Morgan soon encountered some of the British light troops, and attacked and drove them back to their lines; and for two hours he manœuvred in a way calculated to draw the main body out, but without success. He returned to the camp with a loss of five men killed and four wounded.

This reconnoissance was followed by the British, early on the morning of the 7th,⁵ hurling a tremendous storm of round shot upon the American works from five of their heavy cannon. This drew from the assailed a severe response from all their heavy guns that could be brought to bear on the enemy, and from that day until the 13th the siege went slowly and steadily on, the garrison, on all occasions, behaving most gallantly. Having on that morning completed



Edmund P. Gaines

¹ See map on page 839.

² Edmund Pendleton Gaines was born in Culpepper County, Virginia, on the 29th of March, 1777. At the close of the Revolution his father returned to North Carolina, where he had resided, and there the son toiled on a small farm. When he was about thirteen years of age the family emigrated to Tennessee, and at the age of eighteen young Gaines was raised in the army six years, and then became collector of the port of Mobile. He was promoted to captain in the army, and in that capacity was placed in command of Fort Stoddart, and was active in the arrest of Burr (see page 137). He was commissioned a major in 1812, and rose through the various grades to brigadier general in March, 1814. He was breveted a major general for his gallant conduct at Fort Erie, where he was wounded. Congress rewarded him with thanks and a gold medal. He was retained in 1816. He was active in the Southern Indian country, particularly in the Seminole War. He died at New Orleans on the 6th of June, 1849, at the age of seventy-two years. The signature here given is from a letter to Judge Hugh L. White, dated "Fort Erie, Upper Canada, August 24, 1814.

Attack on Fort Erie. Preparations to receive an Assault. Situation of the American Troops. Secret Order.

the mounting of all his heavy ordnance, Drummond commenced a cannonade, bombardment, and rocketeering, which was continued throughout the day, and renewed on the morning of the 14th. It ceased at seven o'clock in the evening, when very little impression had been made on the American defenses.

Gaines was convinced that Drummond intended to resort to a direct assault should his cannonading prove ineffectual, and, with this impression, he kept the garrison continually on the alert. Men were detailed for night service in such manner that part were resting and part were under arms continually. The guns in the batteries had been charged afresh several evenings in succession with a variety of shot; dark lanterns were kept burning, and linstocks ready for firing were near every cannon. The engineers and the commanding officer watched every movement with the eyes of experts, and they agreed in the belief that an assault would be made on the night of the 14th. On that evening Gaines visited and inspected every part of the works, gave explicit directions to every officer, and words of encouragement to the men; and Engineers M'Ree and Wood examined every part of the intrenchments most carefully. In the mean time, while the garrison were on evening parade, a shell came screaming across the space between the hostile camps, fell within the American lines, and lodged in an almost empty magazine, which was blown up with a tremendous report. The enemy huzzaed long and loud, supposing they had destroyed one of Gaines's chief magazines. Hoping to profit by the confusion and loss, they prepared at once to assail the American works. Their gun-flints were removed from their muskets, scaling-ladders were collected, and the arrangements of the columns for attack were carefully made in accordance with a secret order¹ issued by Drummond, and special secret instructions given to Lieutenant Colonels Scott, Fischer, and Drummond.

At that time the Americans were situated as follows: Small, unfinished Fort Erie, with a 24, 18, and 12-pounder, forming the northeast angle of the intrenched camp, was under the command of Captain Williams, with Major Trimble's Nineteenth Regiment of Infantry. The Douglass Battery, with an 18 and 6 pounder, and forming the southeast angle, was commanded by Lieutenant Douglass, whose own name it bore. On the left, forming the southwest angle, was Towson's Redoubt Battery, on the little

¹ Three copies were made of this secret order by Lieutenant Colonel Harvey, Drummond's assistant adjutant general, for the use respectively of Lieutenant Colonel Drummond, Lieutenant Colonel Fischer, and Colonel Scott. A copy of the one given to Drummond is before me. It is in the handwriting of Harvey, and was found on the body of Drummond after his death, with another paper mentioned in the subjoined paragraph in a letter of General Gaines to Judge Hugh L. White, of Tennessee, the original of which is also before me. It is dated at Fort Erie, August 24, 1814. General Gaines says: "The inclosed papers, numbers one and two, were in the pockets of Colonel Drummond. The ball that killed him passed through the latter, and a bayonet through the former. I send them to you as trophies, and curiosities which I wish preserved." The paper number one, through which the bayonet was thrust, was the secret order above mentioned. Number two is a rough topographical pencil-sketch of Fort Erie, the position of the British works, that of the three vessels on the lake, and the relative position of Buffalo and Black Rock. Through this the fatal bullet went, and left a fracture in each of its four folds, around which the blood-stain may be still seen, having the appearance of sepia in color. These interesting mementoes of the sanguinary field of Erie are in the possession of Samuel Jaudon, Esq., of New York, a relative of Judge White by marriage, to whose courtesy I am indebted for their use.

In the secret order is the following paragraph, of which I have made a fac-simile: "The lieutenant general most strongly recommends a free use of the bayonet." The bayonet that wounded Drummond passed through the paragraph

*The Lieut General's
most strongly recommends
a free use of the Bayonet*

immediately above this, and left a fracture in the paper about an inch in length and half an inch in width. In the secret order the parole was "Steel," and the countersign "Twenty."

Fort Erie Garrison expecting an Attack.

The Fort assailed.

The British repulsed.

eminence called Snake Hill; and the two two-gun batteries in front, already mentioned, were in charge of Captains Biddle and Fanning, the latter outranking Fontaine. The whole of the artillery was in charge of Major Hindman. Parts of the Ninth, Eleventh, and Twenty-fifth Regiments (the remnants of Scott's veteran brigade) were posted on the right, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Aspinwall. General Ripley's brigade, consisting of the Twenty-first and Twenty-third, was posted on the left, and General Porter's brigade of New York and Pennsylvania Volunteers, with the riflemen, occupied the centre.

An ominous silence prevailed in both camps at midnight of the 14th. It was the lull before the bursting forth of the tempest in its fury. It was not the silence of inactivity on the part of the British; on the contrary, there was uncommon but cautious stirring within their lines. In the American camp alone, where, as the night wore away, a doubt of immediate danger and the effects of great fatigue were wooing the garrison to slumber, did the quiet of rest prevail. It was soon broken. At two o'clock in the morning an alarm came from a picket-guard of one hundred men, commanded by Lieutenant Belknap, of the Twenty-third Infantry, who were posted in the direction of the enemy's camp to watch their movements. The duties of this picket were important and perilous, but were intrusted to good hands. Belknap managed the affair with skill and bravery.¹ The sky was overhung with clouds. Sound, not sight, gave intelligence of the approach of the enemy. Belknap fired an alarm, and then fell steadily back to camp. The enemy came dashing on in the gloom, full fifteen hundred strong, under Lieutenant Colonel Fischer, and charged furiously upon Towson's Battery and the *abatis* on the extreme left, between that work and the lake shore. They expected to find the Americans asleep, but were mistaken. Colonel Miller's brave Twenty-first Regiment, then in charge of Major Wood, of the Engineers, was behind the *abatis*, and Towson's artillerymen, gallantly supported on the right by the Twenty-third Regiment, were on the alert. At a signal, Towson's long 24-pounders sent forth such a continuous stream of flame from the summit of Snake Hill that the foe called it the "Yankee Light-house." At the same instant a bright flame beamed forth from the line of the Twenty-first, and sent a brilliant illumination high and far, and revealed the position of the enemy to the garrison. It was as evanescent as the light of the Roman candle of the pyrotechnic, and in a few moments heaviest gloom settled upon the scene, relieved only by the flashes of the cannon and musketry.

While one assailing column was endeavoring by the use of ladders to scale Towson's embankment, the other, failing to penetrate the *abatis*, waded in the shallow water of the lake under cover of darkness, and attempted to charge the Twenty-first in the rear. But both columns failed. After a desperate struggle, they were repulsed and fell back. Five times they came gallantly to the attack, and were as often driven away. Finally, having suffered great loss, chiefly from the destructive effects of grape and canister shot, they abandoned the enterprise.

Almost simultaneously with this movement on the extreme left, an assault was

¹ William Goldsmith Belknap was born in Newburg, Orange County, New York, on the 14th of September, 1794. He entered the army as third lieutenant in the Twenty-third Regiment of United States Infantry in the spring of 1814, and in the following autumn was in Wilkinson's expedition down the St. Lawrence. He followed the fortunes of General Brown, and was with him on the Niagara frontier in 1814. His services at Fort Erie, where he was severely wounded, received the warm commendations of his superior officers.* He was retained in the army at the peace as first lieutenant in the Second Regiment, Colonel Brady. At the reduction of the army in 1821 he was transferred to the Third, and the following year was promoted to captain. He was promoted to major in 1842, and, having been active and useful in the Seminole War in Florida, he was breveted lieutenant colonel. He was with General Taylor in Texas and Mexico, and in the battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma he gallantly commanded a brigade. During the remainder of the service he was Taylor's inspector general. For his gallant conduct at the battle of Buena Vista he was breveted brigadier general. He was with General Taylor in all his battles. From December, 1848, to May, 1851, General Belknap was in command of Fort Gibson, in the Cherokee nation, and his memory is cherished with gratitude by that people. He died near Preston, Texas, on the 10th of November, 1851.

* In a letter to Major Belknap in 1841 (kindly placed in my hands by a daughter of that gallant officer), Brigadier General Towson gave most interesting details of the operations of the picket and the attack of the enemy.

made on the right by five hundred infantry and artillery, with a reserve of Indians, composing the centre and left columns of the enemy, under Lieutenant Colonels Drummond and Scott. They advanced rapidly, under a blaze of fire from cannon and musketry—Drummond toward old Fort Erie, which the mortified British had determined to recover at all hazards, and Scott toward the Douglass Battery and the connecting intrenchments. The latter were received by the veteran Ninth, under the command of Captain Foster, and Captains Broughton and Harding's companies of New York and Pennsylvania Volunteers, aided by a 6-pounder between Douglass Battery and the lake shore, managed by Major M'Ree, the chief engineer. The enemy was soon repulsed in this quarter; but the centre, led by Lieutenant Colonel Drummond, was not long kept in check. It approached every assailable point of the fort at once. They brought scaling-ladders, and, with the greatest coolness and bravery, attempted to force an entrance over the walls. Captain Williams, and Lieutenants Macdonough and Watmough, in the fort, met them gallantly, and twice repulsed them. Then Drummond, taking advantage of the covering of a thick pall of gunpowder smoke which hung low, went silently around the ditch, and with scaling-ladders ascended to the parapet with great celerity, and gained a secure footing there with one hundred of the Royal Artillery before any effectual opposition could be made. Already the exasperated Drummond, goaded almost to madness by the murderous repulses which he had endured, had given orders to show no mercy to the "damned Yankees," and had actually stationed a body of painted savages near, with instructions to rush into the fort when the regulars should get possession of it, and assist in the general massacre.² Finding himself now in actual possession of a part of the fort, he instantly directed his men to charge upon the garrison with pike and bayonet, and to "show no mercy." Most of the American officers and many of the men received deadly wounds. Among the former was Lieutenant Macdonough. He was severely hurt, and demanded quarter. It was refused by Lieutenant Colonel Drummond. The lieutenant then seized a handspike, and boldly defended himself until he was shot down with a pistol by the monster who had refused him mercy, and who often reiterated the order, "Give the damned Yankees no quarter!" He soon met his deserved fate, for he was shot through the heart, was severely bayoneted, and fell dead by the side of his own victim.³

The battle now raged with increased fury on the right, while on the left the enemy was repulsed at every point and put to flight. Thence, and from the centre, Gaines promptly ordered re-enforcements. They were quickly sent by Ripley and Porter, while Captain Fanning kept up a spirited cannonading on the enemy, now to be seen approaching the fort, for the day had dawned. The enemy still held the bastion, in spite of all efforts to dislodge them. Hindman and Trimble had failed in their attempts to drive them out, when Captain Birdsall, of the Fourth Rifle Regiment, rushed in through the gateway, and with some infantry charged the foe. They were repulsed, and the captain was severely wounded. Then a detachment from the Eleventh, Nineteenth, and Twenty-second Infantry, under Captain Foster, of the Eleventh, was introduced into the interior bastion for the purpose of charging the enemy. The movement was gallantly made—Foster was accompanied by Major Hall, the assistant inspector general—but, owing to the narrowness of the passage, it failed. It was often repeated, and as often checked; yet these attacks greatly diminished the number of combatants in the bastion. A more furious charge was about to be made, when, says an eye-witness, "Every sound was hushed by the sense of an unnatural

¹ "I several times heard," says General Gaines in his report to the Secretary of War, "and many of our officers heard, orders given 'to give the damned Yankee rascals no quarter!'"

² Statement of "A Veteran of 1812, in Porter's Corps," who was a participant in the fight, writing from Troy, New York. See *Old Soldiers' Advocate*, Cleveland, Ohio, October, 1859. Alluding to the capture of Lieutenant Fontaine, of the artillery, who fell among the Indians, and was kindly treated by them, General Gaines in his report said, "It would seem, then, that these savages had not joined in the resolution to give no quarter."

³ General Gaines's official Dispatch to the Secretary of War.

A Bastion, with the British, blown up.

The Actors in the Matter.

An American marauding Party.

tremor beneath our feet, like the first heave of an earthquake. Almost at the same instant the centre of the bastion burst up with a terrific explosion, and a jet of flame, mingled with fragments of timber, earth, stone, and bodies of men, rose to the height of one or two hundred feet in the air, and fell in a shower of ruins to a great distance all around."¹

This explosion, so destructive and appalling, was almost the final and decisive blow to the British in the contest.² It was followed immediately by a galling cannonade, opened by Biddle and Fanning, and in a few moments the British broke and fled to their intrenchments, leaving on the field two hundred and twenty-one killed, one hundred and seventy-four wounded, and one hundred and eighty-six prisoners. Some of their slightly wounded were borne away. The loss of the Americans was seventeen killed, fifty-six wounded, and eleven missing. Among the officers lost were Captain Williams and Lieutenant Macdonough, killed; Lieutenant Watmough, severely wounded, and Lieutenant Fontaine, who was blown into the ranks of the Indians when the bastion exploded, but was not severely hurt. These were of the artillery, and were all injured in defending the bastion. Captain Biddle, of the artillery, had been previously injured, and Watmough had also received a contusion. Of the infantry officers injured were Captain Birdsall, Lieutenants Bushnell and Brown, and Ensign Cisna, wounded in defending the fort, and Lieutenant Belknap, wounded in defending the picket-guard which he commanded.

General Gaines called the affair a "handsome victory," not merely a defense and a repulse,³ and in this opinion the impartial historian must agree. He spoke in highest terms of all his officers and men, and particularly of the good conduct of Generals Ripley and Porter, Captain Towson, and Majors Hindman, McRee, and Wood. The intelligence of the event was received with great joy throughout the country; and for his gallant conduct and valuable services at this time, and in the second siege of Fort Erie, which soon followed, General Gaines received substantial honors. On the 14th of September he was breveted a major general, and on the 3d of November the President approved of the action of the national Congress in voting him the thanks of the nation and ordering a gold medal, with suitable devices (see next page), to be struck and presented to him. The three great states of New York, Virginia, and Tennessee each rewarded him with resolutions and an elegant sword.

There were drawbacks upon the joy and the honors of the victory besides those of the loss of life in the conflict, for two of the three schooners that lay at anchor off the fort, as we have observed, were captured by the enemy, and on the day succeeding the victory a marauding party brought dishonor upon the American name at Port Talbot, on the Canada shore. The schooners *Ohio* and *Somers* were captured on the night of the 12th of August by Captain Dobbs, of the Royal Navy, and seventy-five men in nine boats. They were taken down the river half way to Chippewa and secured, but the *Porcupine* beat off her assailants.⁴ The marauders referred to

¹ Manuscript Reminiscences of Major (then Lieutenant) Donglass, quoted by Dawson in his *Battles of the United States by Sea and Land*, ii., 368.

² "The cause of this explosion," says an eye-witness (one of Porter's men), "has never been officially explained. History ascribes it to accident; and perhaps it would not be proper for me to state what I learned at the time. Even if it was design, I think the end justified the means. It was that mysterious explosion which, through Providence, saved our gallant little army from the horrors of a general massacre."

The venerable Jabez Fisk, now (1867) living near Adrian, Michigan, who was in the fight, is not so reticent concerning the explosion. In a letter to me, dated May 20, 1863, he writes: "Three or four hundred of the enemy had got into the bastion. At this time an American officer came running up, and said, 'General Gaines, the bastion is full. I can blow them all to hell in a minute!' They both passed back through a stone building, and in a short time the bastion and the British were high in the air. General Gaines soon returned, swinging his hat, and shouting 'Hurrah for Little York!'" This was in allusion to the blowing up of the British magazine at Little York, where General Pike was killed. See page 539.

³ Letter of General Gaines to the Secretary of War, August 26, 1814. "It is due," he said, "to the brave men I have the honor to command that I should say that the affair was to the enemy a *sore beating* and a *defeat*; and it was to us a *handsome victory*."

⁴ In this affair the Americans lost one seaman killed, and three officers and four seamen wounded. The enemy lost two seamen killed and four wounded. The *Porcupine* sailed for Erie.



GENERAL GAINES'S MEDAL.¹

were a party of one hundred Americans and Indians, who landed at Port Talbot on the night of the 16th, and robbed about fifty families of valuable property, such as horses, household furniture, and wearing apparel, and several respectable citizens were carried off as prisoners of war; one of them, Mr. Barnwell, was a member of the Canadian Assembly. As a dutiful historian I record the affair, but with shame. Happily, such conduct on the part of the Americans was so rare that these pages have not been often stained by the recital.

Both parties at Fort Erie immediately prepared for another struggle, and during the remainder of August and until the middle of September each received and created strength by the arrival of re-enforcements and completing of their respective defenses. The Americans had by that time mounted twenty-seven heavy guns, and had over three thousand men behind them. Drummond also received re-enforcements a few days after his defeat on the 15th, and from some new batteries he opened a cannonade and bombardment of Fort Erie with the design of compelling the Americans to evacuate it. Almost daily, until the close of August, he threw hot shot, shells, and rockets into the fort, and annoyed the garrison much; and finally, on the 28th, a shell fell through the roof of Gaines's quarters, destroyed his writing-desk, and, exploding at his feet, injured him so severely that he was compelled to relinquish his command and retire to Buffalo.

When General Brown, then at Batavia, heard of this accident, he became exceedingly uneasy, and with shattered health and unhealed wounds he hastened to Buffalo, and on the 2d of September crossed over to Fort Erie. He found the garrison in charge of Colonel James Miller, whose rank was not sufficient for the position. Unable to remain himself with safety, he at once issued an order for General Ripley, the senior officer, to take command; and, returning to Buffalo, he established there the head-quarters of the Army of the Niagara, of which he now resumed control. Some of his officers followed him directly, and gave him such assurance of the unpopularity of Ripley with the army, and the dangers therefrom to be apprehended, that, though weak and suffering much, he returned to Fort Erie, and assumed the command in person.

The fort was still closely invested, and Brown perceived that peril was impending.

¹ On one side of the medal is the bust, name, and title of General Gaines, and on the other a figure of Victory standing on a shield, under which is a flag and a halbert. She holds a palm branch in one hand, and with the other is placing a laurel wreath on the end of a cannon which is standing upright, its muzzle downward. Around it is a scroll, inscribed "ERIE." On one transept rests British colors, and from the other is suspended a broadsword. By the side of the cannon lies a howitzer, helmet, and balls. Behind the cannon is seen a halbert. Around the whole are the words "RESOLUTION OF CONGRESS, NOVEMBER 5, 1814; and below, "BATTLE OF ERIE, AUGUST 15, 1814."

British Works and Fort Erie.

Brown determines on a Sortie.

Preparations for it.

ing. The British camp was in a field encircled by woods, two miles from their works, beyond the range of shot and shell from the fort or Black Rock. The army was divided into three brigades of from twelve to fifteen hundred men each; and one of these, daily relieved by another, was constantly at the works, with artillery. These works had now been advanced to within four or five hundred yards of the old fort, and at that distance two batteries had already been completed, and a third, from which almost certain destruction might be hurled, was nearly finished. Brown saw this impending danger, and took measures to avert it. Circumstances were favorable: Heavy and continuous rains had flooded the country for several days. Drummond's camp was on low, marshy ground; and stragglers from it, who had been picked up by the American pickets and deserters, informed Brown that the British force was so much weakened by typhoid fever that the lieutenant general was contemplating a removal of the camp to some healthier position. So broken was his power by camp sickness that for several days he had been unable to make an offensive movement.

Now was Brown's golden opportunity, and he improved it. A sortie was planned, and the time appointed for its execution the morning of the 17th of September. He resolved, as he said, "to storm the batteries, destroy the cannon, and roughly handle the brigade upon duty before those in reserve [at the camp] could be brought into action."¹ His preparations were made with great secrecy. He knew the hazards of the enterprise, and desired the full co-operation of his officers. He sounded their opinions as well as he might without fully disclosing his designs. They were not in consonance with his own; and he made his preparations in a manner to conceal his intentions from the army until all should be in readiness, for he determined to attempt the bold design as soon as Porter should join him with his militia re-enforcements.² These came, two thousand strong, and on the morning of the 17th the commanding general explained his plans to General Ripley (his second in command), his adjutant general, and engineers. All evinced a desire for hearty co-operation excepting General Ripley, who considered the enterprise a hopeless one, and desired to have nothing to do with it.³

Toward noon Brown's sallying troops were in motion in the friendly and fortunate obscurity of a thick fog. They were separated into three corps. One, under General Porter, and composed of his Volunteers, under the immediate command of Major General Davis, of the New York militia; detachments from the First and Fourth Rifle Regiments, under Colonel Gibson; detachments from the Twenty-first and Twenty-third Infantry, and a few dismounted dragoons acting as infantry, under Major Wood, of the Engineers, was directed to move from the extreme left of the American camp, by a circuitous route, through the woods (which had been stealthily marked and prepared by Lieutenants Riddle and Frazer), of the Fifteenth Infantry, to within pistol-shot distance of the enemy's right wing, and attack the British right flank. The second division, composed of fragments of the Ninth, Eleventh, and Nineteenth Regi-

¹ General Brown's Letter to the Secretary of War, September 29, 1814.

² The council of officers was held on the 9th. Major Jesup, then recovering from his wounds, was at Buffalo, and was invited to participate in the conference. The lake was so rough that he did not get over until after the meeting had broken up. "General Brown," says Jesup in his manuscript *Memoir*, etc., "was evidently much disappointed at the result of the council. In the course of the evening he expressed himself with great warmth in regard to his disappointment, and in relation to some of the officers who had been present at the council. But he added, in a manner peculiarly emphatic, 'We must keep our own counsels; the impression must be made that we are done with the affair; but, as sure as there is a God in heaven, the enemy shall be attacked in his works, and beaten too, as soon as all the volunteers shall have passed over!'" "From this time," says the manuscript *Memoir* already quoted, "the major general acted and spoke as though he relied for safety on the defense of his camp; and, to confirm this opinion in the army, he took measures to floor the tents, and in every way to improve the condition of his forces in quarters, as if they were to remain stationary for a long time." He sent spies, as deserters, to the British camp to give information of these movements in the American camp; and so adroitly was the whole affair managed, that a spy was sent on the day of the sortie, at the very hour when the American forces moved, and was received by the British without suspicion.

³ "General Ripley contented himself with saying that the enterprise was a hopeless one, and he should be well satisfied to escape from the disgrace which, in his judgment, would fall upon all engaged in it."—Brown's Manuscript *Memoir*, etc.

Brilliant Success of General Porter.

Death of valuable Officers.

Biographical Sketch of Porter.

ments (the first commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Aspinwall, and the last by Major Trimble), under James Miller (who had been breveted a brigadier general three days before for his gallantry in the battle of Niagara Falls), was ordered to move from the right by way of a ravine between Fort Erie and the enemy's batteries, and attack the British centre. The remainder of the Twenty-first Regiment, commanded by General

Ripley, was posted as a reserve near the fort, and out of sight of the enemy's works.

General Porter¹ and his command moved from the encampment at noon, and, following Lieutenants Riddle and Frazer through the woods, reached a position within a few rods of the British right wing at a quarter before three o'clock, before their movement was even suspected by the enemy. An assault was immediately commenced. It was a complete surprise, and the startled enemy on that flank fell back and left the Americans in possession of the ground. The batteries Nos. 3 and 4 were immediately stormed, and, after a close and fierce contest for about thirty minutes, both were carried. This triumph was



Peter B. Porter

followed by the capture of the block-house in the rear of No. 3. The garrison were made prisoners, the cannon and carriages

were destroyed, and the magazine blown up. Porter's victory was complete, but it was obtained at a fearful cost. His three principal leaders, namely, General Davis, Colonel Gibson, and Lieutenant Colonel Wood, all fell mortally wounded; and the commands of the two latter officers devolved respectively on Lieutenant Colonel McDonald and Major Brooks.

¹ Peter Buel Porter was born in Salisbury, Connecticut, on the 14th of August, 1773. He was graduated at Yale College with high honors, studied law, and entered upon its practice in his native town. He removed to Western New York in 1796, was elected to Congress in 1808, and in that body, as we have observed (page 212), he became prominent as a supporter of the administration, and conspicuous as a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations when the country was approaching a war with England. His residence was at Black Rock, near Buffalo, on the Niagara River, when the war broke out, and he at once engaged in the military service of his country. He was appointed by Governor Tompkins Major General of New York Volunteers in July, 1815, and in that capacity he performed signal service for his country during that and the succeeding year, as our record in the text attests. In 1815 he was again elected to Congress, and was appointed a commissioner to run the boundary-line between the United States and Canada. He remained in public life much of the time until 1829, when, having served a year in J. Q. Adams's Cabinet as Secretary of War, he left government employment for the quiet of private life. He possessed large estates on the Niagara frontier, and the wealth accumulated thereby is now enjoyed by his descendants. His name and services are identified with the growth and prosperity of Western New York. He died at his residence at Niagara Falls on the 20th of March, 1844, in the seventy-first year of his age. His remains rest in a quiet cemetery there, under a beautiful monument, on which is the following inscription: "PETER BUEL PORTER, a pioneer in Western New York; a statesman eminent in the annals of the nation and the state; a general in the armies of America, defending in the field what he had maintained in the council. Born in Salisbury, Connecticut, August 14, 1773. Died at Niagara Falls, March 20, 1844, known and mourned throughout that extensive region which he had been among the foremost to explore and to defend." I am indebted to the pencil of his son, the late Colonel Peter Augustus Porter, for the accompanying sketch of the monument.



PORTER'S TOMB.



EXPLANATION OF THE ABOVE MAP.—A, old Fort Erie; a, a, demi-bastions; b, a ravelin, and c, c, block-houses. These were all built by the British previous to its capture at the beginning of July. d, d, bastions built by the Americans during the siege; e, e, a redoubt built for the security of the demi-bastions, a, a.

B, the American camp, secured on the right by the line g, the Douglass Battery, i, and Fort Erie; on the left, and in front, by the lines f, f, f, and batteries on the extreme right and left of them. That on the right, immediately under the letter l in the words LEVEL PLAINS, is TOWSON'S; h, h, etc., camp traverses; n, main traverse; o, magazine traverse, covering also the head-quarters of General Gaines; p, hospital traverse; q, grand parade and provost-guard traverse; r, General Brown's head-quarters; s, a drain; t, road from Chippewa up the lake.

C, the encampment of Volunteers outside of the intrenchments, who joined the army a few days before the sortie.

D, D, the British works 1, 2, 3, their first, second, and third battery. v, the route of Porter, with the left column, to attack the British right flank on the 17th; x, the ravine, and route of Miller's command.

I am indebted to the late Chief Engineer General Joseph G. Totten for the manuscript map of which this is a copy.

In the mean time, General Miller, aided by the gallant Lieutenant Colonel Upham, had executed his orders well. He penetrated between the British first and second batteries, and, by the aid of Porter's successful operations, carried them both, and block-

Result of the Sortie at Fort Erie.

The Hopes of the British blasted.

The American People Inspired.

houses in the rear. One was abandoned before the assailants reached it. Within forty minutes after the attack commenced by Porter and Miller, four batteries, two block-houses, and the whole line of British intrenchments were in the possession of the Americans. Just after the explosion of the magazine, and at near the close of the action, General Ripley was ordered up with his little band of reserves, and while engaged in observations he received such a severe and dangerous wound in the neck that he fell to the ground. His aid, Lieutenant Kirby, caused him to be removed to the fort, and the command of the reserves was given to Lieutenant Colonel Upham.

Notwithstanding Drummond sent strong re-enforcements from his camp to the imperiled British line of action, the object of the *sortie* was fully accomplished. The British advanced works were captured and destroyed, and Fort Erie was saved, with Buffalo and the public stores on that frontier, and possibly all Western New York.¹

In this memorable *sortie* the Americans lost almost eighty killed, and more than four hundred wounded and missing. The loss of the British in killed, wounded, and missing was about five hundred, exclusive of three hundred and eighty-five who were made prisoners. "Thus," said General Brown, in his letter to the Secretary of War twelve days afterward, "one thousand regulars, and an equal portion of militia, in one hour of close action, blasted the hopes of the enemy, destroyed the fruits of fifty days' labor, and diminished his effective force one thousand men at least."

The "hopes of the enemy" were indeed "blasted;" and, after hastily collecting his scattered forces, Drummond broke up his encampment on the night of the 21st, and retired to Riall's old and partially demolished intrenchments behind Chippewa Creek. So sudden and precipitate was his flight that he abandoned some of his stores in front of Fort Erie, and destroyed others at Frenchman's Creek, on the line of his retreat. It has been said, in praise of British courage and pugnacity, that they "never know when they are whipped," and such seems to have been the case in the present instance, for General L. De Watteville, writing in the camp two days after the action, spoke of the "repulse of the Americans at every point;"² and General Drummond, in a later dispatch, also spoke of a "repulse of an American army of five thousand men by an inconsiderable number of British troops."³

This victory, following so soon those at Chippewa and Niagara Falls, and occurring so nearly simultaneously with the glorious one on land and water at Plattsburg, and the expulsion of the enemy from before Baltimore, diffused unusual joy throughout the country, and dispelled, in a measure, the gloom which had overspread the whole

land because of the capture of the national capital by the British less than a month before.⁴

General Brown, in his official report of the affair,⁵ gave a generous list of heroes, with allusions to their gallant deeds,⁶ and the loyal public hastened



WOOD'S MONUMENT.

¹ Major Jesup, in his *MS. Memoir*, etc., says: "The *sortie* from Fort Erie was by far the most splendid achievement of the campaign, whether we consider the boldness of the conception, the excellence of the plan, or the ability of the execution. No event in military history, on the same scale, has ever surpassed it. The whole credit is due to General Brown. The writer was in a situation to know that the conception, plan, and execution were all his own."

² L. De Watteville to General Drummond, September 19, 1814.

³ Thomson's *Historical Sketches of the late War*, page 527.

⁴ See Chapter XXXIX.

⁵ General Brown spoke in terms of warm eulogy of his engineers M'Fee and Wood. "No two officers of the grade," he said, "could have contributed more to the safety and honor of this army. Wood, brave, generous, and enterprising, died as he had lived, without a feeling but for the honor of his country and glory of her arms. His name and example will live to guide the soldier in the path of duty so long as true heroism is held

Honors awarded to General Brown. The Freedom of the City of New York conferred on him. The Certificate, etc.

to honor them individually and collectively. The national Congress, by a resolution, approved by the President of the Republic on the 3d of November,³ awarded the thanks of the nation and a gold medal, with suitable devices, to each of the general officers.¹ To General Brown, of whom it has been truthfully said



GENERAL BROWN'S MEDAL.

that "no enterprise undertaken by him ever failed,"² the Corporation of the City of New York gave him the honorary privilege of the freedom of the city in a gold box;³

in estimation." The general not only admired Wood as a soldier, but loved him as a friend; and he caused a handsome marble monument to be erected at West Point (see opposite page) in his memory, with the following inscription upon it:

North Side: "To the memory of Lieutenant Colonel E. D. Woon, of the corps of Engineers, who fell while leading a charge at the sortie of Fort Erie, Upper Canada, 11th September, 1814, in the thirty-first year of his age." *West Side:* "He was exemplary as a Christian, and distinguished as a soldier." *South Side:* "A pupil of this institution, he died an honor to his country." *East Side:* "This memorial was erected by his friend and commander, Major General Jacob Brown."

On the uneven north slope of West Point, near the Laboratory Buildings, this monument is seen, upon a grassy knoll, shooting up from a cluster of dark evergreen trees.

¹ On one side of the commanding general's medal is the bust and name of Major General Brown. On the other the Roman fasces, indicative of the Union, the top encircled with a laurel wreath, from which are suspended three tablets bearing the inscriptions CHIPPEWA, NIAGARA, and ERIE, surrounded by three stands of British colors. Below is seen a mortar, cannon-balls, and bomb-shells, and in front of all is the American eagle with wings outspread as if about to soar. Below these are the names and dates of the above battles.

² See *Memoirs of the Generals and Commodores, and other Commanders, etc., of the American Army and Navy*, by Thomas Wyatt, A.M., page 133.

³ The certificate of that freedom and the gold box with which it was presented are in the possession of his widow, yet (1867) living. The box, delineated in the engraving, is of fine gold, elliptical in form, three inches in length, two and a half in width, and three fourths of an inch in depth. On the under side of the lid is the following inscription: "The Corporation of the City of New York to Major General Jacob Brown, in testimony of the high sense they entertain of his valor and skill in defeating the British forces, superior in number, at the battles of Chippewa and Bridgewater, on the 5th and 25th of July, 1814."

The following is a copy of the certificate, or diploma (entirely executed with a pen), giving General Brown the freedom of the city of New York. At the head is a fancy design of the battle of Chippewa, and then the words:

"To all to whom these presents shall come, De Witt Clinton, Esq., Mayor, and the Aldermen of the City of New York, send greeting: At a meeting of the Common Council, held at the Common Council Chamber in the City Hall of the City of New York, the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to:

"Whereas the Corporation of the city entertains the most lively sense of the late brilliant achievements of General Jacob Brown on the Niagara frontier, considering them an



GENERAL BROWN'S GOLD BOX.

⁴ Here is inserted a device of a spread eagle in the middle; an ancient war-chariot on the right; cannon, flag, and drum on the left.

Medal awarded to Generals Porter and Ripley by Congress.

Ripley honored by Gifts from several States.

not long after the National Congress voted him a medal. An elegant sword was also presented to him by Daniel D. Tompkins, governor of the State of New York, in the name of that commonwealth.¹

To Generals Porter² and Ripley,³ as well as to Scott, Gaines, and Miller, as we have already observed, the National Congress awarded the thanks of the nation, and a gift of a gold medal to each; and to Ripley the States of New York, Massachusetts, South Carolina, and Georgia each gave expression of approbation, and visible honorary tokens of their appreciation of his services. The spirits of all the general officers in

Et. W. Ripley



GENERAL PORTER'S MEDAL.

proud evidences of the skill and intrepidity of the hero of Chippewa and his brave companions in arms, and affording ample proof of the superior valor of our hardy farmers over the veteran legions of the enemy.

"Resolved, That, as a tribute of respect to a gallant officer⁴ and his intrepid associates, who have added such lustre to our arms, the freedom of the city of New York be presented to General Jacob Brown, that his portrait be obtained and placed in the gallery of portraits belonging to this city,[†] and that the thanks of this Corporation be tendered to the officers and men under his command."

"Know ye that Jacob Brown, Esquire, is admitted and allowed a freeman and a citizen of the said city, to have, to hold, to use, and enjoy the freedom of the city, together with all the benefits, privileges, franchises, and immunities whatsoever granted or belonging to the said city.

"By order of the Mayor and Aldermen.

"In testimony whereof the said Mayor and Aldermen have caused the seal of the said city to be hereto affixed.

"(Witness), DE WITT CLINTON, Esquire, Mayor, the fourth day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifteen, and of the Independence and Sovereignty of the United States the 39th.



De Witt Clinton

¹ J. MORRIS, Clerk."

² The following inscription is upon the scabbard:

³ Presented by his Excellency Daniel D. Tompkins, Governor of the State of New York, pursuant to resolutions of the Senate and Assembly of the said state, as a testimony of gratitude, to Major General Jacob Brown, for his eminent services, and as a memorial of the repeated victories obtained by him over the enemies of his country." On the other side, "Major General Jacob Brown, U. S. Army."

⁴ On one side of Porter's medal is his bust in profile, name, and title, and on the other the figure of Victory, standing, holding in one hand a palm branch and wreath, and in the other three little flags, on which are the names respectively of CHIPPEWA, NIAGARA, and ERIE. Sitting near, the Muse of History is recording the events. Around are the words "RESOLUTION OF CONGRESS, NOVEMBER 3, 1814," and below the names and dates of the three battles.

⁵ On one side of Ripley's medal is his bust, name, and title in profile, and on the other a figure of Victory holding up a tablet among the branches of a palm-tree, inscribed with the words CHIPPEWA, NIAGARA, and ERIE. In her right hand, which is hanging by her side, are seen a trumpet and a laurel wreath, and around the whole and below, the same inscriptions as upon Porter's medal.

Eliaser Wheelock Ripley was born in Hanover, New Hampshire, in 1782, and was a grandson of the Rev. Dr. Wheelock (whose name he bore), the founder of Dartmouth College. He was a lineal descendant of Miles Standish. He was

* Here is a monument with memorial urn. On one side a woman with a wreath, about to crown it; on the other a woman on one knee inscribing on the monument, and back of her a tent.

† This portrait, a copy of which may be seen on page 608, is in the Governor's Room in the City Hall, New York.

But few of the Army of the Niagara now alive.

Two remarkable Survivors.

How they were wounded.



GENERAL RIPLEY'S MEDAL.

the Army of Niagara at that time, and of nearly all of the subordinate officers, have passed away from earth, but their memories are cherished with honor and affection. And of all the rank and file of that army, whose existence as an organization ended soon after the siege and defense of Fort Erie, very few remain among us, and these are men "with the snow that never melts" upon their heads. Fifty-three years or more have elapsed since they were there in arms for their country.¹

Major General George Izard, who was in command on Lake Champlain, having, as

educated at Dartmouth, and was graduated in the year 1808. He adopted law as a profession, and in 1807 was elected a member of the Massachusetts Legislature, he being a resident of Winslow, in that state. He succeeded the late Judge Story as its speaker. He entered the army as lieutenant colonel of Infantry in March, 1812. He rose to brigadier general in the spring of 1814, and was breveted major general for his gallant conduct in the battle of Niagara. He was severely wounded at Fort Erie, when he was removed to Buffalo. For three months his life was despaired of. He was a brave, skillful, and patriotic soldier. He did not do himself or his country justice on the Niagara frontier owing to a very serious misunderstanding between himself and General Brown, which became an open quarrel after the war. General Ripley was retained in the army at its reduction, but resigned in 1820. He became a resident of Louisiana, and represented that state in Congress. He died at West Feliciana on the 2d of March, 1859, at the age of fifty-seven years.

¹ There are two survivors of that army yet (1867) living with whom I have had correspondence, who are worthy of notice here because of their remarkable escapes from death, having been wounded so desperately that no hope could have been entertained of their recovery. Yet for over fifty years since they have lived as useful members of society. I refer to Robert White, of Morrisson, Whiteside County, Illinois, and Jabes Fisk, mentioned in note 2, page 825, living near Adrian, Michigan. The former had both arms shot off above the elbows, and the latter was shot through the neck and cut upon a brush-heap as a dead man. White was wounded on the evening of the 10th of August, Fisk during the sortie on the 17th of September. "Just at twilight," says White, in a letter to a friend (Lorenzo D. Johnson), "as my arms were extended in the act of lifting a vessel on the fire, a 24-pounder came booming over the ramparts and struck off both my arms above my elbows! The blow struck me so numb that at first I did not know what had happened, and the dust and ashes raised by the force of the ball so filled my face that I could not see. My left arm, as I was subsequently informed, was carried from my body some two rods, and struck a man in his back with such force as nearly brought him to the ground. This same shot took off the right arm of another soldier standing not far from me, and, passing on to the other side of the encampment, killed three men! It was the most destructive shot of any that the enemy sent into our works."

Fisk, who was with General Porter, says in a letter to me in May, 1863, "Immediately after attacking the block-house General Porter was taken prisoner. The companies of Captains Harding [in which Fisk was] and Hall rushed forward and retook him. In this manoeuvre I was shot through the neck. The ball passed between the windpipe and the gut, cut, cutting both. Passing obliquely, it came out near the backbone. All appeared dark as midnight. I was conscious, but thought I was dead and in the other world. I was thrown on a brush-heap, and should have found a final resting-place in a mud-hole near by had not Solomon Westbrook, a member of our company, discovered and taken me to the fort."²

² When the surgeons dressed Mr. Fisk's wounds they had no idea that he would survive until morning; but he rapidly recovered. He was taken to the general hospital at Williamsville, and then to Batavia, where he was discharged, and, weak and penniless, started for his home in Tioga County, New York. He worked and begged his way. He was afterward pensioned, and received bounty-land. On the latter he settled, and now owns it. He was born in Franklin County, Massachusetts, and is the son of a Revolutionary soldier. His family moved to Albany in 1802, and soon afterward settled in Tioga County. There he enlisted in Captain Harding's company, under General Porter. He was with the Army of the Niagara during the entire campaign of 1814 until he was wounded. He was present when General Smith was shot at Fort George, and assisted in carrying him back to Queenston. "Every member of Captain Harding's company is in heaven," Mr. Fisk writes in a letter to me in May, 1863, "excepting Solomon Westbrook and myself." He visited Mr. Westbrook, in the State of New York, in 1862. They had not met since the latter bore young Fisk from the battle-field. Mr. Fisk is now nearly eighty years of age, and is full of vigor of body and mind.

Robert White, an armless Soldier.

General Izard sends Troops to the Niagara Frontier.

he believed, a competent force to protect that frontier, moved toward Sackett's Harbor early in September, under the direction of the Secretary of War, with about four thousand troops, either to divert the British from their evident purpose of heavily re-enforcing Drummond, by menacing Kingston and the St. Lawrence communication with Montreal, or moving on to the aid of General Brown. At the Harbor he received a letter from the latter, dated the 10th of September,^a stating the effective force on the Niagara frontier to be not much more than two thousand men, and urging him to move on with his troops and form a junction with the Army of the Niagara at Buffalo. Porter, he said, would probably raise three thousand volunteer recruits; but, said he, "I will not conceal from you that I consider the fate of this army very doubtful unless speedy relief is afforded."

Izard's division arrived at Sackett's Harbor on the very day of the successful sortie at Fort Erie,^b and at the same time he received a dispatch from General Macomb giving an inspiring account of the repulse of the British from Plattsburg. He at once resolved to move westward, and on the 21st he embarked on Chauncey's fleet twenty-five hundred infantry, at the same time directing his mounted and dismounted dragoons and light artillery to move by land by way of Onondaga.

White was then about twenty years of age. His wounds were dressed by the late Dr. Simon Hunt,* of Rochester, New York, and a week afterward he was taken to Buffalo and placed in the care of Jeremiah Johnson, who was then in charge of the hospital at that place. That kind-hearted gentleman nursed him tenderly and became his benefactor, and he was chiefly instrumental in procuring for the maimed young soldier a generous life-pension of four hundred and eighty dollars a year. After the war he settled in Vermont and married the widowed daughter of Mr. Johnson (whose young husband was killed at Fort Erie), who is still (1867) his excellent companion. They are the parents of a large family, all of whom are useful members of society in the West. Three of their sons are eminent ministers of the Gospel.

Mr. White contrived an apparatus, composed of a pen fixed in a triangular piece of wood, by which, holding it between his teeth, he was soon enabled to write not only with facility, but with remarkable clearness. His penmanship failed in excellence only when he lost his teeth. I give below a fac-simile of a part of a note written to me in March, 1866, and a part of a letter written twenty years before, to which he alludes. He has always worn tin arms and hands, so that, with long-sleeved coats, a stranger would not detect his mutilation. The engraving was made from a daguerreotype kindly procured for me by L. D. Johnson, Esq., of Washington City, son of the benefactor of Mr. White already mentioned.



ROBERT WHITE.

*Priscilla was married the last of
August to Mr Ansel Bassett,*

R. White.

*This is my present writing the
other I wrote many years ago*

FAC-SIMILE OF WHITE'S WRITING IN 1846 AND 1866.

* Doctor Hunt was a pioneer settler at Rochester, where he lived fifty-three years as a practicing physician. He died on the 12th of April, 1864, in the seventy-ninth year of his age.

Izard takes Command of the Army of the Niagara. He assumes the offensive. Bissell's Victory at Lyon's Creek.

Izard and his infantry reached the Genesee River on the 21st, where they disembarked the next day. They could



Geo. Izard.

not commence their march until the 24th, when they moved slowly, it being wilderness most of the way, and heavy rains were falling. They finally arrived at Lewiston on the 5th of October; and so unexpected was their appearance to the enemy that, if they could have procured boats, they might have surprised and captured a British battalion at Queenston. On that evening Izard was visited by Generals Brown and Porter. His design was to attack Fort Niagara, but it was agreed to form a junction of the two armies southward of Chippewa. Izard moved up to Black Rock, crossed there on the 10th and 11th, and encamped two miles north of Fort Erie. Ranking General Brown, he assumed chief command of the combined forces, and the latter retired to his old post at Sackett's Harbor.

General Izard was soon in command of almost eight thousand troops, and prepared to march upon Drummond. Leaving Lieutenant Colonel Hindman and a sufficient garrison to hold Fort Erie, he moved with his army toward Chippewa, and vainly endeavored to draw the enemy out. He was informed that there was a considerable quantity of grain belonging to the British at Cook's Mill; on Lyon's Creek, and on the morning of the 18th of October he sent General Bissell, with about nine hundred of his own brigade, a company of riflemen under Captain Irvine, and a squadron of dragoons commanded by Captain Anspaugh, with instructions to capture or destroy it. They reached the vicinity of the mill that night, and encamped. Two companies, under Captain Dorman and Lieutenant Horrel, with Irvine's riflemen, were sent across the creek as pickets for the security of the main body, and Lieutenant Gassaway,¹ at the head of a small party, was posted still more in advance, on the Chippewa Road. At midnight a detachment of Glengary infantry attacked these pickets, and were repulsed; and early in the morning Colonel Murray, with detachments from three regular regiments, the Glengary infantry, some dragoons and rocketeers, and a field-piece, renewed the attack. For fifteen minutes these gallant few of Bissell's men maintained their ground, when his main body came up to their support. Colonel Pinckney, with his Fifth Regiment, was ordered to turn the right flank of the enemy, and cut off his field-piece, while Major Barnard advanced in front with instructions to make free use of the bayonet. These orders were quickly and effectively carried into execution, and, after some very sharp fighting by both parties, the British fell back in confusion and fled, leaving their killed and many of their wounded in the field, with a few prisoners. The fugitives were pursued some distance, when Bissell called back his men. The British fled to the main camp at Chippewa, and the Americans destroyed about two hundred bushels of wheat at the mill. The loss of the former was not exactly ascertained, but is supposed to have been about one hundred and fifty in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The Americans lost twelve killed, fifty-four wounded, including five officers, and one man made prisoner. Satisfied that he could not withstand the increased power

¹ John Gassaway was a native of Maryland, and served with honor during the whole war.

Canada abandoned by the Americans. Fort Erie blown up. Disposition of the Troops. Commodore Champlin.

of the Army of Niagara, physically and morally, Drummond now fell back to Fort George and Burlington Heights.¹

General Izard clearly perceived that farther offensive operations on the peninsula so late in the season would be imprudent, and perhaps extremely perilous to his army. He fell back from Street's Creek to the Black Rock Ferry. Soon afterward the whole army crossed to the American side and abandoned Canada. General Winder, who had lately arrived from Baltimore, led General Brown's infantry to Sackett's Harbor. About a thousand men were sent to Greenbush, opposite Albany, on the Hudson; some of the troops commenced the erection of huts for winter quarters, and the remainder, excepting the Seventeenth and Nineteenth Regiments under General Miller, who went to Erie, were cantoned in that vicinity.² Knowing Fort Erie to be of little service, Izard, after consulting Major Totten, of the Engineers, and others, caused it to be mined, and on the 5th of November it was blown up and laid in ruins. So it has remained until now.³



RUINS OF FORT ERIE, 1860.

I was at Fort Erie and other distinguished places near, and in Buffalo, a day or two before I visited the battle-grounds of Chippewa and Niagara in August, 1860. It was my good fortune to have the company, on that occasion, of the venerable and war-scarred soldier of 1812, Captain (now Commodore) Stephen Champlin, of the United States Navy, whose gallant exploits on Lake Erie with the brave Perry have been already recorded in this work.⁴ When he learned my errand he seemed to forget his painful wound, unhealed since he received it in the naval service in 1814, and, order-

¹ General Izard's Official Correspondence, page 164; General Bissell's Report to General Izard, October 22, 1814; Izard's General Order, October 23, 1814.

² To cover and protect the stores at Batavia, Major Helms was stationed there with a battalion of dismounted dragoons. Lieutenant Colonel Eastle, with a battalion of light artillery, was stationed at Williamsville to guard the extensive hospital there. Colonel Ball's squadron of dragoons were stationed on the Genesee River, near the village of Avon, for the convenience of forage; and the whole of the remaining infantry were cantoned on the margin of the water between Buffalo and Black Rock.—Izard's Letter to the Secretary of War, November 26, 1814.

³ Our engraving shows the appearance of the ruins of Fort Erie from Towson's Battery on the southwestern angle, looking toward Buffalo, which is seen in the extreme distance toward the right. The water in the foreground is in the ditch. This was its appearance when I visited the spot in 1860. The main portion of the ruins, seen toward the right, with windows, is that of the mess-house built by the British. This was not fortified by them, but was intrenched by the Americans. On the left is seen the ruins of the magazine, between which and the mess-house a portion of Buffalo appears. Just back of Towson's Battery, a part of which is seen in the foreground on the left, Lieutenant Colonel Drummond and others were buried.

⁴ See Chapter XXIV., and his portrait and biography on page 623.

Visit to Fort Erie and historic Places in and near Buffalo. Veterans of the War in that City. Forest Lawn Cemetery.

ing his light carriage, he took me to every place of interest to the historian, the student, and the stranger.

We first rode to Fort Erie, crossing the head of the swift-flowing Niagara River from the Frontier Mills at the old Black Rock Ferry to the village of Fort Erie, which was once called Waterloo. The ruins of the fort are some distance up the Canada shore from the village. On our way we passed old Fort Erie Mill, on the margin of the foot of the lake, which stood there during the war, as many scars and ball-holes still in its clap-boards fully attest. On the left of the mill, delineated in the engraving, across the river, upon a high bank, is seen Fort Porter, and in the extreme distance on the right is seen the wharf of the Buffalo and Lake



FORT ERIE MILLS, FORT ERIE.

Huron Railway Company. On our right, as we passed on to the fort, an elevated ridge was pointed out, on which the British batteries were erected for the siege of Fort Erie. No. 1 (see map on page 830), nearest the fort, was on property belonging to Captain Murray, of the Royal Navy, and No. 2 on the premises of Mr. Thompson. I did not ascertain on whose land were the mounds of No. 3. The ruins of all were quite prominent.

We spent about two hours in the hot sun on the site of Fort Erie and the battles, examining the theatre of scenes described in this chapter, and sketching some of the ruins; and, returning to Black Rock, we visited the site of the old navy yard,¹ a little way up Shogeoquady Creek, and called on the venerable James Sloan, the last survivor of the captors of the *Caledonia* and *Adams* in the autumn of 1812.² He was then past seventy-one years of age. From his lips we heard an interesting narrative of some of the events of that daring enterprise, illustrative of the courage, fortitude, and skill of the actors.

Leaving Mr. Sloan, we rode to the office of Dr. Trowbridge, of whom I have already spoken as a physician in Buffalo when the British destroyed it. He was seventy-five years of age, yet vigorous in mind and body. He gave us some interesting particulars of his own experience, and the bravery of the widow St. John. His son accompanied us to the room of the City Councils, where we saw the portrait of Mrs. Merrill (Miss Ransom), who was the first white child born in Western New York, on the domain of the Holland Land Purchase. At a late hour we returned, heated and weary, to the delightful residence of Captain Champlin, in the midst of gardens, and dined. There I saw the elegant straight sword presented to the hero,³ and the richly-carved easy-chair made of the wood of the *Lawrence*, Perry's flag-ship, delineated on page 542.

On the following morning⁴ I rode out with Captain Champlin to a beautiful depository of the dead in the suburbs of Buffalo, called Forest Lawn Cemetery. The ground is pleasantly undulating, is much covered with trees of the primeval forest, and is really a delightful resort during the heats of summer for those

¹ See page 286.

² See page 286.

³ The following is the inscription on one side of the blade of the sword: "STEPHEN CHAMPLIN, ACTING SAILING MASTER, LAKE ERIE, 10TH SEPTEMBER, 1813." On the other side, "ALTUS IDEUST QUE AD SUMMA NITENTUR."

⁴ August 16, 1860.



SOLDIERS' MONUMENT.

who are not saddened by the sight of graves. There, in an elevated open space, within ground one hundred feet square, slightly inclosed, stands a fine monument of marble, twenty-two feet in height, which was erected by the corporate authorities of Buffalo in the autumn of 1852 in commemoration of several officers of the United States Army who were engaged in the War of 1812; also of a celebrated Indian chief, and to mark the spot where the remains of over one thousand persons, which were removed from the city, lie buried.¹ Near the monument (and seen in the foreground on the right) is a tomb of brick, bearing a recumbent slab of marble, over the grave of Captain Williams, who lost his life at Fort Erie. The inscription on it is historical and briefly biographical.² Southward of this

is a handsomely-carved slab, lying on the ground, placed there in commemoration of a Connecticut soldier killed in the battle of Niagara.³ Northeasterly of the monument is another slab, over the grave of Captain Wattles;⁴ and south of it is another over the grave of Captain Dox.⁵

Not far from this public monument, on a gentle, shaded slope, is the grave of General Bennet Riley, who was a soldier in the War of 1812, and was distinguished in the Seminole War and the contest with Mexico. Over it is a handsome marble monument, bearing a brief inscription.⁶ Near this, in the cool shadows of the trees, we

¹ The following are the inscriptions on the monument: *West Side*.—"In memory of Major Lodowick Morgan,* Captain Alexander Williams, Captain Joseph Kenney, Captain Simeon D. Wattles, Captain Myndert M. Dox, and Sergeant Taylor,† officers of the United States Army, who were engaged in the War of 1812." *North Side*.—"Farmer's Brother, Chief of the Seneca Nation of Indians." *South Side*.—"The remains of 1158 persons are buried in this lot, all of which were removed from the old burial-ground on the west side of Delaware Street, between Church and Eagle Streets, in the city of Buffalo." *East Side*.—"Erected October, 1852, by the Common Council of the City of Buffalo.—Hiram Barton, Mayor."

² The following is a copy of the inscription: "Sacred to the memory of Captain Alexander John Williams, of the Twenty-first Regiment United States Artillery, son of General Jonathan and Marianne Williams, of the city of Philadelphia, who was killed in the night attack by the British on Fort Erie, August 14-15, 1814. In the midst of the conflict, a lighted port-fire in front of the enemy enabled them to direct their fire with great precision upon his company. He sprang forward, cut it off with his sword, and fell mortally wounded by a musket-ball. He sacrificed himself to save his men. Born October 16, 1790. Died August 15, 1814. *Fratri Dilecto*."

³ His name is on the monument. The following inscription is on the slab: "Memorial tribute to Joseph Kinney, of Norwalk, Connecticut, senior captain in the Twenty-fifth Regiment United States Army, shot through the breast at the battle of Bridgewater, July 25, 1814. To the friendship of George Colt, Esq., his relatives are indebted for his burial at this place. Erected by a brother, July, 1829."

⁴ His name is on the monument. The following is the inscription on the slab: "In memory of Captain Simeon D. Wattles, of the United States Army, who was killed in the memorable sortie of Fort Erie on the 17th of September, 1814, *E.* 33 years. As a Christian, he was pious and exemplary; as a Soldier, brave and magnanimous; as a Citizen, benevolent and sincere." Below this was a verse of poetry, but it was too much effaced to be deciphered.

⁵ His name is on the monument. The following is the inscription on the slab: "The grave of Myndert M. Dox, late captain in the Thirteenth Regiment United States Army, son of Peter and Catharina Dox, of Albany. Born January 4, 1790. Died September 5, 1830, in the forty-first year of his age."

⁶ The following is the inscription: "Major General Bennet Riley, United States Army. Died June 9, 1853, in the sixty-sixth year of his age."

General Riley was a native of Maryland, and entered the army as ensign in a rifle corps in January, 1813. He re-

* Lodowick Morgan was a native of Maryland, and entered the army as second lieutenant in a rifle corps in May, 1806. He was promoted to captain in July, 1811, and to major in January, 1814. He was a very efficient officer, and received the highest praise for his conduct in repelling the British invasion near Black Rock on the 3d of August, 1814, already mentioned in the text. He was killed, as we have seen, in a skirmish before Fort Erie on the 12th of the same month.

† The graves of all of these, excepting Morgan and the sergeant, as observed in the text, are marked by inscribed slabs.

‡ Ho-na-ye-woo, or Farmer's Brother, was a conspicuous contemporary of Cornplanter and Red Jacket. He was esteemed as one of the noblest of his race. He was a warrior on principle and practice, spurning every art of civilized life. He was probably born about the year 1730. He was in the battle with Braddock in 1755, and during his whole life he was a foremost chief among the Senecas. He was eloquent in speech, and brave on the war-path. He died in the autumn of 1814.

§ He was long at the head of the Engineer Department of the United States Army, and was one of the founders of the Military Academy at West Point. See page 235. He superintended the construction of many fortifications.

Expedition of Captain Holmes into Canada.

Battle at the Longwoods.

Lost Posts to be recaptured.

lingered some time, when a thunder-peal from the direction of Lake Erie warned us of the approach of a summer shower. We rode back to the city delighted with the morning's experience, and between two and three o'clock I left for Niagara Falls in a railway coach, where I arrived, as before observed, in the midst of a heavy thunder-storm.

While the events we have been relating were occurring on the Niagara frontier, others of great importance were occurring in other portions of the wide field of action, especially on Lake Champlain, and on and near the sea-coasts. Before we proceed to a consideration of these, let us take a hasty glance at movements in the Northwest, which closed active military operations in the region of the upper lakes.

For many weeks after Harrison's victory on the Thames nothing of great importance occurred in that region. The most stirring event was an expedition under Captain Holmes, a gallant and greatly beloved young officer, sent out by Lieutenant Colonel Butler in February,^a where he was in temporary command at Detroit. It consisted of one

hundred and sixty men, including artilleryists, with two 6-pounders, and its object was the capture of Fort Talbot, a British outpost a hundred miles down Lake Erie from Detroit. Difficulties caused Holmes to change his destination, and he proceeded to attack another outpost at Delaware, on the River Thames. In that movement, too, he was foiled by the watchfulness and strategy of the foe, who lured him from his expected prey. Finally they came to blows toward the evening of the 3d of March,^b at a place called the Longwoods, in Canada, where they fought more than an hour, and then each gladly withdrew under cover of the night-shadows. In this affair the Americans lost seven men in killed and wounded, while the enemy's loss, including the Indians, was much greater.^c The expedition was fruitless of good to any body.^d

In former chapters we have a record of the capture of Fort St. Joseph and the post and island of Michillimackinack, or Mackinaw, by the British, immediately preceding (and partly inducing) the fall of Detroit in the summer of 1812.^e The latter post, with all Michigan, as we have observed,^f was recovered from the British in 1813. For the better security of these acquisitions against British and Indian incursions, General M'Arthur, the commandant of the Eighth Military District, caused works to be erected at the foot of Lake Huron, or head of the Straits or River St. Clair. It was called Fort Gratiot, in honor of the engineer of that name who superintended its construction.

The Americans were not contented with the recovery of Michigan only, but determined to recapture Mackinaw and St. Joseph. The latter was the key to the vast traffic in furs with the Indians of the Northwest, and the British, knowing its importance in its commercial and political relations to their American possessions, as resolutely resolved to hold it. Accordingly Lieutenant Colonel M'Donnell was sent thither with a considerable body of troops (regulars and Canadian militia) and sea-



GENERAL BILEY'S MONUMENT,
BUFFALO.

^a remained in the army, and in 1828 was breveted a major for ten years' faithful service. He was breveted a colonel for good conduct in Florida, brigadier general for his bravery at Cerro Gordo, and major general for his gallant conduct at Contreras. He was made military commander of the Department of Upper California, and was *ex officio* governor in 1849 and 1850.

^b A similar expedition had been sent out by Butler a short time before. Butler was informed that a considerable number of regulars, Canadians, and Indians were collected on the River Thames, not far from Chatham. He sent Captain Lee with a party of mounted men to reconnoitre, and, if feasible, to attack and disperse them. Lee gained the rear of the enemy unobserved, fell upon them, and scattered them in all directions. He took several of them prisoners. Among them was Colonel Babie (pronounced Bawbee), whose house, we have observed, was the head-quarters of General Hull, and yet standing in the village of Windsor, opposite Detroit. See page 262. Colonel Babie had been a leader of Indians in the invasion of the Niagara frontier at the close of 1813.

^c See Chapter XIV. ^d See page 507.

Expedition to the Upper Lakes.

Operations at the Saut St. Marie.

Battle on Mackinaw Island.

men, accompanied by twenty-four bateaux laden with ordnance. There he found a large body of Indians waiting to join him as allies.

The Americans planned a land and naval expedition to the upper lakes; and so early as April, when M'Douall went to Mackinaw, Commander Arthur St. Clair was placed in charge of a little squadron for the purpose, consisting of the *Niagara*, *Caledonia*, *St. Lawrence*, *Scorpion*, and *Tigress*, all familiar names in connection with Commodore Perry on Lake Erie. A land force, under Lieutenant Colonel Croghan, the gallant defender of Fort Stephenson, was prepared to accompany the squadron.

Owing to differences of opinion in Madison's Cabinet, the expedition was not in readiness until the close of June. It left Detroit at the beginning of July. Croghan had five hundred regular troops and two hundred and fifty militia; and on the arrival of the expedition at Fort Gratiot on the 12th he was joined by the garrison of that post, composed of a regiment of Ohio Volunteers, under Colonel William Cotgreave. Captain Gratiot also joined the expedition. They sailed for Matchadach Bay to attack a newly-established British post there. A lack of good pilots for the dangerous channels among islands, rocks, and shoals leading to it, and the perpetual fogs that lay upon the water, caused them to abandon the undertaking after a week's trial, and the squadron sailed for St. Joseph, in the direction of Lake Superior. It anchored before it on the 20th. The post was abandoned, and the fort was committed to the flames. This accomplished, Major Holmes, of the Thirty-second Infantry, and Lieutenant Turner, of the Navy, were sent with some troops and cannon to destroy the establishment of the British Northwest Company at the Saut St. Marie, or Falls of St. Mary. That company had been from the beginning, because of its vital interest in maintaining the British ascendancy among the Indian tribes, with whom its profitable traffic was carried on, the most inveterate and active enemy of the Americans. Its agents had been the most effective emissaries of the British authorities in inciting the Indians to make war on the Americans; and, in every way, it merited severe chastisement at the hands of those whose friends had suffered from the knife and hatchet of the cruel savages.

^a July, 1814. Holmes arrived at St. Mary's on the 21st.^a John Johnson, a renegade magistrate from Michigan, and an Indian trader, who was the agent of the Northwest Company at that place, apprised of his approach, fled with a considerable amount of property, after setting on fire the company's vessel above the Rapids. She was saved by the Americans,¹ but every thing valuable on shore that could not be carried away was destroyed. Holmes then returned to St. Joseph, when the whole expedition started for Mackinaw, where it arrived on the 26th.^b It was soon ascer-

^b July. tained that the enemy there were very strong in position and numbers, and the propriety of an immediate attack was a question between Croghan and St. Clair. The post could not be carried by storm, nor could the guns of the vessels easily do much damage to the works, they were so elevated. It was finally decided that Croghan should land with his troops on the back or western part of the island, under cover of the guns of the ships, and attempt to attack the works in the rear. This was done at Dowsman's farm on the 4th of August, without much molestation, but Croghan had not advanced far before he was confronted by the garrison under M'Douall, who were strongly supported by Indians in the thick woods. M'Douall poured a storm of shot and shell from a battery of guns upon the invaders, when the savages fell upon them. A sharp conflict ensued, carried on chiefly on the part of the enemy by the Indians under Thomas, a brave chief of the Fallsovine tribe, when Croghan

¹ They endeavored to bring this vessel away with them, but she bilged while passing down the Rapids, and was then destroyed.

Blockade of Mackinaw.

Capture of the blockading Vessels.

Commander Champlin wounded.

was compelled to fall back* and flee to the shipping, with the loss of the much-beloved Major Holmes, who was killed, and Captains Van Horn and Desha, and Lieutenant Jackson, who were severely wounded. He also lost twelve private soldiers killed, fifty-two wounded, and two missing. The loss of the enemy is unknown.

Croghan and St. Clair abandoned the attempt to take Mackinaw; and as they were about to depart, they heard of the successful expedition of Lieutenant Colonel M^cKay, who, with nearly seven hundred men, mostly Indians, had gone down the Wisconsin River and taken from the Americans the post at Prairie du Chien, at the mouth of that stream.^a Yet they were not disheartened, and resolved not to return ^{July 17,} to Detroit empty-handed of all success. They proceeded to the mouth of ^{1814.} the Nautawassaga River, assailed and destroyed a block-house three miles up from its mouth, and hoped to capture the schooner *Nancy*, belonging to the Northwest Company, and a quantity of valuable furs. They failed. The furs had been taken to a place of safety, and the schooner was burnt by order of Lieutenant Worseley, who was in command of the block-house.

Very soon after this the squadron sailed for Detroit, with the exception of the *Tigress*, Captain Champlin, and *Scorpion*, Captain Turner, which were left to blockade the Nautawassaga, it being the only route by which provisions and other supplies might be sent to Mackinaw. They cruised about for some time, effectually cutting off supplies from Mackinaw, and threatening the garrison with starvation. Their useful career in that business was suddenly closed early in September, when they were both captured by a party of British and Indians, sent out in five boats (one mounting a long 6, and another a 3 pounder) from Mackinaw to raise the blockade, under the general command of Lieutenant Bulger, his second being Lieutenant Worseley. They fell first upon the *Tigress*, off St. Joseph's, when her consort was understood to be fifteen miles away. She was at anchor near the shore. The attack was made at nine o'clock in the evening of the 3d of September. It was intensely dark, and they were within fifty yards of the *Tigress* when discovered. The assailants were warmly received, but in five minutes the vessel was boarded and carried by overwhelming numbers, her force being only thirty men, exclusive of officers, and that of the assailants about one hundred. "The defense of this vessel," said Bulger, in his report of the affair, "did credit to her officers, who were all severely wounded."¹ Her officers and crew were sent prisoners of war to Mackinaw the next morning.²

Bulger and his men remained on board the *Tigress*. Her position was unchanged, and her pennant was kept flying. On the 5th the *Scorpion* was seen approaching. Bulger ordered his men to hide. The unsuspecting vessel came within two miles, and anchored for the night. At dawn the next morning^b the *Tigress* ^{September 6.} ran down alongside of her, and then the enemy, starting from his concealment, rushed on board, and in a few minutes the British flag was floating over her. The loss on each side in these captures was slight. Vessels and prisoners were taken to Mackinaw, and their arrival produced great joy there. So exhausted were the supplies of the garrison that starvation would have compelled a surrender in less than a fortnight. These captures were announced with a great flourish by the British authorities; and Adjutant General Baynes actually stated, in a general order, that the vessels "had crews of three hundred men each!" He only exaggerated five hundred and seventy in stating the aggregate of the crews of the two schooners.

Croghan and St. Clair reached Detroit, on their return, late in August, and for a while no military movement was undertaken in that region. At length General

¹ Lieutenant Bulger to Lieutenant Colonel M^cDonall, September 7, 1814. Captain Champlin had his thigh-bone shattered by a ball in that fight, and he has not only been a cripple ever since, but a painful sufferer from a seldom-healed wound. In the year 1863 several pieces of bone were taken from his thigh.

² Champlin's Report to Lieutenant Turner, commanding.

M'Arthur made a terrifying raid into Canada. He had been ordered to raise mounted men for the purpose of chastising the Indians around Lake Michigan, and on the 9th of October he had arrived at Detroit with about seven hundred mounted men from Kentucky and Ohio, accompanied by Major Charles S. Todd as adjutant general. The critical situation of the American army under General Brown, at Fort Erie, at that time induced M'Arthur first to make a diversion in favor of that general. Accordingly, late in the month, he left Detroit with seven hundred and fifty men and five field-pieces, and, to mislead the enemy, passed up Lake and River St. Clair toward Lake Huron. On the morning of the 26th he suddenly crossed the St. Clair River into Canada, pushed on to the thriving Baldoon settlement of Scotch families, and then made his way as rapidly as possible to the Moravian Towns, on the scene of Harrison's exploits a year before, spreading great alarm in his path. On the 4th of November he entered the village of Oxford. He came unheralded, and the inhabitants were greatly terrified. He disarmed and paroled the militia, and threatened instant destruction to the property of any one who should give notice to any British post of his coming. Two men did so, and their houses were laid in ashes. On the following day he pushed on to Burford, where the militia were casting up intrenchments. They fled at his approach, and the whole country was filled with alarm. Fear magnified the estimate of his number, and the story went before him that he had two thousand men in his train.



M'ARTHUR'S RAID.

Burlington, at the head of Lake Ontario, was M'Arthur's destination. On he pressed from Burford, but when he arrived on the bank of the Grand River, at Brantford, he found his passage of that considerable stream disputed by a large force of the Six Nations who resided near, with militia and dragoons. He was informed that Major Muir was not far distant, in a dangerous defile on the road to Burlington, with a considerable force of regulars and Indians, and some cannon. M'Arthur concluded it would not be prudent to attempt to go farther eastward, so he turned down the Long Point Road, and proceeded to attack some militia, who had a fortified camp at Malcolm's Mill, on the Grand River. They fled at his approach, and in his pursuit of them M'Arthur killed and wounded seven, and took one hundred and thirty-one prisoners. His own loss was only one killed and six wounded. The mill was burned, with all the property in it. This accomplished, the invaders pushed on to Dover, destroying several mills on the way, which were making flour for Drummond's army. There he was informed of the evacuation of Canada by Izard, and of a web of perils that were gathering around; so he turned his face westward, and hastened toward Detroit, by way of St. Thomas and the Thames, pursued some distance by eleven hundred British regulars. He arrived at Sandwich on the 17th of November, and there discharged his brave band.

M'Arthur's raid was one of the boldest operations of the war. For almost four weeks he had skurried hundreds of miles through the enemy's country, spreading alarm every where, and keeping the militia from Drummond's ranks; destroying property here and there that might be useful to the enemy, and then returning to

M'Arthur's Bravery and Generosity.

the place of departure with the loss of only one life!¹ He was generous as well as bold; and he publicly acknowledged that much of his success was due "to the military talents, activity, and intelligence of Major Todd," his adjutant general, who yet [1867] lives in his native Kentucky, in the vigor of a green old age.

¹ M'Artee's *History of the late War in the Western Country*, page 446.



GENERAL WINFIELD SCOTT IN 1869.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

"Hail to the day which, in splendor returning,
Lights us to conquest and glory again!
Time, hold that year! Still the war-torch was burning,
And threw its red ray on the waves of Champlain.
Roused by the spirit that conquered for Perry,
Dauntless Macdonough advanced to the fray:
Instant the glory that brightened Lake Erie
Burst on Champlain with the splendor of day.
Loud swells the cannon's roar
On Plattsburg's bloody shore,
Britons retreat from the tempest of war,
Prevost deserts the field,
While the gallant ships yield:
Victory! glory, Columbians, hurra!"

OLD SONG—EISE AND CHAMPLAIN.



FROM the Niagara frontier and the portion of the Army of the North engaged there we will now turn to the consideration of the events upon Lake Champlain and its vicinity during the year 1814, where the other portion of that army was in active service. We have already taken a brief glance at military operations in that quarter to the close of the campaign of the previous year, when General Wilkinson, relieved of command, retired from the army, and General Hampton, another incompetent, also left the service for his country's good.¹ His lieutenant, General George May 4, Izard, of South Carolina, was soon afterward² placed in command of the right 1814. wing of the Army of the North, with a competent staff,³ and made his headquarters at Plattsburg.

Since the opening of the campaign in the spring a great change had occurred in the aspect of foreign affairs—a change which made a deep impression on the American mind in its contemplations of the war. We have already alluded to the disasters of Napoleon at Leipsic in the autumn of 1813. Notwithstanding brilliant achievements on his part after that, the Allied Powers finally pushed him back, and not only confined him to the soil of France, but hemmed him and his army almost within the walls of Paris. There was no chance for his escape. On the 31st of March, 1814, the Emperor of Russia and the Duke of Wellington entered the city as conquerors, and on the 11th of May Napoleon abdicated the throne of France and retired to the island of Elba.⁴ His downfall was hailed with great joy, not only in Europe, but by the great Federal party in the United States,⁵ who considered his ruin as the most

¹ See page 691.

² Brigadier General Winder, just exchanged, was appointed his chief of staff; Alexander McComb and Thomas A. Smith were his brigadier generals; William Cumming was adjutant general, and Major Joseph G. Totten was chief engineer.

³ The sickle populace of Paris received the conquerors of Napoleon with acclamations of joy, and the French Senate, lately Napoleon's pliant instrument, now declared that, by arbitrary acts and violations of the Constitution, he had forfeited his right to the throne.

⁴ The Washington Benevolent Societies* (Federalist associations) had made Napoleon's disasters the subject of orations

* These Washington Benevolent Societies originated in Philadelphia very soon after the declaration of war in the summer of 1812. They were political organizations, with attractive social and benevolent features. The first organization was fully completed on the 22d of February, 1813, under the title of the Washington Benevolent Society of Pennsylvania, and each member was required to sign the Constitution and the following declaration: "We, each of us, do hereby declare that we are firmly attached to the Constitution of the United States and to that of Pennsylvania: to the principles of a free republican government, and to those which regulated the public conduct of GEORGE WASHINGTON; that we will, each of us, to the best of our ability, and so far as may be consistent with our religious principles

The Downfall of Napoleon celebrated.

English Troops released for Service in America.

damaging blow that could be given to their political opponents and the war party. Pulpits, presses, public meetings, and social entertainments were pressed into the service as proclaimers of their satisfaction, notwithstanding it was evident that the release thereby of a large British army from service on the Continent would enable the common enemy to send an overwhelming force across the Atlantic that might crush the American armies, and possibly reduce the states to British provinces. Their hopes and the limit of their wishes doubtless were that the changed aspect of foreign affairs, and the consciousness of the great peril that might reasonably be apprehended, would cause the administration to seek peace on any terms. They were mistaken, as the sequel will show.

The retirement of Napoleon to Elba did release from Continental service a large body of English troops, and several thousands of them were immediately dispatched to Canada to re-enforce the little army there. They were sent from the Garonne, in Spain, and many of them were Wellington's veterans, hardy and skillful. They arrived at Quebec late in July and in August,^a and were rapidly pushed up to Montreal. In the mean time, the forces under Prevost, the Governor of Canada and general-in-chief, had been very busy in preparations for an invasion of New York, and the little flotilla in the Richelieu, or Sorel River, had been greatly augmented in numbers and strength during the winter and spring.^b

On the 9th of May^c General Izard was informed that the enemy were in motion below. Captain Pring, of the Royal Navy, was moving up the Sorel in the brig *Linnet* as his flag-ship, accompanied by five armed sloops and thirteen row-galleys. On the following day he anchored his flotilla behind Providence Island, in Lake Champlain, where he remained until the 13th,^d preparing for an attack on the American flotilla, then nearly ready for sea at Vergennes, in Vermont, at the head of the navigation of Otter Creek.¹ Captain Macdonough, who was in command of the little squadron, was apprised of this movement, and sent Lieutenant Cassin, with a party of seamen, to re-enforce Captain Thornton, who had been ordered from Burlington with a detachment of light artillery to man a battery of seven 12-pounders

and toasts on the anniversary of Washington's birthday (22d of February, 1814); and in Albany, where the Dutch element was very predominant in the population, the emancipation of Holland from his thrall was celebrated. Religious services were held in the Dutch church on the occasion, and a sermon was preached by the pastor, Rev. Dr. Bradford. These were followed by a dinner at the Eagle Inn. General Stephen Van Rensselaer presided, assisted by John H. Wendell as vice-president. Several songs were sung, and toasts given, in Dutch.

In June and July following, the downfall of Napoleon was celebrated in several of the commercial cities of the United States. In Boston and New York it was celebrated by religious ceremonies and public dinners. In New York the dinner was in the Washington Hotel, then the principal public house in the city, which stood on the site of Stewart's marble store, on Broadway, between Chambers and Reade Streets. It was on the 29th of June. Three hundred gentlemen sat down to the table. Rufus King presided. The vice-presidents were Generals Nicholas Fish, Ebenezer Stevens, Mr. Clarkson, John B. Coles, and Cornelius J. Bogart. All the foreign consuls but the French were present. Richard Stockton, of New Jersey, gave as a toast: "Louis XVIII., King of France and Navarre, heir-at-law to American gratitude."

On the 4th of July the event was celebrated by religious services and public dinners. Rev. Timothy Dwight, President of Yale College, presided at a dinner at Butler's Hotel, in Hartford, where one hundred gentlemen were assembled at table. Among the toasts were the following:

"*The Minority in Congress.*—Had they appealed to patriots they would have been heard."

"*The Administration.*—Prodigal enough, but too proud to return."

"*The Royal Family of France.*—Our friends in adversity, we rejoice at their prosperity."

"*The Democratic Party of America.*—If not satisfied with their own country, they may seek an asylum in the island of Elba."

¹ The flotilla then at Vergennes consisted of the following vessels: 1 ship of 26 guns, 1 schooner of 20 guns, 2 sloops of 8, 6 row-galleys of 2, and 4 gun-boats of 1 each.

respectively, preserve the rights and liberties of our country against all foreign and domestic violence, fraud, and usurpation; and that, as members of the Washington Benevolent Society, we will in all things comply with its regulations, support its principles, and enforce its views."

The funds of the society were used for the purposes of charity among its members and their families, and for other purposes which might be prescribed. They had anniversary dinners on the birthday of Washington. Such economy was used that all the members might afford to participate in the festivities. The cost of the dinner to each, with a bountiful supply of beer and choice ardent spirits, was seventy-five cents. They built Washington Hall, on the west side of Third Street, between Walnut and Spruce Streets. It was dedicated with religious ceremonies, led by Bishop White, in the autumn of 1816. These associations rapidly multiplied throughout the country during the war, but disappeared with the demise of the old Federalist party.

Skirmish at Otter Creek, Vermont.

The British repulsed.

Struggle for the Control of Lake Champlain.



M'Donough

on sea-carriages at the mouth of the creek. Governor Chittenden also ordered out a brigade of Vermont militia to oppose the threatened invasion; and when, on the morning of the 14th, eight of Pring's galleys and a bomb-sloop anchored off the mouth of the creek, they found ample preparations for their reception. A brisk fire was opened from the battery. It was answered from the water, and for more than an hour a cannonade was kept up, when the British vessels were driven off. They then entered the Bouquet River for the purpose of destroying flour at the falls of that stream. On their return they were compelled to run the gauntlet of a shower of bullets from some militia who had hastily assembled. Many of the British were killed and wounded. Foiled and disheartened,

Pring returned to *Isle aux Noix* a wiser man, for he had learned that even in Vermont, whose governor was a zealous member of the "Peace Party," the people were ready to fight the

common enemy any where. A few days afterward Macdonough sailed out of the creek with his flotilla, and anchored it in Cumberland Bay, off Plattsburg.

Both parties now prepared for a struggle for supremacy on Lake Champlain. The British, as we have observed, had adopted in a degree the plan of Burgoyne for separating New England from the rest of the Union, while the Americans were as determined to resist the meditated invasion at the very threshold, and defend the lake region and the valley of the upper Hudson at the gates of Canada. Both parties were also re-enforced during the remainder of May, and General Izard caused a battery of four 18-pounders to be planted on Cumberland Head instead of at Rouse's Point, at the entrance to the Sorel River, as directed by the Secretary of War,¹ and urged by Major Totten, his chief engineer.

At the middle of June Izard disposed his troops for a movement into Canada. He sent Brigadier General Thomas A. Smith, with a light brigade of about fourteen hundred men, to occupy the village of Champlain,² five miles below the Canada line. Colonel Pearce, of the Sixteenth, was at Chazy with about eight hundred men composed of consolidated regiments, and about twelve hundred men occupied the cantonment at Plattsburg, on the peninsula between the lake and the Saranac, the works on Cumberland Head, and a position at Dead Creek, about two miles below Plattsburg. Macdonough, with his flotilla, was below Cumberland Head, watching the little British squadron, which lay at the *Isle aux Têtes*. The British had thirty-six hundred troops at La Colle; Meuron's Swiss regiment, a thousand strong, was at L'Acadie, and two brigades of artillery and three hundred cavalry were at Chambly, making a total of five thousand five hundred and fifty men. There was also a reserve of two thousand regulars at Montreal.

There was feverishness among the people and the soldiery along the Canada border, which was frequently manifested. The armed belligerents were eager for a trial

¹ Letter of the Secretary of War, May 25, 1814, in Izard's *Official Correspondence*, page 23.

² This brigade was composed of the Fourth and Tenth Regiments consolidated, and commanded by Colonel Purdy, the Twelfth, under Major Morgan, Lieutenant Colonel Forsyth's riflemen, and a company of artillery under Captain Branch.

Invasion of Canada. Death of Forsyth. Vengeance. Preparations to meet an Invasion from Canada.

of prowess. Finally, on the 22d of June, Lieutenant Colonel Forsyth, the accomplished partisan commander, with seventy riflemen, crossed the frontier line, and at a little hamlet northwesterly from Rouse's Point, called Odell Town, he was attacked by two hundred of the enemy's light troops. Forsyth beat them off, and retired in good order to Champlain with the loss of one man killed and five wounded. A few days afterward he was again sent in that direction for the purpose of drawing the enemy across the lines. He formed an ambuscade, and then sent a few men forward as a decoy. They were soon met, and immediately fell back, followed by Captain Mahew and one hundred and fifty Canadians and Indians. When the pursuers were near the ambuscade, Forsyth stepped upon a log to watch the movement, when he was shot through the breast by an Indian. His men immediately arose, and poured such a deadly fire upon the foe that they retreated in wild confusion, leaving seven-teen of their dead upon the field.



JUDGE MOORE'S HOUSE.

Forsyth was greatly beloved by his followers. Hotly incensed because of the employment of savages by the British, they resolved to avenge the death of their own leader by taking the life of the leader of the Indians. A few days afterward some of them crossed the line and shot Mahew, that leader. He was taken to the house of Judge Moore, in Champlain,¹ where he died about a week afterward.²

Skirmishing along the border was a frequent occurrence, but no movement of importance took place until the close of July, when General Macomb's brigade, composed of the Sixth, Thirteenth, Fifteenth, Sixteenth, and Twenty-ninth Regiments, embarked in boats at Cumberland Head* for Chazy Landing, at the mouth of Chazy Creek. On the same day
July 31, 1814. General Bissell's brigade, composed of the Fifth, Fourteenth, Thirtieth, Thirty-first, Thirty-fourth, and Forty-fifth Regiments, started for Chazy Village by land. Two hundred effective men and a corps of invalids of Macomb's brigade were left to complete the works on Cumberland Head, and a fatigue party four hundred strong, taken from Bissell's brigade, was left in command of Colonel Fenwick to complete three redoubts on the peninsula between the lake and the Saranac River at Plattsburg. There were now four thousand five hundred effective men at Champlain, within five miles of the Canada border. But these were few compared to the numbers of the enemy, which were constantly augmenting. During the months of July and August not less than fifteen thousand troops, chiefly veterans from Wellington's armies, as we have observed, arrived at Montreal. Only one brigade was sent westward, and the remainder were kept in reserve for the contemplated invasion of New York, in such overwhelming force as to overbear all op-

¹ This house, the residence of the late Judge Pliny Moore, is a fine old mansion on a pleasant shaded slope in the village of Champlain, not far from the banks of the Big Chazy, just north of the bridge, in the village. It was the headquarters of the British commander whenever that village was occupied by him; and Dearborn, Wilkinson, and Izard were in turn sojourners under its roof. This is from a sketch made by the author in 1860. It was then the residence of Pliny, son of Judge Moore.

² Palmer's History of Lake Champlain, page 184.

Indications of an Advance of the British Army.

Position of American Works at Plattsburg.

cupied as a tavern, about eight miles from Plattsburg. Captain Pring, with the British squadron, moved at the same time, anchored off *Ile la Motte*, and on the west side of that island erected a battery of three long 18-pounders to cover the landing of supplies for Prevost's troops. Macomb, at the same time, was straining every muscle at his command in preparations for defense, for the impressment of trains by the British at Champlain and Chazy, and loading wagons with heavy baggage, indicated a speedy advance upon Plattsburg. By great exertions (the soldiers working day and night), the redoubts and block-houses were completed and manned before the enemy appeared before them, for he made short and cautious marches. These were on the high level peninsula between the Saranac and the lake, gently sloping toward the latter. The redoubts were on a curved line across the neck of the peninsula, and were named respectively Forts Brown, Moreau,¹ and Scott. The first-named stood on the bank of the river, at its head, about half way between the lower



bridge at the village and near its mouth, and the upper bridge, a mile higher up, on the road leading to the Salmon River. Fort Moreau, the principal work, was half way between the river and the lake, fifty rods eastward of Fort Brown; and Fort Scott was near the bank of the lake. Northward of it were store-houses and a hospital. Between the lower bridge, and some distance above Fort Brown, the right bank of the Saranac is steep, and from fifty to sixty feet in height; and about sixty rods above the lower bridge it is cleft by a deep ravine that extends from the river almost to the lake. Near this ravine a block-house was built, and on the point near Foquet's Hotel, overlooking the modern steam-boat landing, was another block-house. At the mouth of the river, a short distance from the lower bridge, stood (and yet stands) a stone mill, which served an excellent defensive purpose.

To create a spirit of emulation and zeal among the troops, General Macomb di-

¹ Fort Moreau was named by Izard in honor of a celebrated French general of that name, whom Bonaparte exiled from France because of his supposed complicity with Pichegru and others in a conspiracy against the newly-created emperor. He remained in the United States nine years. The Emperor Alexander invited him to Russia, and while engaged in his military service, near Dresden, a cannon-ball from Napoleon's guard broke both his legs, from the effects of which he died. Macomb gave the names of Brown and Scott to the other two redoubts, in honor of those two officers, whose gallantry on the Niagara frontier had won his admiration.

Occupants of the Plattsburg Forts.

Position of the Troops.

The British advance on Plattsburg.

vided them into detachments, declaring in orders that each detachment was the garrison of its own work, and bound to finish it and defend it to the last extremity. Colonel Melancthon Smith,¹ with the Sixth and Twenty-ninth Regiments, was placed in command of Fort Moreau. Fort Brown was intrusted to Lieutenant Colonel Storrs, with detachments of the Thirtieth and Thirty-first Regiments; and Major Vinson, with the Thirty-third and Thirty-fourth Regiments, garrisoned Fort Scott. Captain Smith, of the Rifles, with a part of his company and the convalescents, occupied the block-house near the ravine; and Lieutenant Fowler, with a detachment of artillery, held the block-house on the Point. The light artillery, under Captain Leonard, were ordered to annoy the enemy whenever and wherever an opportunity should offer. The main body of Macomb's army lay within the triangular portion of the peninsula formed by the ravine, the river, and the lake.

When the British advanced to Chazy, Macomb ordered Captain Sproull to take a position near Dead Creek Bridge, on the lake road, with two hundred of the Thirtieth Regiment² and two field-pieces, while Lieutenant Colonel Appling, the hero of Sandy Creek, was sent farther in advance, with a little more than a hundred riflemen, and a troop of New York Cavalry under Captain Stafford and Lieutenant M. M. Standish. Their business was to watch and annoy the enemy, and obstruct his march by felling trees in the road. It was their appearance that caused his halt at Sampson's. General Mooers had called for the entire militia force of his district to repel the invasion, and Macomb made an earnest appeal for troops to Governor Chittenden, of Vermont.

On the evening of the 4th Mooers had seven hundred men under his command, and with them, by order of Macomb, he advanced a few miles northward on the Beekmantown Road, on an errand similar to that of Sproull and Appling. He was instructed to watch the enemy, skirmish with his vanguard, break up the bridges, and obstruct the roads with felled trees. He went forward on the morning of the 5th, and bivouacked that night near the stone church in Beekmantown.

On the morning of the 6th the British army, full fourteen thousand strong, mostly veteran troops, marched upon Plattsburg in two columns from their encampment near Sampson's, the right crossing over to the Beekmantown Road, and the left following the lake shore that led to Dead Creek Bridge. General Edward Baynes was the adjutant general, and Sir Sidney Beekwith, who was conspicuous at Hampton and in Hampton Roads the previous year,³ was quartermaster general. The right column was composed of General Powers's brigade, supported by four companies of light infantry and a half brigade under Major General Robinson. The left was composed of General Brisbane's brigade, and was led by

¹ Melancthon Smith was commissioned a major of the Twenty-ninth Infantry on the 20th of February, 1813, and was promoted to colonel on the 12th of April following. He left the army at the close of the war, and died at Plattsburg on the 18th of August, 1818. In the eastern extremity of the old burial-ground at Plattsburg I found his grave in 1860, and at the head of it an elaborately-wrought tombstone, of blue limestone, on which is the following inscription: "To the memory of Colonel MELANCTHON SMITH, who died August 18, 1818, aged 36 years. As a testimony of respect for his virtues, and to mark the spot where rests the ashes of an excellent Father, this stone is erected by his son RICARDA. United with many masculine virtues, he had a tear for pity, and a hand open as day for melting charity."

² This was always a famous regiment. We first met portions of it following the gallant Captain Wool up Queenston Heights. See page 397. At this time (1867) only three of its officers survive, namely, Major General Wool, Dr. McCall (then surgeon's mate, and now superintendent of the Lunatic Asylum at Utica), and Captain Myers, mentioned in the note on page 654.

³ See page 663.



COLONEL SMITH'S MONUMENT.

Major Wool sent to meet the British.

A Skirmish at Beekmantown.

Engagement on Culver's Hill.

him in person. The whole were under the immediate command of Major General De Rottenburg.

Macomb was informed of this movement being in contemplation on the evening of the 5th, and prepared to meet it. The gallant Major John E. Wool, ever ready for a daring enterprise, volunteered to lead some regulars to support the militia and oppose the advance of the foe. At about the time in the early morning of the 6th when the British broke camp at Sampson's, Wool moved from Plattsburg with two hundred and fifty regular infantry and thirty volunteers, with orders to set the mi-



IRA HOWE'S, BEEKMANTOWN.¹

litia an example of firmness. This was done. He reached Beekmantown before the enemy appeared, and took position near the residence of Ira Howe. There the first collision occurred. The enemy came marching on rapidly, anticipating no resistance, when they were suddenly checked by a heavy volley of musketry from Wool's little corps. The militia broke and fled toward Plattsburg, but the regulars stood firm. The enemy was in over-

whelming numbers, but Wool moved slowly back toward Culver's Hill, disputing the way inch by inch in desperate skirmishing. On that hill, a short distance below Beekmantown, he made a stand, and as the British advance ascended the slope, filling the entire road, he made another gallant attack upon them. Some of the militia had been rallied, and were in position behind the stone wall that bounded the road.² The enemy's advance was driven back upon the main body, and their leader, Lieutenant Colonel Willington, of the Third Regiment of Buffs, and Ensign Chapman of the same regiment, were killed.³ Captain Westropp, of the Fifty-eighth, was severely wounded. Captain Partridge, of the Essex militia, and several other Americans, were killed. The fight was severe, but very short. The heavy column of the enemy came pressing steadily onward with irresistible force, filling the entire roadway. At the same time Wool discovered a formidable movement to turn his flank and gain his rear, when he again fell back in order to Halsey's Corners, within a mile and a half of Plattsburg Bridge. There he was joined at about eight o'clock in the morning by Captain Leonard with two pieces of artillery. These were immediately placed in battery at an angle in the road. They were masked by Wool's infantry and a small body of militia, and as the enemy came steadily on in heavy mass, Leonard opened upon them, and his balls cut fearful lanes through their ranks.

Three times that battery hurled its deadly missiles through the lines of the foe, yet it did not check them. The British bugles sounded, and the men, throwing away their knapsacks, rushed forward at double quick to charge with the bayonet. Leonard was compelled to fly toward the village. He carried his guns with him, turning

¹ This house was the residence of Mr. Joel Smith when I visited Beekmantown in 1860. It was used as a hospital, with others, after the skirmish there and at Culver's Hill.

² This heavy stone wall, built by some Vermonters before the war, was yet standing when I rode over Culver's Hill in the summer of 1860.

³ To Samuel Terry, who was living at Peru, Clinton County, New York, is awarded the fame of having shot Willington.

Loss of the British. They press on to Plattsburg. Fight in and near the Village. Stone-mill Citadel.

them occasionally upon the pursuing foe, and, crossing the Saranac at the lower bridge, he planted them in battery on a gentle eminence in the road, near the stone mill, to cover the crossing of the rest of the Americans if they should find it necessary to retreat. In the affair at Halsey's Corners several of the British were killed. Among them was Lieutenant Kingsbury, of the Third Buffs, who was mortally wounded, and taken into the farm-house of the now (1867) venerable Isaac C. Platt, Esquire, near by, where he soon afterward died.¹

The more rapid march of the British right column imperiled the detachments of Appling and Sproul, who were awaiting the approach of the left. Macomb perceived this, and ordered them to



ISAAC C. PLATT'S RESIDENCE.²

fall back toward Plattsburg, and attack the enemy's flank. They did so, and their riflemen galled the foe severely. They reached the lower bridge just in time to avoid being cut off by the British right, and to cross it with Wool's retiring troops. When all were safely over, the bridge was torn up in the face of a heavy fire from the head of the enemy's right, which had reached the little village. The militia in the mean time had fled across the upper bridge, and destroyed that in the same way. The British left column soon afterward appeared. It crossed the Dead Creek Bridge, and, while making its way along the beach of Plattsburg Bay to unite with the right, it was severely harassed by an enfilading fire from some of Macdonough's galleys which had been sent to the head of the bay for the purpose. A heavy blow came on, and Macdonough sent Midshipman Silas Duncan in a gig to order the galleys to return to the fleet. His boat was fired upon by the enemy, and he was severely wounded, but he delivered the order and escaped with his life.

The British were checked at the village by the destruction of the lower bridge, whose timbers were used in the construction of a breastwork for the infantry. They took position in some store-houses near the Saranac. Upon these Captain Brooks hurled some hot shot, and burned out the enemy. Their light troops endeavored during the day to force a passage of the Saranac, but were each time repulsed by the guards at the bridge and a small company known as Aiken's Volunteers, of Plattsburg, who were stationed in the stone mill (see engraving next page) already mentioned. These young men had been out on the Beekmantown Road in the morning and behaved gallantly, and they garrisoned that mill-citadel most admirably.³ In the mean time a division of the British had pressed toward the upper bridge, where General Mooers and his militia, as we have observed, crossed the bridge, tore it up,

¹ *Palmer's History of Lake Champlain*, page 192. Statement to the author by Mr. Platt in 1860.

² This was the appearance of Mr. Platt's house in 1860. The main building is of brick. The immense butternut-tree near the house was a fine bearing tree at the time of the battle, and two bullet scars upon its trunk were pointed out to me. We shall notice this house and its owner hereafter.

³ The following are the names of these young men, or rather lads, for none of them were old enough to be legally called into the military service: Martin J. Aiken, Azariah C. Flagg, Ira Wood, Gustavus A. Bird, James Trowbridge, Hazen Mooers, Henry K. Averill, St. John B. L. Skinner, Frederick P. Allen, Hiram Walworth, Ethan Everest, Amos Soper, James Patten, Bartimene Brooks, Smith Bateman, Melancthon W. Travis, and Flavius Williams. They were highly praised by Macomb for their gallantry, and he promised that each of them should receive a rifle. This promise Congress redeemed in 1826 by ordering a rifle to be presented to each member of that little volunteer company. Several of these lads afterward became distinguished men.

The British checked at the Bridge in Plattsburg.

Preparations for Battle on Land and Water.



OLD STONE MILL.²

and used its timbers for a breastwork. The enemy made extraordinary efforts to force a passage there, but Mooers and his men stood firm, and kept them at bay. Finding the passage of the stream impossible under the circumstances, Prevost ordered his troops to encamp upon an elevated ridge about a mile back from the river, and upon the high ground north of the village. He made his head-quarters at Allen's farm-house on the ridge,¹ and gave orders for vigorous preparations for attack. Notwithstanding he was at the head of overwhelming numbers, the events

* September 6, 1814. of that day^a convinced him that the task before him was not a light one. He had lost, in killed and wounded, since the dawn, over two hundred men, while the loss of the Americans did not exceed forty-five.³

Prevost employed the time between the 7th and 11th in bringing up his battering trains and supplies, and in erecting several works that might command the river, the bay, and the American forts and block-houses on the peninsula.⁴ The Americans in the mean time were not idle. They labored without ceasing in strengthening their works. They removed their sick and wounded to Crab Island, two miles distant, in the lake, and there erected a two 6-pound gun battery, and manned it with convalescents.

While these preparations were under way on land, the belligerents were making ready for a combat on the water. A greater portion of the British flotilla, under Captain Pring, had advanced, as we have seen, to *Isle la Motte*, where they were joined^b by the remainder of the squadron and Captain George Downie, of the Royal Navy, late of the *Montreal* on Lake Ontario. Macdonough, at the same time, had the American squadron at anchor in Plattsburg Bay, and calmly awaited the approach of his enemy.

For almost five days the seamen waited for a general movement of the landmen, which was to be a signal on the part of the British for the weighing of anchors and

¹ This was a large two-storied frame house, nearly square, and stood on the site of the residence of John H. Sanborn, Esquire, in 1860, when I visited Plattsburg. It was on a little hill west of the village. General Robinson made his head-quarters at the house of the Honorable William Bailey, not far distant. Judge Bailey (mentioned in the note on page 650) took refuge, with his family, in the house of Dr. Man (mentioned in the same note), some distance from Plattsburg. Judge Bailey married the daughter of Zephaniah Platt, a patentee of Plattsburg, and was the father of Admiral Bailey, of our navy, who performed gallant service in the battle of Forts Jackson and Philip, below New Orleans, in the spring of 1862.

² This was the appearance of the old stone mill when the writer sketched it in 1860 from the gallery of the United States Hotel. On the left is seen a portion of Plattsburg Bay, and Cumberland Head in the distance.

³ Palmer's *History of Lake Champlain*, page 194.

⁴ These consisted of three block-houses erected at points within range of the American works; a battery on the lake shore, just north of the mouth of the Saranac; another on the steep bank above the mill-pond; a third near the burial-ground; and one for rocketeers on a hill opposite Fort Brown.

Brave Exploit of Captain M'Glassin.

A British Battery captured.

British land and naval Forces in Motion.



VIEW UP THE SARANAC, FROM FORT BROWN.¹

preparing ships for action, and during that time no military operation of great importance occurred. There were some minor movements worthy of notice. One of them, on the part of the Americans, was a bold one. On the night of the 9th there was tempestuous weather. There was lightning, and rain, and wind, and thick darkness. The British had been seen at sunset busily engaged in the erection of the rocket battery opposite Fort Brown. Captain M'Glassin, who was described to me as a "little beardless Scotchman" anxious to distinguish himself, asked General Macomb to allow him to lead fifty men that night to an attack on the builders. Macomb complied, and M'Glassin, who had arisen from a sick-bed, sallied out in the gloom with his men, from whose gun-locks the flints were removed, crossed the Saranac about half way between Fort Brown and the upper bridge, and, unobserved, reached the foot of the hill on which the battery was rising. There he divided his men into two parties. One went to the rear of the battery by a circuitous route, and, when all was ready, he shouted "Charge! men, charge! upon the front and rear!" His men rushed forward with frightful yells. The British, believing overwhelming numbers were upon them, fled precipitately to their main body. The work was taken, the guns were spiked, and M'Glassin returned without the loss of a single man. Over three hundred veteran troops had been surprised and frightened into flight by only fifty men, and Sir George Prevost was much mortified.

The morning of the 11th dawned brightly, and at an early hour in the forenoon the British land and naval forces were in motion for a combined attack on the Americans. Prevost had arranged the movement with Downie. It was agreed that when the British squadron should be seen approaching Cumberland Head, the advance of the army, under Major General Robinson, should press forward, force the fords of the Saranac, climb the steep banks, and with ladders escalate the American works on the peninsula, while the several batteries around Plattsburg village should open a brisk fire.

Between seven and eight o'clock the squadron was seen advancing, and at eight it rounded Cumberland Head. It consisted of the frigate *Confiance*, 38, Downie's flagship; the brig *Linnet*, 16, Captain Pring; the sloops *Chub*, Lieutenant M'Ghee, and *Finch*,² Lieutenant Hicks, carrying 11 guns each; and twelve gun-boats, manned by

¹ This view is from the mounds of Fort Brown, looking up the Saranac. The buildings in the extreme distance are at the upper bridge, where Mooers's militia were stationed. M'Glassin forded the Saranac at the point indicated by the drift-wood lodged in the stream. He crossed the little narrow plain where the cattle are seen, and up the slope to the right.

² These were the *Eagle* and *Groucer*, captured from the Americans on Lake Champlain by the British, who changed their names to *Chub* and *Finch*.

about forty-five men each. Eight of them carried 2 guns, and four of them 1 gun each. At that moment Macdonough's squadron lay in Cumberland or Plattsburg Bay, on a line north from Crab Island, and almost parallel with the shore, at an average distance of two miles from it. On the extreme left, and at the head of the line, were two galleys at anchor, and next to them lay the brig *Eagle*, 26, Captain Henley, just within the point of Cumberland Head. Next south of her was the *Saratoga*, 26, Macdonough's flag-ship; and the next in line was the schooner *Ticonderoga*, 17, Lieutenant Cassin. Next southward in the line lay the *Preble*, Lieutenant Charles Budd, armed with 7 guns.¹ This vessel lay so near the shoal extending northeast from Crab Island, that it was impossible for the enemy to turn that end of the line. In the rear of these larger vessels were ten gun-boats or galleys, six of them mounting one long 24-pounder and one 18-pound Columbiad each, and the other four carrying each a 12-pounder. These were so arranged as to fill up the openings between the larger vessels in the line, making the order of battle in two lines, about forty rods apart. The larger vessels were at anchor, while the gun-boats were kept in position by the use of oars.²

The American line of battle had been formed with great skill by the young commander, reference being had to the conformation of the land. It extended completely across the entrance to Plattsburg Bay from Crab Island to Cumberland Head, and the enemy, rounding the latter, was compelled to approach the American squadron with his bows on, giving the latter a great advantage at the beginning.³ The first vessel that made its appearance was a sloop, which, it is said, carried a company of amateurs, who kept out of the action that ensued. It was immediately followed by the *Finch*, which led the van of the British squadron, and made for the right of the American line, in the direction of the *Preble*, near Crab Island. At the same time the *Chub* moved toward the head or left of the Americans, near Cumberland Head, keeping well to the windward of the *Eagle*, to support the *Linnet* in a direct attack on that vessel, while the gun-boats coming up in order, their commanders received from Commodore Downie final instructions for action. He then attempted to lay the *Confiance* athwart the *Saratoga*, while the *Finch* and the gun-boats should attack the *Ticonderoga* and *Preble*. He was baffled by shifting winds, and was compelled to anchor his vessel within two cables' length of its antagonist.

Macdonough, in the mean time, had thoroughly prepared to receive the enemy. When his vessels were cleared for action, springs placed on his cables, and all was in readiness, he knelt upon the deck of the *Saratoga*, near one of its heaviest guns, with his officers and men around him, and, in few words, asked Almighty God for aid, and committed the issue into his hands.⁴ He arose with assured courage, and as the enemy came bearing down upon him, his vessels sprang their broadsides to bear, and the *Eagle* opened the action by hurling the first shot. It discharged in quick succession its four long 18-pounders in broadside. This was followed by the fire of a long 24-pounder on the *Saratoga*, which the young and gallant commodore had sighted himself. The ball entered the outer hawse-hole of the *Confiance*, the enemy's flag-ship, and went crashing through every obstacle the entire length of her deck, killing

¹ The *Saratoga* was built at Vergennes in the spring of 1814. The *Ticonderoga* was in course of construction for a steam-boat when she was taken for the public service by Macdonough and converted into a sloop-of-war. The *Eagle* was also built at Vergennes in the summer of 1814. So rapid was her construction that she was launched in nineteen days after her keel was cut in the woods. She joined the squadron early in August.

² The American force consisted of one ship, one brig, one schooner, one sloop, and ten gun-boats, carrying 80 guns in all, and manned by 882 men. The British had one frigate, one brig, two sloops, and twelve gun-boats, carrying in all 96 guns, and manned by a little more than 1000 men. The metal of each was unusually heavy. That of the Americans was as follows: Fourteen long 24's, six 42's, twenty-nine 32's, twelve long 18's, twelve long 12's, seven long 9's, and six 18-pound Columbiads. The British had thirty-one long 24's, seven 18's, sixteen 12's, five 6's, twelve 32-pound carronades, six 24's, seventeen 18's, and one 18-pound Columbiad.

³ See Map on page 871.

⁴ At a public dinner given to Macdonough at Plattsburg a few days after the battle, the following toast was offered after he had left the table: "The pious and brave Macdonough—the professor of the religion of the Redeemer—preparing for action, he called on God, who forsook him not in the hour of danger: may he not be forgotten by his country."

Cock crowing on Macdonough's Flag-ship.

Fight between the Flag-ships.

The Battle general.

several men on its way, and demolishing the wheel. The *Linnet*, as she was passing to attack the *Eagle*, gave the *Saratoga* a broadside, but without serious effect. One of her shots demolished a hen-coop on the *Saratoga*, in which was a young game-cock which some of the seamen had lately brought on board. The released fowl, startled by the noise of cannon, flew upon a gun-slide, and, clapping his wings, crowded lustily and defiantly. The sailors cheered, and the incident, appearing to them as ominous of victory for the Americans, strengthened the courage of all.¹

The *Confiance* made no reply to the *Saratoga's* savage 24-pounder until she had secured a desirable position, notwithstanding the entire American line had become engaged in the combat. When ready, she exhibited a sheet of flame. Her entire larboard broadside guns, consisting of sixteen 24-pounders, double-shotted, leveled point-blank range, coolly sighted, and favored by still water, were discharged at one time. The effect was terrible. The *Saratoga* shivered from round-top to hull as with an ague, and forty of her people, or almost one fifth of her complement, were disabled. But the stunning blow was felt only for a moment. Almost immediately Macdonough resumed the conflict, and the fire of the *Saratoga* was steady, and gallantly conducted. Among her lost was her first lieutenant, Peter Gamble, who was on his knees sighting a bow-gun, when a shot entered the port, split the quoin, drove a part of it against his breast, and laid him dead without breaking the skin. Fifteen minutes afterward an American ball struck the muzzle of a 24-pounder on board the *Confiance*, dismounted it, sending it bodily inboard against the groin of Commodore Downie, killing him also without breaking the skin.²

The battle had now become general, steady, and active between the larger vessels. The *Chub*, while manœuvring near the head of the American line, received a broadside from the gallant Henley,³ of the *Eagle*, which so crippled her that she drifted helplessly, and, after receiving a shot from the *Saratoga*, she struck, and was taken possession of by Mr. Platt, one of the midshipmen of that vessel,⁴ who had her towed

¹ Statement to the author by Commodore Samuel L. Breese, who was commander of the gun-boat *Nelley* in the action,* and James Sloan, of Oswego, who, as we have observed [page 797], was Macdonough's clerk, and was a witness to the affair. He says that some of the sailors were fond of cock-fighting. This particular bird, owned on shore, had been a formidable antagonist, and, by "hook or by crook," they had obtained possession of him.

The following allusion to this event is contained in a rhyming "*Epistle of Brother Jonathan to Johnny Bull*," said to have been written at near the close of 1814:

"O, Johnny Bull, my Joe, John,
Behold on Lake Champlain,
With more than equal force, John,
You tried your fist again;
But the cock saw how 'twas going,
And cried 'Cock-a-doodle-doo,'
And Macdonough was victorious,
O, Johnny Bull, my Joe!"

² Cooper's *Naval History of the United States*, ii., 434.

³ Robert Henley was born in James City County, Virginia, on the 6th of January, 1783. He was educated at William and Mary College. He obtained a midshipman's warrant in 1799, and made his first cruise with Commodore Truxton in the *Constellation*. He showed much gallantry in several engagements, especially with *La Vengeance* (see page 104), when Truxton said, "That stripling is destined to be a brave officer." He was appointed to the command of the *Eagle* in the spring of 1814, and after the battle of Plattsburg in September, his commander, Macdonough, said, in his official report: "To Captain Robert Henley, of the brig *Eagle*, much is to be ascribed; his courage was conspicuous, and I most earnestly recommend him as worthy of the highest trust and confidence." The National Congress thanked him, and gave him a gold medal.† He was also promoted to captain. He died at Charleston, South Carolina, in the year 1829.

⁴ The late Commodore Charles T. Platt, who died at Newburg, New York, on the 12th of December, 1860. He was a native of Plattsburg, and a gallant officer. He entered the navy as midshipman in 1812 on Lake Champlain. During the battle here recorded he passed three times through the line of the enemy's fire in an open boat carrying orders. He was promoted to lieutenant, and accompanied Commodore Porter to the West Indies in 1822, in command of the schooner

* Samuel L. Breese is a native of New York. He entered the navy as midshipman in December, 1810. He was promoted to lieutenant in the spring of 1816; to commander in December, 1835; to captain in September, 1841; and to rear admiral in 1862. He is on the retired list, and is now (1867) light-house inspector.

† The picture on the next page is a representation of Henley's medal. On one side is a bust of Captain Henley in profile, with the legend, "ROB. HENLEY, EAGLE PREFECT. PALMA VIRTU. PER ÆTERNIT FLORIBIT." On the reverse is a representation of a fleet engaged before a town (Plattsburg), enveloped in smoke. Several small boats are seen on the lake. Legend—"UNO LATERE PERCUSO. ALTRUM. SUPERAVIT." Exercus—"INTER CLASS. AMERI. ET BRIT. DIE XI. SEPT., MDCCCXIII."

Capture of the *Finch*.

British Gun-boats in Action.

Gold Medals awarded by Congress.



HENLEY'S MEDAL.

into Plattsburg Bay, and anchored near the mouth of the Saranac. She had suffered very severely. Almost half of her people were killed or wounded. An hour later the *Finch* was driven from her position by the *Ticonderoga*, commanded by the intrepid Lieutenant Cassin; and, being badly injured, drifted upon Crab Island shoal



CASSIN'S MEDAL.

of rocks, and grounded. The invalid corps on the island brought their little two-gun battery to bear on her, when she struck, and surrendered to this small band of convalescents.¹

The British gun-boats now entered vigorously into the action, and soon compelled the *Preble*, Lieutenant Budd, to cut her cables and flee to a safer place near the shore, where she anchored, and was of no farther service in the fight. This success emboldened the British galleys, and they made a combined and furious attack on the *Ticonderoga*, fourteen in number, with an average of fifty men in each.² Cassin walked the taffrail in a storm of grape and canister shot, watching the movements of the assail-

er Boagle. In this war against the pirates Platt distinguished himself. He was attached to the steam frigate *Fulton* when she blew up, and was severely injured. His last service was in command of the Navy Yard at Memphis.

¹ That inaccurate historian, Sir Archibald Alison, in his *History of England*, in writing of this event, remarks, "The *Finch*, a British brig, grounded out of shot, and did not engage!" Again, he speaks of her getting on rocks, and not being able to engage in the action. Her commander, Captain Pring, in his official report, says truly that she struck on a reef of rocks to the eastward of Crab Island, about the middle of the engagement, which prevented her rendering such assistance, etc., etc. Alison, with these facts before him, calls a sloop-of-war with eleven guns and forty men a brig, and keeps her from action altogether!

² Statement to the author by Admiral Paulding.

Victory doubtful. The Flag-ships disabled. Surrender of the *Confiance*. Cassin and Paulding.

ants, and directing effective discharges of musket-balls and other light missiles, which kept the enemy at bay.¹ Several times they were within a few feet of the sides of the *Ticonderoga* with the intention of boarding her. They behaved with the utmost gallantry, but with equal gallantry the Americans repulsed them. The *Ticonderoga* maintained her position, and covered her extremity of the line to the last, winning from the commodore and all beholders unqualified praise for her commander and people.²

While the fortunes of the day were thus fluctuating at the lower end of the line, the Americans were suffering at the other extremity. The *Eagle* lost the springs of her cable, and became exposed to the combined fire of the *Linnet* and *Confiance*. Henley at once dropped her between and a little astern of the *Saratoga* and *Ticonderoga*, and, anchoring her there, opened his larboard guns afresh on the *Confiance* and the British galleys. But the *Saratoga* was left exposed to the whole fire of the *Linnet*, which sprang her broadsides in such a manner as to rake the bows of her antagonist.

Very soon the two flag-ships became disabled. The *Saratoga* had not a single serviceable starboard gun left, and was silent. The *Confiance* was not much better off. Now was the moment for Macdonough to exhibit his splendid seamanship. He did so, quickly and effectively. With the aid of Philip Brum, his skillful sailing-master, he wound the ship, by means of a stream anchor and hawsers, so that he brought the guns of his larboard quarter to bear on the *Confiance*, which had vainly endeavored to imitate the movement. Under the direction of Acting Lieutenant Lavallette, these poured such a destructive fire on the British flag-ship that she soon surrendered. The *Saratoga's* fire was then directed upon the *Linnet*, and in the course of

¹ Stephen Cassin, son of Commodore John Cassin, of the navy, was born in Philadelphia on the 16th of February, 1753. He entered the navy as a midshipman in the year 1800, and was in the *Philadelphia* with Decatur in the Mediterranean. He was active, and behaved bravely in the naval operations in that quarter from 1801 to 1804-'5. He was appointed to the command of the *Ticonderoga* in the spring of 1814, and Macdonough, in his official report of the battle off Plattsburg, in September of that year, said, "The *Ticonderoga*, Lieutenant Commandant Stephen Cassin, gallantly sustained her full share of the action." For his good conduct on that occasion Cassin was promoted to a post captaincy, and received from Congress a vote of thanks and a gold medal. The latter is delineated in the engraving on the opposite page. On one side is a bust of Cassin in profile, with the legend "STEP. CASSIN TICONDEROGA PRÆFECT. QUÆ REGIO IN TERRIS NOST. NON PLENA LAG." On the reverse is the same design, legend, and exergue as on that of Captain Henley.

² Among the brave spirits on board the *Ticonderoga* was Midshipman Hiram Paulding, now (1867) a rear admiral. He was then a lad not seventeen years of age, but, for want of officers, he was placed in command of a division of eight guns. When the British galleys approached it was discovered that the matches for firing the cannon were useless. Young Paulding saw no resource but the flash of a pistol, and with his own hand he thus fired the guns of his section during a combat of more than two hours: and in the interval of the cannon-firing, when the enemy were within pistol-shot, he discharged his weapon against them. These facts I had from the lips of the late Commodore Tattnall.

Hiram Paulding, a son of one of the captors of André, was born in Westchester County, New York, on the 11th of December, 1797. His first service in the navy was as a midshipman, at thirteen years of age, on Lake Ontario, in 1812. During the remainder of the war he was confined to Lake Champlain. In 1815 he accompanied Decatur in the *Constellation* frigate to the Mediterranean. He was promoted to lieutenant, and served under Bainbridge and Downes. He was on shore for some time in 1821 engaged in study preparatory to a more useful career in the navy. He accompanied Porter in his expedition against the West India pirates, and from that time until 1865, he was in active, arduous, and most useful service, afloat and ashore, as subordinate and commander, having been promoted to captain in 1848. He took an active interest in the suppression of the rebellion that broke out in the Slave-labor states in 1861, and in 1862 (when the annexed portrait was drawn) was promoted to rear admiral. He was the first American commander who received a full admiral's salute. It was given by a French frigate lying in New York Harbor, August 1, 1862, on the occasion of the admiral's visit to that vessel.



H. Paulding

fifteen minutes she too struck her colors. The British galleys in the mean time had been driven by the *Ticonderoga* half a mile in the rear of their stately associates, and they lay scattered, and giving feeble aid to them. Seeing the colors of the larger vessels go down, they too dropped their ensigns, and at a little past noon not one of the sixteen national flags which were so proudly floating over the British squadron when it rounded Cumberland Head could be seen.

Finding they were not likely to be pursued, the galleys bent their sweeps with energy and escaped down the lake, followed by a store-sloop which had been lying during the battle near the point of Cumberland Head on which the light-house now stands. The American vessels were too much crippled to follow, and were, moreover,



VIEW AT THE LIGHT-HOUSE ON CUMBERLAND HEAD.¹

engaged in the humane business of saving the survivors of the *Confiance* and the *Linnet*, which were reported to be in a sinking condition.² "I could only look at the enemy's galleys going off in a shattered condition," Macdonough wrote to the Secretary of War,³ "for there was not a mast in either squadron that could stand to make sail on; the lower rigging, being nearly all shot away, hung down as if it had just been placed over the mast-heads." "Our masts, yards, and sails were so shattered," wrote Midshipman Lee, of the *Confiance*, who was wounded in the action, "that one looked like so many bunches of matches and the other like a bundle of rags."³

For two hours and twenty minutes this severe naval battle raged, while the thunder of cannon, the hiss of rockets, the scream of bombs, and the rattle of musketry were heard on the shore. It was a sublime sight, and was beheld by hundreds of spectators on the headlands of the Vermont shore, who greeted the victory with shouts.⁴ It was a battle characterized by a vigor and destructiveness not excelled

¹ This view is from the light-house on Cumberland Head, and includes the theatre of the battle of Lake Champlain. The island in the centre of the picture is Crab Island, and the one nearer the left is Valcour Island, near which Benedict Arnold's famous naval battle was fought in 1776. The hills in the distance are the lofty Adirondack Mountains.

² This is the accepted reason for the flight of the gun-boats. Cooper says that, after the surrender, a cannon on board the *Confiance* was accidentally discharged, and in the direction of Cumberland Head. Up to that time, he says, the British galleys appeared to have been waiting to be taken possession of. They regarded this gun as a signal for escape, and they acted accordingly. Macdonough made a signal for his gun-boats to follow, but they were recalled to the relief of the *Linnet* and *Confiance*.

³ Letter to his brother, December 14, 1814.

⁴ *Analectic Magazine*, vii., 314.

Victory for the Americans complete.

Macdonough's Announcement of it.

Casualties.



PLAN OF THE NAVAL ACTION ON LAKE CHAMPLAIN.¹

by any during the war, indeed seldom equaled any where or at any time.² The victory for the Americans was complete and substantial; and from the *Saratoga*, half an hour after the *Linnet* struck and the galleys fled, Macdonough sent the following dispatch ashore in a gig, to be forwarded to the Secretary of the Navy:

"SIR,—The Almighty has been pleased to grant us a signal victory on Lake Champlain in the capture of one frigate, one brig, and two sloops of war of the enemy."³ Two days afterward he sent Lieutenant Commanding Cassin to the Secretary of the Navy with a more detailed yet brief account of the battle, in which he stated that the *Saratoga* had fifty round shot in her hull, and the *Confluence* one hundred and five. He added, "The *Saratoga* was twice set on fire by hot shot from the enemy's ship."⁴

Very few officers or men on the *Saratoga* and *Confluence* were uninjured. Indeed, the same might be said of those of the other large vessels of both parties. Macdonough was twice prostrated upon the deck, and his venerable sailing-master, Peter Brum, had his clothes nearly torn off by a splinter while winding the ship.⁵ Acting

¹ This map was compiled from a large one in the Engineer Department, Washington City, and a rough pen-and-ink sketch made at the time of the battle by the late Chancellor R. H. Walworth, then Macomb's adjutant general. The coast lines are from the report of the Coast Survey.

² "The havoc on both sides was dreadful," Midshipman William Lee wrote. "I don't think there are more than five of our men, out of three hundred, but what are killed or wounded. Never was a shower of hail so thick as the shot whistling about our ears. Were you to see my jacket, waistcoat, and trowsers, you would be astonished to know how I escaped as I did, for they are literally torn all to rags with shot and splinters; the upper part of my hat was also shot away. There is one of the marines who was in the Trafalgar action with Lord Nelson, who says it was a mere flea-bite in comparison with this."—Letter to his Brother, December 14, 1814. Midshipman Lee rose to the rank of lieutenant, and died "on the 24th of February, 1817, at the Telegraph, West Square."—*O'Byrne's Naval Biography*.

³ Mr. James Sloane, of Oswego, informed me that, a few days before the battle, he gave one of the seamen a very nice glazed hat. After the battle was over the sailor came to him with the hat in his hand, having a semicircular cut in the side and crown made by a cannon-shot while it was on his head. "Look here, Mr. Sloane," said the sailor, "how the damned John Bulls have spoiled my hat." He did not seem to reflect for a moment how nearly the cannon-ball came to spoiling his head.

⁴ On page 872 is a fac-simile of this paragraph of the dispatch, copied from the original in the archives of the Navy Department, Washington City. When the *Confluence* was captured she was found to have ovens for heating shot. There were no others in any vessel on the lake.

⁵ Macdonough sighted a favorite gun much of the time during the action. While doing so at one time, bending his body, a shot cut the sparker-boom in two, and it fell upon his back with such force as to prostrate him senseless on the deck. The cry went through the ship that the commodore was killed. He soon recovered and resumed his station. A few minutes afterward a shot droye the head of the captain of his favorite gun in upon him, and knocked him senseless into the scuppers, when his death was again announced; but he speedily recovered. Mr. Brum had a splinter

The Saratoga was twice set on fire by hot Shot from the Enemy's Ship.

FAC-SIMILE OF A PART OF MACDONOUGH'S DISPATCH.

Lieutenant Lavallette had a shot-box, on which he was standing, driven from under him by a ball, and was knocked down by the flying head of one of the seamen.¹ Lieutenant Gamble, as we have seen, was killed at the beginning of the action. Lieutenant Stansbury suddenly disappeared from the bulwarks, and two days afterward his body, cut in two, rose to the surface. Joseph Smith, first lieutenant of the *Eagle*, received a severe wound, but returned to his quarters during the action.² The British officers suffered severely. Commodore Downie, Captain Anderson, of the Marines, Midshipman Gunn, of the *Constance*, and Lieutenant Paul and Boatswain Jackson, of the *Linnet*, were also killed, and many others were wounded. The wife of the steward of the *Constance* was also killed.³ The entire loss of the Americans was one hundred and ten, of whom fifty-two were killed. The total British loss was more than two hundred.⁴



Joseph Smith

Macdonough received the officers of the captured vessels with great courtesy of manner and speech. When they offered him their swords, he instantly replied,

"Gentlemen, your gallant conduct makes you worthy to wear your weapons; return them to their scabbards." They did so, and they all walked the deck of the victori-

driven so near his body as to strip off his clothes and prostrate him senseless. He soon gained his feet, and, making an apron of his handkerchief, continued his labors. See Cooper's *Naval History*, II., 444, note.

¹ Elie A. F. Lavallette is a native of Virginia. He entered the naval service as sailing-master a week after the declaration of war in June, 1812. He was acting lieutenant in the battle of Lake Champlain, and received a commission as full lieutenant at the middle of December following as a slight reward for his gallant conduct. In March, 1821, he was promoted to commander, and in 1822 to rear admiral. He is now (1867) on the retired list and awaiting orders.

² Joseph Smith, now (1867) rear admiral on the retired list, has been chief of the Bureau of Yards and Docks for several years. He is a native of Massachusetts, and entered the navy as midshipman in January, 1809. When he was about to go to Lake Champlain he had an order to get a clerk. He found Sloane (already mentioned) in a bookstore in Boston, and persuaded him to go with him. Smith behaved most gallantly on the *Eagle* in the battle of Lake Champlain. He had been appointed lieutenant in July, 1813. He was promoted to commander in 1827, and to captain in 1837. He was created rear admiral in 1862.

³ Letter to Niles's *Weekly Register*, vii., 45. Mr. Sloane informed me that, while she was stooping in the act of binding up the wounded leg of one of the men, a cannon-ball came through the side of the ship, carried away both of her breasts, and, driving her across the vessel, killed her instantly.

⁴ Macdonough's official Letter to the Secretary of the Navy, September 13, 1814; Letter of Captain Pring to Sir James L. Yen, September 12, 1814; Cooper's *Naval History*, II., 420 to 441, inclusive; Palmer's *History of Lake Champlain*, pages 197 to 208, inclusive.

End of the Battle of Lake Champlain.

Movements of the land Troops.

The British cross the Saranac River.

ous *Saratoga*, American and English officers, more in the character of friends than of enemies. Lieutenant Lavallette, who had taken formal possession of the *Confiance*, was soon directed to prepare the prisoners for Crab Island, and before sunset all was quiet on the lake. Thus ended the famous BATTLE OF LAKE CHAMPLAIN. The British vessels were taken to Whitehall, at the head of the lake, and scuttled. The *Saratoga* shared the same fate afterward. I saw the remains of this vessel and the *Confiance* there as late as 1850.

We have observed that while the roar of the battle-storm was heard on the water, its thunders were bellowing over the land. According to arrangement, when the pennants of the British fleet were seen over Cumberland Head, a part of the British land force, under Major General Robinson, moved in three columns to force their way across the Saranac at the site of the two bridges, and a ford at Pike's cantonment, three miles from the mouth of the stream, and carry the American works by storm.¹ When the first gun was fired on the lake, the British land batteries were opened, and, under cover of the shot and shell which they hurled toward the American works,



BATTLE OF PLATTSBURG. (FROM AN OLD PRINT.)²

their three assailing columns moved. At the lower bridge they were repulsed by the guards, block-houses, and artillery of the forts, served by Captains Brooks, Richards, and Smith, and Lieutenants Mountfort, Smyth, and Cromwell. At the upper bridge the riflemen and pickets, under Captain Grosvenor and Lieutenants Hamilton and Riley, aided by some militia, successfully disputed their passage. They were a little more successful at the upper ford, where the Clinton and Essex militia, under Major General Mooers and Brigadier General Wright, were stationed. After being driven back several times with considerable loss, some companies of the British pushed across the stream, then shallow and rapid, firing briskly by platoons as they advanced, but doing very little harm.³ The militia fell back. They were soon joined by a large detachment of Vermont Volunteers, and a party of artillery with a field-piece, under Lieutenant Sumter.

The flying companies were now rallied, and drawn up in battle array to meet the pursuing foe, when Walworth, one of Mooers's aids,⁴ came dashing up, his horse

¹ These troops consisted of "light infantry companies, 3d battalion Twenty-seventh and Seventy-sixth Regiments, and Major General Powers's brigade, consisting of the 3d, 6th, and 1st battalion of the Twenty-seventh and Fifty-eighth Regiments."—Sir George Prevost to Earl Bathurst, September 11, 1814.

² This view is from the right bank of the Saranac, at its mouth. Toward the left is the three-storied stone mill, and in the distance Fort Brown. A portion of the lower bridge, from which the planks were torn up, is seen. Some of the British are attempting to ford the stream. The court-house is seen on fire. The church observed in the picture was saved, and survived until September, 1867, when it perished in a great conflagration in the village.

³ Participants in the fight told Mr. Palmer, the historian of Lake Champlain, that most of the enemy's bullets struck the trees above them "at least fifteen feet from the ground."

⁴ Neuben B. Walworth was born in Bozrah, Connecticut, October 26, 1789. His parents removed to Hoosick, New York, where his early years were spent. He received only a common school education, and at the age of seventeen

British Troops recalled.

Their Leader alarmed.

Uprising of the People.



THE SARANAC AT PIKE'S CANTONMENT.

flecked with its own foam, and gave them the joyful intelligence that the British fleet had just surrendered. These glad tidings were greeted with three hearty cheers. At the same moment they observed the pursuers with their backs turned, and making their way in haste toward the Saranac. Sir George Prevost, who always played the coward when near danger, according to British historians, had become terribly alarmed, and recalled these vigorous and only successful troops. He had experienced "the extreme mortification," he said, "to hear the shout of victory from the American works" when the fleet surrendered on the lake. They had been loud and mighty cheers, iterated

and reiterated by corps after corps, as the eye and ear caught knowledge of the victory; and Sir George wisely saw, as he said, that "farther prosecution of the service was become impracticable." He had assumed the position of co-operator with the fleet rather than principal, leaving to Downie the brunt of the service, but ready to receive and wear the garlands of honor which might be won. Seeing the British flags humbled on all their ships, and their gun-boats fleeing, he resolved to fall back toward the Canada border, and halt until he should ascertain the use the Americans intended to make of their naval ascendancy just acquired on Lake Champlain.¹ It was a wise determination. Notwithstanding his number was overwhelming,² Prevost was really in peril. He might have crushed Macomb and captured the post at Plattsburg, but it would have been at the expense of many lives without obtaining any permanent advantage. The British had lost the lake absolutely, and without any fair promise of its recovery; and the militia of all that region were thoroughly aroused, and were rapidly gathering. Governor Chittenden, of Vermont, had issued a patriotic address at the beginning of the invasion, calling upon the militia of his state to hasten to the aid of their brethren across the lake. It had been heartily responded to, and at the close of the memorable day of the battle not less than twenty-five hundred Green Mountain boys were on the Saranac, under Major General Strong. The militia of Washington and Warren counties were also streaming toward Plattsburg at the call of General Mooers, and re-enforcements of regulars were on their way. Prevost's army would very soon have been equaled in numerical strength, and perhaps surrounded and supplies from Canada cut off. He perceived these dangers when the navy was lost, and the moment the forces under General Robinson returned to camp, he made preparations to abandon the siege, notwithstanding General Brisbane offered to cross the Saranac in force and carry the American works in twenty minutes. The fire from his batteries were kept up until sunset, and Fort Brown, under the immediate command of Lieutenant Mountfort,³ sent back responses with great

commenced the study of law. He settled in Plattsburg for its practice, and in 1811 was appointed a Master in Chancery. He was the favorite aid of General Mooers, of whose division the late Colonel David B. M'Neil was Inspector General. He was a member of Congress twelve consecutive years. He became a judge; and in 1828 he was appointed Chancellor, then the highest judicial office in the state. He held it twenty years. After he left office he resided at Saratoga Springs until his death late in 1867. He was long identified with the leading religious and benevolent movements of his day.

¹ Sir George Prevost to Earl Bathurst, September 11, 1814.

² The British had 14,000 troops and the Americans 4700 on the eventful day of the battle. The former consisted of Robinson's brigade, 3700; Powers's, 3600; Brisbane's, 3100; light troops, 2800, composed of Neuron's Swiss regiment, Canadian chasseur, voltigeurs, and frontier light infantry; a troop of light dragoons, 300; Royal Artillery, 400; rocketeers, sappers and miners, 100. The Americans had 1500 regulars, commanded by leaders of various ranks; 2000 Vermont Volunteers, under Major General Strong; and 700 Clinton and Essex militia.

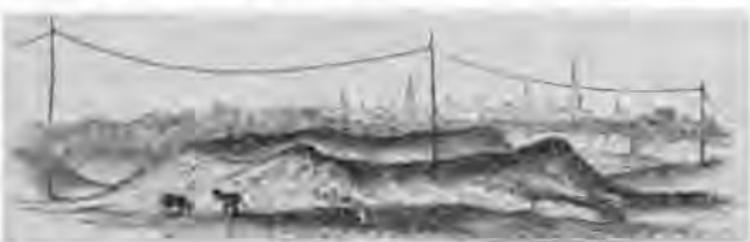
³ John Mountfort was born in Boston in November, 1790, and was the son of a patriot of the Revolution. He en

Flight of the British from Plattsburg.

Cause of their great haste.

They re-enter Canada.

spirit.¹ So excellent was the firing that the British believed that French artilleryists were employed by the Americans.



REMAINS OF FORT MIFFLIN.²

When night fell Prevost caused

his cannon to be withdrawn from the batteries. At nine o'clock in the evening he sent them Canada-ward, with all the baggage for which he could find transportation, and at two o'clock in the morning of the 12th the entire army fled with a precipitation wholly unaccountable at the time.³ The sick and wounded, and a vast amount of munitions of war, were left behind; and the foe reached Chazy, eight miles distant, before the Americans were apprised of the movement. Light troops, volunteers, and militia, under General Mooers,⁴ at once started in pursuit. They made a few prisoners, but heavy rains compelled them to relinquish the chase. Prevost halted and encamped at Champlain, and on the 24th left the territory of the United States, and retired to Montreal with the main army. Thus ended the BATTLE OF PLATTSBURG and the second invasion of New York. Many of the British deserted, and the loss of Sir George after he crossed the frontier line, in killed, wounded, missing, and

tered the army as second lieutenant of the Third Artillery in March, 1812, and was promoted to first lieutenant in May, 1813. This was won by his gallantry at York, where, in consequence of the absence of his superior officer, he commanded his company. He assisted in the capture of Fort George. After that he and his company acted as marines in Chauncey's fleet, volunteering for the service. He accompanied Wilkinson down the St. Lawrence, and behaved so gallantly at Plattsburg that he won the promotion to captain. He was major of artillery in the Florida War, under General Gaines, and afterward was the commander of several forts in succession. He left the army in 1852, and in 1851, just as he was about to leave for Europe with his family, he died. His death occurred on the 22d of October. While I was in Boston in the autumn of 1860, his brother, George Mountfort, Esq., showed me a gunner's quadrant, still smeared with gunpowder and blood, which the gallant officer took from under the slain soldiers in one of the British redoubts at Plattsburg. The engraving is a representative of it. It is a graduated quadrant of six-inch radius, attached to a rule a little more than twenty-three inches in length, and all made of brass. It has a plumb-line and bob. The quadrant is applied either by the longer branch to the face of the piece, or this branch is run into the bore parallel with the axis. It was in the original oaken case in which it was carried by the gunners of the Royal Artillery.

Mountfort was always cool. A fellow-soldier (Robert Keith, of Boston), in a communication before me, has related an example. During the battle, he says, he saw a small bomb-shell fall at the feet of the gallant lieutenant, when he caught it, threw it over the parapet, and said, "Don't be alarmed, boys, it is nothing but a humbug."

¹ During the hostilities at Plattsburg, from the 6th until the evening of the 11th, scarcely a building in the village escaped injury of some sort. Many houses were completely riddled. Nine dwellings, thirteen stores and shops, and the court-house and jail, were burned. Some of these were destroyed when the enemy were burned out by Brooks's hot shot, as mentioned on page 863.

² These mounds are on the banks of the Saranac. Plattsburg is seen in the distance across the river.

³ The late Reverend Eleazer Williams (see page 377), who was in the military service of the United States at Plattsburg as commander of the Secret Corps of Observation, informed me that Sir George, naturally timid, was intensely alarmed by a clever trick arranged by Williams. Colonel Fassett, of Vermont, came over from Burlington on Friday before the battle, and assured Macomb that the Vermont militia would cross the lake to aid him in spite of Governor Chittenden. Williams suggested to the general after Fassett left that a letter from that officer, declaring that a heavy body of the militia were about to cross the lake, sent so as to fall into the hands of Prevost, would have a salutary effect. Macomb directed Williams to carry out the plan. He went over to Burlington, and received from Fassett a letter to Macomb, in which he said that Chittenden was marching with ten thousand men for St. Albans; that five thousand more were marching from St. Lawrence County; and that four thousand from Washington County were in motion. This letter was placed in the hands of a shrewd Irish woman on Cumberland Head, who took it to Prevost. The alarmed baronet immediately ordered the flight spoken of in the text, and at a little past midnight his whole army was on the wing. The trick played upon Hull at Detroit (see note 1, page 285) was repeated upon Prevost with equal success.

⁴ Benjamin Mooers was a soldier of the Revolution. He was born in Haverhill, Massachusetts, in 1761, and entered the military service in 1775, at the age of fifteen years. He was commissioned first an ensign, and then first lieutenant, and was an active officer during all the later years of the Revolution. When summoned to the field in 1813 he was fifty-six years of age, and living in quietude on the borders of Plattsburg Bay. He obeyed the summons with alacrity, and performed his duties nobly. He died at his residence on Cumberland Head on the 28th of February, 1838, at the



Rejoicings because of the Victory at Plattsburg. Public Dinner given to Macdonough. Song, "Siege of Plattsburg."

deserters, did not fall much short of two thousand, according to careful estimates made at the time. The American loss was less than one hundred and fifty. Only one commissioned officer, Lieutenant George W. Runk, was mortally wounded. He died the next day.

The events on land and water at Plattsburg on the 11th of September, 1814, produced a thrill of intense joy throughout the country, and with delight the people read the stirring General Orders in which, on the 14th of September, Macomb announced the result to his little army.¹ Spontaneous honors and praises were given by the people to him and Macdonough conjointly.² Bonfires and illuminations blazed in almost every city and village in the land, and the recent disaster at the national capital was almost unthought of for the moment. Legislative resolves, artillery, oratory, and song³ were pressed into the service of rendering homage to the two heroes and their men. The newspapers teemed with eulogies, and at all public gatherings and entertainments their names and deeds were mentioned with applause. Governor



GENERAL MOWERS'S GRAVE.

age of seventy-seven years. His remains are in the Plattsburg burying-ground; and at the head of the grave, near the entrance to the cemetery, is a handsomely-wrought commemorative slab of marble with the following inscription: "In memory of General BENJAMIN MOWERS, who died February 28, 1838, aged seventy-seven years. He served as lieutenant and adjutant in the Revolutionary War. He commanded the militia at the battle of Plattsburg, September 11, 1814. He was the first settler in this county, and for thirty years county treasurer. He repeatedly represented this section of country in the Assembly and Senate of the State, and discharged the important duties which devolved upon him as a citizen, as a soldier, and a Christian, with fidelity to his country and integrity to his God."

¹ After alluding to the designs of Prevost, he said "he brought with him a powerful army and flotilla—an army amounting to fourteen thousand men, completely equipped, and accompanied by a numerous train of artillery, and all the engines of war—men who had conquered in France, Spain, Portugal, the Indies, and in various other parts of the globe, and led by the most experienced generals of the British army. A flotilla, also superior to ours in vessels, men, and guns, had determined at once to crush us both by land and water." He then spoke of the boasts of the governor general, and his attempts to seduce the Americans from their allegiance, and then gave a concise history of the battle and the precipitate flight of the enemy.

² A few days after the battle, the citizens of Plattsburg, who had returned to their homes, resolved, in public meeting, to give a public dinner to Commodore Macdonough. A committee, of which Henry De Lord was chairman, waited upon the hero on board his ship with an invitation. It was accepted, and on Tuesday, the 23d instant, at three o'clock P.M., the commodore, with Generals Macomb and Mowers, and other officers of the army and navy, who were invited guests, and a number of citizens, sat down to a bountiful dinner at the United States Hotel, kept by Thomas Green, and yet standing in 1860, between the stone mill and the bridge over the Saranac, in Plattsburg. General Macomb's band furnished the music on the occasion. Peter Salliey, Esq., presided. Seventeen regular toasts were drunk. The distinguished guests, as they retired, were toasted; and one was given in respectful silence to "The memory of Commodore Downie, our brave enemy." The fallen brave of Macdonough's fleet were also remembered in the regular toasts. "Much credit," says a writer who was present, "is due to Mr. Green for the excellent dinner which he provided for the occasion, it being generally conceded to be the best that was ever given in Plattsburg." A full report of the proceedings was published in a hand-bill, a copy of which is before me.



UNITED STATES HOTEL.

This is a view of the United States Hotel at Plattsburg as it appeared in 1814. The clap-boards on the visible gable exhibited the perforations of bullets from British muskets on the left bank of the Saranac when I saw it in 1860. On the right is seen Plattsburg Bay, and Cumberland Head in the distance.

³ The victories of Macdonough and Macomb were the subject of one of the most popular songs written and sung during the war. It was written by Micajah Hawkins for the proprietor of a theatre in Albany, and sung by him in the character of a negro sailor. Governor Tompkins was present when it was first sung. Hawkins gained great applause and a prize by his performance. He was afterward a grocer in Catharine Street, New York. The following is a copy of the famous ballad:

SIEGE OF PLATTSBURG.

Tune—Boyno Water.

"Backside Albany stan' Lake Champlain,
Little pond half full o' water:
Plat-te-burg dar too, close 'pon de main;
Town small—he grow bigger, do', hereafter.

On Lake Champlain Uncle Sam set his boat,
An' Massa Macdonough he sail 'em;
While General Macomb make Plat-te-burg his home
Wid de army, whose courage nebber fail 'em.

Tompkins, in the name of the State of New York, presented General Macomb with a superb sword. De Witt Clinton, Mayor of New York, presented him, in the name of the Corporation, the "freedom of the city" in a gold box similar in character to the one given to General Brown;¹ and he was requested by the same body to sit for his portrait, to be placed in the gallery of distinguished men. Congress gave him the thanks of the nation, and voted him a gold medal.² He was commissioned by the President major general by brevet. When he returned to his family at Belleville, New Jersey, the village was illuminated, and he was received with the most gratifying tokens of respect. "Never, on the return of any hero to the peaceful bosom of his family," said the New York *Evening Post*, an opposition paper, "was evinced so universal a sense of sincere joy and heartfelt satisfaction."

"On 'tebenth day Sep-tem-ber,
In eighteen hun'ed and fourteen,
Gub'nern' Probosc and he British soj-er
Come to Plat-te-burg a tea-p'arty courtin';
An' he boat come too, arter Uncle Sam boat.
Massa 'Donough, he look sharp out de winder;
Den G'nral Macomb (ah! he always a-bome)
Cotch fire too, sirs, like a tinder.

"Bang! bang! bang! den de cannons 'gin to roar,
In Plat-te-burg and all 'bout dat quarter;
Gub'nern' Probosc try he han' 'pon de shore,
While he boat take he luck 'pon de water;

But Massa Macdonough knock he boat in he head,
Break he heart, break he shin, 'love he caff in,
An' G'nral Macomb start ole Probosc home—
'To't me soul den I muss die a laffin'.

"Probosc scare so he lef' all behine,
Powder, ball, cannon, tea-pot, an' kittle;
Some say he cotch a cole—trouble in he mine
'Cause he cat so much raw an' cole vittle.
Uncle Sam berry sorry, to be sure, for he pain,
Wish he muss heseif up well an' hearty.
For G'nral Macomb and Massa 'Donough home
When he notion for anudder tea-party!"

¹ See page 617.

² A representation of this medal is given on the next page. On one side is a bust of Macomb in profile, with his name and title. On the reverse a battle on land, in sight of a large town, troops crossing a bridge, and war-vessels fighting on a lake. Above this scene are the words "RESOLUTION OF CONGRESS, NOV. 3, 1814." The exergue—"BATTLE OF PLATTSBURG, SEPT. 11, 1814."

Alexander Macomb was the son of a fur merchant of Detroit, who married one of the highly respectable family of Navarre. Their son was born in Detroit on the 3d of April, 1782. He became a resident of New York in infancy, and was educated in New Jersey. He was a member of the "New York Rangers," a volunteer corps raised in 1779, when war with France was expected. General North, of the Revolution, placed him on his staff. He became permanently attached to the army as a dragoon, and was very useful. He was with Wilkinson in the Southwest, and, being afterward attached to a corps of engineers as first lieutenant, he was sent to West Point, where he compiled a treatise on martial law. He became captain in 1805, and was ordered to superintend the erection of fortifications on the frontiers. He was promoted to major in 1808, and when the war commenced in 1812 he was placed in command of an artillery corps. We have already met him several times in the course of this narrative of the war. His crowning achievement was at Plattsburg. After the war he was stationed at Detroit. He was made chief engineer in 1821, and removed to Washington. He remained in that bureau until 1825, when, on the death of General Jacob Brown, he was promoted to general-in-chief of the army of the United States. He died at Washington City on the 25th of June, 1841, aged fifty-nine years. He was buried with military honors in the Congressional Burying-ground at Washington, and over his grave now stands a beautiful white marble monument bearing the following inscriptions:

West Side.—"ALEXANDER MACOMB, Major General Commanding-in-chief United States Army. Died at Washington, the seat of government, 25th June, 1841."

East Side.—"It were but small tribute to his memory to say that, in youth and manhood, he served his country in the profession in which he died, during a period of more than forty years, without stain or blemish upon his escutcheon."

South Side.—"The honors conferred on him by President Madison, received on the field of victory for distinguished and gallant conduct in defeating the enemy at Plattsburg, and the thanks of Congress, bestowed with a medal commemorative of this triumph of the arms of the Republic, attest the high estimate of his gallantry and meritorious services."

On the west side, over his name, is an olive wreath; on the south side an hour-glass with wings, and a

serpent; on the east side a simple cross, and on the north side a serpent and battery.

In the above sketch, the little monument to Commodore Patterson is seen in an iron railing. Over one corner of it, in the distance, is seen William Wirt's monument, and between it and Macomb's is seen that of Commodore Chauncey.



MACOMB'S MONUMENT.



MACOMD'S MEDAL.

Macdonough, too, was nobly honored. The State of New York gave him two thousand acres of land. The State of Vermont purchased two hundred acres on Cumberland Head and presented it to him. It was on the borders of Cumberland, or Plattsburg Bay, and the farm-house upon it overlooked the scene of his gallant exploits. The cities of New York and Albany each gave the hero a valuable lot of land. "Thus," said Macdonough to a friend, while tears stood in his eyes, "in one month, from a poor lieutenant I became a rich man." Congress gave him the thanks of the nation, and with his brave commanders, Henley and Cassin, voted him a gold medal, with suitable devices and inscriptions.¹



MACDONOUGH'S MEDAL.

¹ See page 868. The above is a representation of the medal given to Macdonough. On one side is a bust of the hero in profile, with the legend "THO. MACDONOUGH, STAGNO CHAMPLAIN CLAS. REG. BRIT. SUPERAVIT." The reverse bears the same device and inscriptions as those of Henley and Cassin, given on page 868.

Thomas Macdonough was born in the county of New Castle, Delaware, on the 23d of December, 1783. His father was a physician, and a major in the Continental army. Thomas entered the navy as midshipman in 1798. He was with Decatur in the Mediterranean, where he behaved with great gallantry, especially in the affair of the *Philadelphia*. See page 120. His spirit was shown in the harbor of Gibraltar on one occasion. He was then first lieutenant of the *Siren*. Near her lay an American merchant brig. A boat from a British man-of-war went alongside of her, and its crew seized a seaman who was claimed as a British subject. Macdonough saw it. His commander was absent. He instantly armed and manned his gig and gave chase. He overhauled the boat under the guns of the British frigate, released him, and took him back to the merchant vessel. The British captain, in great rage, appeared on the *Siren*, and inquired of Macdonough how he dared to take a man from his boat. "He was under the protection of my country's flag, and it was my duty," was the reply. With warm oaths the captain swore he would lay his frigate alongside and sink the *Siren*. "While she swims you shall not have the man!" said Macdonough. "You'll repent of your rashness, young man," rejoined the Englishman. "Suppose I had been in that boat, would you have dared to commit such an act?"

The Cost of Prevost's Expedition.

Effect of the Victory at Plattsburg.

Graves of British Officers.

The result of the battle of Plattsburg was deeply mortifying to the British. The Canadian newspapers offered many jeremiads, and Sir George Prevost was censured in unmeasured terms for his incompetency and cowardice. It was estimated that he left behind him in his flight munitions and stores

worth almost one hundred thousand pounds sterling, and that his fruitless expedition cost at least five hundred thousand pounds, or two million five hundred thousand dollars. It was disheartening to the enemy, and was a powerful instrumentality in the speedy restoration of peace. Prevost abandoned all idea of renewing the attempt at invasion, and retired to Quebec. He was soon afterward dismissed and dishonored by his government, and he did not long survive the anxiety it occasioned and his efforts to get home to England and vindicate his character.



DOWNIE'S GRAVE.²



MACDONOUGH'S FARM-HOUSE ON CUMBERLAND HEAD.¹

Three days after the battle, when it was ascertained that the British were making their way toward the St. Lawrence, General Macomb discharged the New York and Vermont militia, and the solemn rites of burial were accorded to the dead of both nations. Fifteen officers, including Commodore Downie, were laid in the Plattsburg Burying-ground, and a neat marble slab, with the name of the commemorated cut upon it, was placed at the head of each grave. On each side of Downie's grave a pine-tree was planted. These were noble in stature when I made the annexed sketch, but one has since disappeared. A few years ago a near relation of the British commander laid a recumbent marble slab, suitably inscribed, upon brick walls, over his remains.² Around it are the graves of the other officers.

¹ "I should have made the attempt, sir!" "What! would you interfere if I were to impress men from that brig!" "You have only to try it, sir," was Macdonough's cool reply. He did not try it.

Macdonough was sent to Lake Champlain when the War of 1812 broke out. There he won unfading laurels, as we find recorded in the text. From the close of the war his health gave way, yet he lived for more than ten years with the tooth of consumption undermining the citadel of his life. On the 10th of November, 1825, he died in Middletown, Connecticut, where he married his wife, the excellent Miss Shaler, and who had died only a few months before. He was only forty-two years of age. His portrait on page 856 is from the one painted from life by John Wesley Jarvis for the Corporation of the City of New York, and now occupies a place in the Governor's Room.

² This picture is from the title-page of the twelfth volume of the *Analectic Magazine*. On page 88 is some poor verse intended as an accompaniment. In the distance is seen the mouth of the Saranac and the village of Plattsburg. On Cumberland Head at that time was the Plattsburg port of entry, and the leading men of that section resided on that pleasant promontory. Among them was General Melancthon Woolsey (whose house is yet standing), General Mooers, Peter Salley, Major Adams, and others.

³ The following is a copy of the inscription: "Sacred to the memory of GEORGE DOWNIE, Esq., a post captain in the Royal British Navy, who gloriously fell on board his B. M. S. the *Confiance* while leading the vessels under his command to the attack of the American flotilla at anchor in Cumberland Bay, off Plattsburg, on the 11th of September, 1814.

"To mark the spot where the remains of a gallant officer and sincere friend were honorably interred, this stone has been erected by his affectionate sister-in-law, MARY DOWNIE, 1851."

⁴ In the above picture Downie's tomb is seen between the trees. The head-stones of the other officers are seen

I visited the theatre of the British invasion of Northern New York, and points of interest at Plattsburg and in the vicinity, in August, 1860. I have already mentioned the passing of a night at Rouse's Point¹ Village after visiting La Colle Mill, and journeying on the next morning toward Plattsburg.² I went to Champlain, five miles south of the Canada border, by railway, and there strolled over the place of Dearborn and Wilkinson's encampments on the hill eastward of the railway station, then (1860) the land of Francis Nye. I also went to the site of Izard's encampment, on rising ground south of the village, and of his battery on the brow of a hill, then (1860) the property of Noadiah Moore. After sketching the mansion of Judge Moore, which was used for officers' quarters by both parties,³ I left for Plattsburg in a light wagon, accompanied by a very intelligent elderly gentleman of Champlain,⁴ whose name I regret I can not now recall. He was familiar with the whole region, and the events and localities which make it notable.



VIEW IN BEEKMANTOWN.

We passed through Chazy, upon the Little Chazy River. Just before reaching it, we saw at his house Captain Hiram Ferris, an old lake pilot, who gave us some of his reminiscences of adventure as commander of a sloop in which Vermont militia were taken across the lake to Plattsburg before the battle. We rode on to Sampson's,



grouped around it. The annexed diagram shows the position of each of the graves, indicated by numerals as follows: 1. Commodore Downie; 2. Boatswain Charles Jackson; 3. Lieutenant William Gunn; 4. Lieutenant William Paril; 5. Captain Alexander Anderson, of the Marines; 6. Captain John Purchase. These were of the British Navy, except Purchase, who was of the British Army. 7. Pilot Joseph Barron; 8. Lieutenant Peter Gamble; 9. Lieutenant John Stansbury; 10. Sailing-master Rogers Carter; 11. Midshipman James M. Baldwin. These were of the American Navy. 12. Lieutenant George W. Rusk, of the American Army; 13. Colonel Willington; 14. Lieutenant John Chapman, of the British Army. A, A, the pine-trees.

I am indebted to Captain J. Van Cleave for the diagram. It was made by him in 1856. He has omitted the grave of Lieutenant R. Kingsbury, of the British Army. It is near No. 13 in the diagram.

¹ Named from Jacques Rouse, a French Canadian, who settled there in 1783.

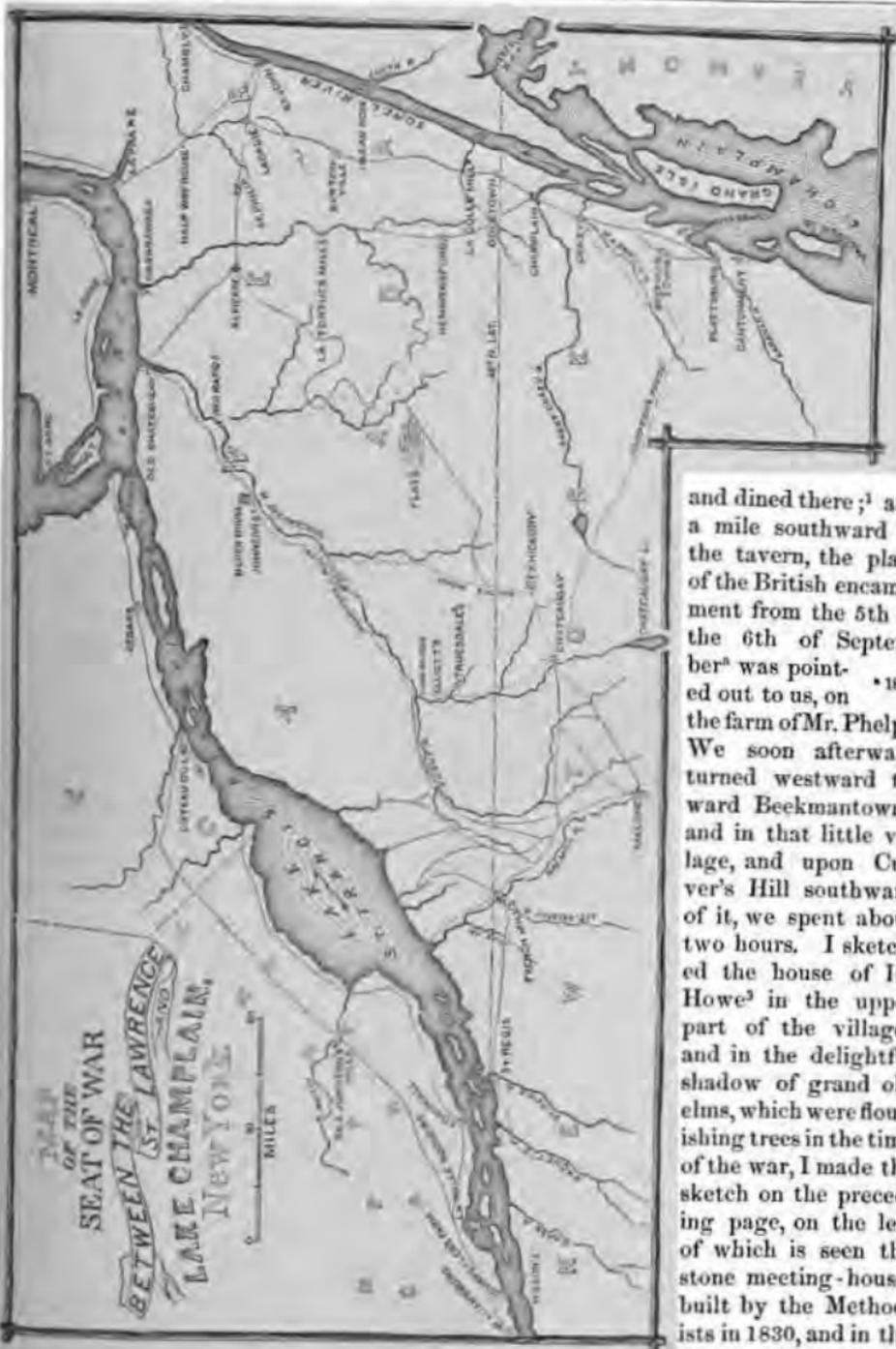
² See engraving on page 857.

³ See page 192.

⁴ Champlain is a lively post-village of less than two thousand inhabitants, on the Chazy River, or Creek, and contains fine water power. It is the southern terminus of the Northern Railroad from Ogdensburg, and from it most of the lumber brought down on that road is shipped.

Ride through Beekmantown and over Culver's Hill.

The Seat of War in Northern New York.



and dined there;¹ and a mile southward of the tavern, the place of the British encampment from the 5th to the 6th of September² was pointed out to us, on the farm of Mr. Phelps. We soon afterward turned westward toward Beekmantown,² and in that little village, and upon Culver's Hill southward of it, we spent about two hours. I sketched the house of Ira Howe³ in the upper part of the village; and in the delightful shadow of grand old elms, which were flourishing trees in the time of the war, I made the sketch on the preceding page, on the left of which is seen the stone meeting-house, built by the Methodists in 1830, and in the distance the road passing

ing over Culver's Hill, on which Wool fought his second battle with the invaders

¹ See sketch of the house on page 859.

² Named in honor of William Beckman, to whom, with twenty-nine others, the township was granted in the spring of 1769.

³ See page 862.

Battle-ground on Culver's Hill.

Arrival at Plattsburg.

Visit to Cumberland Head.

September, 1814, on the morning of the 6th.¹ A little south of the church (at a spot indicated by the two figures), we were shown a spring, by the side of the road, near which Colonel Willington was buried; and directly in front of Francis Culver's house, on Culver's Hill, a flat rock was pointed out as the spot where Willington fell.¹ It is said that the stains of his blood were upon it a long time. There, too, we saw the moss-covered stone fence, built before the war, which formed an admirable shelter for the American militia during the fight on the hill.²

Plattsburg was now eight miles distant, and the long summer day was passing away. We rode on, without stopping, by Halsey's Corners, where Leonard made a stand with his cannon,³ and at near sunset entered Plattsburg. I became the guest of a kinsman (Philander C. Moore), and passed a part of the evening profitably with P. S. Palmer, Esq., the historian of Lake Champlain.

At an early hour the next morning, accompanied by my kinsman, I went out to visit the historical localities in and about Plattsburg; and just at twilight, after a day of incessant labor, we returned, having fully accomplished the object of my errand. We first rode up to the site of Pike's cantonment (where the British forced a passage of the Saranac), crossing the river at the upper bridge, and traversing a rough road most of the way for about two miles. The cantonment was on a low, narrow plain at the foot of rapids in the river, which are seen in the little sketch on page 874.

We returned on the lake road by the United States military station, visiting the

remains of Forts Moreau, Brown, and Scott, and sketching the old store-houses on the margin of the lake, which were erected in 1813 for the use of the American troops. We rode back to the village, and, after sketching the stone mill⁴ and the United States Hotel,⁵ we crossed the Saranac, and made our way

along the lake shore road toward Cumberland Head. Soon after crossing Dead Creek

Bridge over the sluggish stream, and among sand dunes drifted by southerly winds from the bay shore, we passed the site of Macdonough's farmhouse,⁶ on a rise of ground at the left of the road, a mile and a half from the light-house. The place of the cellar was marked by a luxuriant growth of weeds and bushes. Near there we met a farmer on his way to Plattsburg, who, to our mutual surprise, proved to be Mr. J. J. Mosher, who was my school-master when I was a boy twelve years of age. It was an agreeable meeting. He turned back, accompanied us to various places of interest on the Head (where he has a farm), and en-



STORE-HOUSES.



GENERAL MOORE'S HOUSE, CUMBERLAND HEAD.

¹ See page 862.

² The old Culver mansion, built of wood, was on the site of the present brick mansion of Samuel Andrews, on the southern slope of the hill.

³ See page 862.

⁴ See page 864.

⁵ See page 876.

⁶ See page 879.

Residences of Mooers and Woolsey.

Remains of "Wilkinson's Folly."

Mr. Platt and his Reminiscences.

tertained us with an excellent dinner and pleasant intercourse with his family.

Taking the inner road to the light-house on the extreme point of the Head, we passed the pleasantly situated old mansion of General Mooers (page 882), where he lived many years, and where he died. It overlooks the bay and the lake. We visited and sketched the light-house, and from its lofty gallery obtained a fine panoramic view of the entire theatre of the naval battle near.¹ Passing along the lake side of the Head, in full view of Grand Island and the Green Mountains, we came, at the distance of a mile from the light-house, to the residence of General Woolsey, father



WOOLSEY HOUSE.

of the active commander on Lake Ontario. Near it was Colonel Durand's, the deputy collector (when this was the place of the Plattsburg port of entry), which was the custom-house; and between Woolsey's and the light-house is the dwelling of Mr. Mosher. It was a tavern during the war, and in front of it was the landing-place of the troops brought over by Captain Ferris. When the British galleys were escaping down the lake, and were passing this tavern, several men were sitting on its porch. One of them called out to the fugitives in derision, when a British marine fired a musket-ball at the group. It passed just over their heads, and through a door, which Mr. Mosher preserves as a memento of the incident.

About three fourths of a mile from the light-house, on the farm of J. T. Hagar, we saw the prominent remains of the ramparts and ditch of a large redoubt cast up by Hampton, and which received the name of "Wilkinson's Folly." It is about forty rods from the lake, on high ground, and on the shore in front of it was a water battery. Its ramparts were of earth and stone. From its top we had a fine view of the surrounding country, and we lingered some time in the shadow of a tree that overhung one of its bastions. The day was now far spent, and we turned back toward Plattsburg, where we arrived at dusk, well satisfied with our day's excursion.

On the following morning I visited the venerable Isaac C. Platt, then in his eightieth year, whose residence is on the Beekmantown road, not far from Halsey's Corners. He was living there at the time of the British invasion, and took his family over to Middlebury, in Vermont. On his return the skirmish had occurred at Halsey's Corners. He found his house in possession of the enemy, and used as a sort of hospital.² He asked and obtained from General Brisbane protection for himself and his property. That officer gave him a general parole of honor to go where he pleased. When the British fled they left about forty horses in his fields, and these he considered a fair equivalent for hay and other property which they had appropriated to their own use. The British behaved very honorably, he said, generally paying for whatever they procured from the inhabitants. During a delightful interview of an hour with the humorous octogenarian, he related many stirring incidents of the invasion, which limited space will not allow me to record. He still [1867] lives in the enjoyment of good health.

Leaving Mr. Platt's, we passed a huge old butternut-tree between his house and Halsey's Corners, its trunk terribly scarred by the passage of one of Leonard's cannon-balls completely through it. It stands as a memento of the affair at that point. We passed on to the burial-ground, and visited and sketched the freestone memorials of Downie and the slain, already mentioned; of Colonel Melancthon Smith; and of

¹ See page 879.

² See page 563.

The Grave of Miss Davidson.

A Shot in Macomb's Head-quarters.

Chauncey kept from active Service.

General Benjamin Mooers.¹ There, too, I found the grave of the wonderfully precocious child-poet, Lucretia Maria Davidson, who was the author of a volume entitled *Amir Khan, and other Poems*,² and yet she died before she was seventeen years of age. A neat white marble monument marks the resting-place of her remains, and bears those beautiful lines written by William Cullen Bryant on the occasion of her burial:

"In the cold moist earth we laid her when the forest cast its leaf,
And we wept that one so lovely should have a lot so brief;
Yet not unmeet it was that one, like that young friend of ours,
So gentle and so beautiful, should perish with the flowers."

In the course of the day I called on General A. C. Moore, whose fine mansion, not far from the old stone mill, was the head-quarters of General Macomb before the battle. In the hall, near the foot of the staircase, and protruding from the upper edge of the wainscoting, was a 24-pound iron ball, which British cannon hurled across the Saranac. It had come crashing through the house, and lodged there. With good taste and patriotic feeling, it had been left undisturbed. It was painted black and varnished, and on it, in white letters, were the words *September 11, 1814*.



BALL IN MOORE'S HOUSE, PLATTSBURG.

Toward evening of the same day I embarked at Plattsburg in a steamer for Whitehall, and on the following evening I was at my home on the Hudson.

With the flight of Prevost and his army from Lake Champlain ended all military movements of importance on the Northern frontier. Hostilities soon afterward ceased on the Niagara frontier, as we have observed; and during the entire season, Chauncey, one of the most vigilant and active of naval commanders, had been compelled by circumstances to remain almost inactive at Sackett's Harbor a greater part of the time. He was blockaded by a British squadron until early in June, when the completion of the armament of the *Superior* made Sir James Yeo prudently withdraw his blockading vessels. And when the *Mohawk*,³ which was launched⁴ in thirty-four working days after her keel was laid, was prepared for sea, and the movements on the Niagara frontier with which Chauncey was to co-operate had commenced, that commander was prostrated by severe illness at the Harbor. His re-enforcements came tardily, while the enemy was increasing his strength in vessels, arms, and men. It was the last of July before the squadron was ready for sea.

Meanwhile Chauncey had set in motion minor operations. Supplies for the British were continually ascending the St. Lawrence in small boats. He resolved to attempt the capture of some of them, and sent Lieutenant (late Rear Admiral) Francis H. Gregory,⁵ with Sailing-masters Vaughan and Dixon, in three gigs, for that pur-

¹ About a rod north of General Mooers's grave is that of Samuel Norcross, who, with two other unarmed citizens, met three British soldiers on the retreat on the morning of the 12th, and simultaneously sprang upon them and seized their guns. A desperate struggle ensued. His antagonist wrenched the gun from Norcross, and with it shot him, killing him almost instantly. This occurred not far from the place where his body was buried.

² This volume was published in 1829, and contained a biographical sketch of the author by Professor Samuel F. B. Morse. She was born in September, 1808; was educated at Mrs. Willard's seminary in Troy, and died in August, 1826. She was very beautiful.

³ Francis H. Gregory was born at Norwalk, Connecticut, on the 9th of October, 1789. He entered the merchant service in 1802, and the navy as a midshipman in 1809 in the *Revenge*, commanded by Lieutenant O. B. Perry. He was promoted to acting master in 1811, and in the spring of 1812 he was placed under Chauncey's command on Lake Ontario. In that service he performed many gallant exploits as acting lieutenant, for his skill and bravery were so conspicuous that he was employed in the most dangerous and difficult service. In August, 1814, he was captured and sent to England a prisoner of war, and was kept there until the close of the contest; not in close confinement, but on wide parole in Devonshire, where the "vivacious little Yankee" was a great favorite with the ladies, and graced many a festal occasion. In 1828 Lieutenant Gregory commanded the *Brandywine* when she conveyed Lafayette to this country; and in

Exploits of Lieutenant Gregory.

Chauncey's Squadron leaves Sackett's Harbor.

Its Composition.

pose at the middle of June. They lay in ambush among the Thousand Islands, below Alexandria Bay, on the 19th. They were discovered, and a British gun-boat sent to attack them. They did not wait for her approach, but boldly dashed upon and captured her. She was the *Black Snake*, Captain Landon, carrying an 18-pound carronade and eighteen men, chiefly Royal Marines. Gregory returned to the Harbor with his prisoners, but was compelled to destroy the *Black Snake* to prevent her recapture. For this gallant service the National Congress, thirty years
 *May 4, 1854. afterward,^a gave Gregory and his companions three thousand dollars.¹ Ten days afterward, Gregory and the same assistants started in two gigs for Nicholas Island, seven miles from Presque Isle, on the Canada coast, to intercept some transports expected to pass there for York and Fort George. They did not come; so, finding his presence was known to the British authorities, Gregory landed at Presque Isle, burned a schooner pierced



Francis Gregory



W M Crane

for fourteen guns and nearly ready to be launched, and a building containing her stores, crossed the lake, and reached Sackett's Harbor on the 6th of July^b * 1814. without the loss of a man.

Chauncey was carried on board the *Superior* in a convalescent state on the 31st of July, and on that day his squadron left the Harbor. It consisted of the flag-ship *Superior*, 62, Lieutenant Elton; *Pike*, 28, Captain Crane, Chauncey's second in command;² *Mohawk*, 42, Captain Jones; *Madison*, 24, Captain Trenchard; *Jefferson*, 22, Captain Ridgeley; *Jones*, 22, Captain Woolsey; *Sylph*, 14, Captain Elliott; *Oneida*, 16, Lieut. Commanding Brown; and the look-out boat *Lady of the Lake*. They appeared off the mouth of the Niagara River (then in possession of the British) on the 5th of August.^c Leaving the *Jefferson*, *Sylph*, and *Oneida* to blockade some British vessels in the

¹⁸⁵⁶ he commanded the 64-gun ship sent to the Greeks from New York. He was promoted to commander in 1828, and was in active service afloat until 1852, when he was placed in charge of the Boston Navy Yard. When the Rebellion broke out he was anxious to enter into active service, but he was more usefully employed as general superintendent of the construction of the iron-clad or armored vessels engaged in the Civil War. He was promoted to the rank of rear admiral in 1862, and died in Brooklyn, October 4, 1866, at the age of seventy-seven years. Few men hold a more worthy place on the records of our navy.

^a Hough's *History of Jefferson County*, page 518.

² Mr. Crane was one of Chauncey's most intimate friends and active commanders. He was born in Elizabethtown, New Jersey, on the 1st of February, 1784, and was a son of General William Crane, who was one of Montgomery's army, and made a prisoner in Quebec. He entered the navy in 1799 as midshipman, and was in active service in the Mediter-

Chauncey tries to draw out Yeo.

A heavy British Ship on the Lake.

Americans prepare to match her.

river, Chauncey crossed the lake with the remainder of the squadron, looked into York, and then sailed for Kingston,² where, with four of his vessels, he blockaded the squadron of Sir James Yeo for six weeks. He vainly tried to draw him out for combat;¹ and in the mean time, as we have seen, he conveyed a part of Izard's troops to the Genesee River.² During this blockade, Lieutenant Gregory, while reconnoitring, was captured.

At the close of September it was ascertained that the *St. Lawrence*, pierced for one hundred and twelve guns, which had been all the season in preparation at Kingston, was ready for sea. Chauncey prudently raised the blockade, retired to Sackett's Harbor, and prepared for attack. On the 15th of October the *St. Lawrence* sailed, bearing Sir James Yeo and more than a thousand men.³ She was accompanied by four ships, two brigs, and a schooner, and from that time the baronet, with his great ship, was lord of the lake. The Americans resolved to match the *St. Lawrence* before the opening of the lake the following spring, and the keels of two first-class frigates were speedily laid—one at Sackett's Harbor, to be called the *New Orleans*, and another at Storrs's Harbor, farther up the bay, to be called the *Chippewa*. Of the former we have already taken notice on page 616. These vessels were partly finished, when the proclamation of peace caused work upon them to cease, as well as all farther hostilities in that quarter.

Yeo did not venture to attack Chauncey⁴ in Sackett's Harbor; but so imminent



CRANE'S MONUMENT.

ranear early in the present century. He was promoted to lieutenant in 1803, and rose to the rank of captain in 1804. He was in command of the *Nautilus* when she was captured (see page 486), and after his exchange was in continual service on Lake Ontario. He was in the service of his government, afloat and ashore, until his death, when he was chief of the Bureau of Ordnance and Hydrography.

Commodore Crane was buried with naval honors in the Congressional Burying-ground in Washington City, and over his remains is a fine white marble monument with the following inscriptions:

West Side.—"Sacred to the memory of WILLIAM MONTGOMERY CRANE, a captain in the navy, who was born in Elizabethtown, New Jersey, on the 1st of February, 1784, and died at Washington on the 15th of March, 1846." *South Side.*—"Endowed with uncommon judgment, skill, and ability, he was conspicuous amongst the most distinguished of his professional compeers." *East Side.*—"The many qualities which he on all occasions exhibited endeared him to his associates, and forty-seven years of arduous service proved his devotion to his country." *North Side.*—"In the war with France, with the Barbary Powers, and with England, he was actively engaged, and with undiminished reputation."

¹ The fact that Sir James Yeo, after boasting of his desire to meet Chauncey's fleet, and his look-outs often feigning a design to encounter the *Lady of the Lake*, Chauncey's gallant little scout, caused many squibs. Among others was a short poem entitled "*The Courteous Knight, or the Flying Gallant.*" After stating that a British knight (Sir James) of high reputation had jilted an American lady who had already made some noise in the world (*Lady of the Lake*), the poet said:

"He fled like a truant; the lady in vain
Her ogling and glances employed:
She aimed at his heart, and she aimed at his brain,
And she vowed from pursuing she ne'er would refrain—
The knight was most sadly annoyed.
At length from love's fervor the recreant got clear,
And may have for a season some rest;
But if this fair lady he ever comes near,
For breaking his promise he'll pay very dear,
The price gallant Chauncey knows best."

See epigraph at the head of Chapter XXIX.

² See page 584.

³ Soon after the *St. Lawrence* sailed, Mr. M'Gowan, a midshipman, accompanied by William Johnston, the "Hero of the Thousand Islands" (see page 662), went with a torpedo to Kingston Harbor to blow her up. Her departure foiled the enterprise. See Cooper's *Naval History*, ii., 423.

⁴ Isaac Chauncey was a native of Fairfield County, Connecticut, and was born in 1773. He went to sea early in life from the port of New York, and was master of a vessel at the age of nineteen years. He made several successful voyages to the East Indies in vessels belonging to John Jacob Astor, and in 1798 he entered the navy of the United States with a Lieutenant's commission under Truxtun. He behaved gallantly in the Mediterranean, and for his good conduct there Congress presented him with an elegant sword. He was promoted to commandant in 1804, and in 1806 he received the commission of captain. He was appointed to the command of the embryo navy on the Lakes at the beginning of the War of 1812, and by his gallant and judicious conduct there he won imperishable fame. He commanded a squadron in the Mediterranean after the war. He returned to the United States in 1818, and was soon afterward called to the post of navy commissioner at Washington City. He was afterward commander of the naval station at Brooklyn, but was appointed navy commissioner again in 1833, which office he held until his death, when he was president

Chauncey calls for Militia.

Washington Irving's Rebuke.

Close of Hostilities on the Northern Frontier.



Isaac Chauncey

militia were disbanded, and the war was closed on the Canada frontier.

seemed the danger, when it was known that the *St. Lawrence* was ready for sea, that a request was made by the commanding officer at that post, of Governor Tompkins, to send thither some militia re-enforcements, the entire military strength which had been left there by Izard being some artillery under Lieutenant Colonel Mitchell, and two battalions of infantry, commanded respectively by Majors Malcolm and Brevoort. The governor at once sent his aid, Colonel Washington Irving,¹ with orders for the commandant at the Harbor to make such requisition on the militia as he should think best. The result was that General Collins called out the entire body of the militia of Herkimer, Oneida, Lewis, and Jefferson counties, and at the close of October the military force at Sackett's Harbor was about six thousand. When the lake closed, and all apprehensions of an attack by the British subsided, the

of the board. He died at Washington City on the 27th of January, 1840, at the age of about sixty-five years. He was interred with appropriate honors in the Congressional Burying-ground, upon the slope overlooking the East Branch of the Potomac, and over his grave stands a superb monument made of white clouded marble. On the pedestal, in relief, is the name CHAUNCEY. On another part are the names of several of his family. On the east side is the following inscription: "ISAAC CHAUNCEY, United States Navy, died in this city January 27th, 1840, while President of the Board of Navy Commissioners, aged sixty-seven years." The monument is about eighteen feet in height. Upon the obelisk is a wreath of laurel and a sword, cut in relief.

¹ This was the beloved Washington Irving, one of the purest of the planetary lights of American literature. Mr. Irving was at that time editor of the *Analectic Magazine*, for which he had furnished some brilliant biographies of the heroes of the war. Naturally peaceful and retiring, he felt no special ambition to become a conspicuous actor; yet his soul was full of patriotic flame. It was increased intensely by a circumstance which occurred on a Hudson River steam-boat late in August, 1814, when the news of the capture and destruction of the national capital was filling all loyal men with sadness. His biographer thus relates the story: "It was night, and the passengers had taken themselves to their settees to rest, when a person came on board at Poughkeepsie with the news of the inglorious triumph, and proceeded, in the darkness of the cabin, to relate the particulars: the destruction of the President's House, the Treasury, War, and Navy Offices, the Capitol, the Depository of the National Library and Public Records. There was a momentary pause after the speaker had ceased, when some paltry spirit lifted his head from a settee, and, in a tone of complacent disdain, 'wondered what Jimmy Madison would say now?' 'Sir,' said Mr. Irving, glad of an escape to his swelling indignation, 'do you seize on such a disaster only for a sneer? Let me tell you, sir, it is not now a question about Jimmy Madison or Johnny Armstrong. The pride and honor of the nation are wounded; the country is insulted and disgraced by this barbarous success, and every loyal citizen would feel the ignominy, and be earnest to avenge it.' 'I could not see the fellow,' said Mr. Irving, but I let fly at him in the dark.'—*The Life and Letters of Washington Irving*, by his nephew, Pierre M. Irving, i, 311. The fellow was cowed into silence. He was a prototype of a small class which obtained the name of *Copperheads* during the late Civil War, to whom the loyal men of the nation administered a similar rebuke.

Mr. Irving's feelings were so much stirred by the incident that, on his arrival in New York, he offered his services to Governor Tompkins as his aid. They were accepted, and he became his excellency's aid and secretary, with the rank of colonel. His name first appears attached to a general order dated September 2, 1814. He remained on the governor's staff until the close of the war, a few months afterward.



CHAUNCEY'S MONUMENT.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

“Then, warriors on shore, be brave,
Your wives and homes defend;
Those precious bonus be true to save,
And hearts and sinews bend.
Oh, think upon your fathers' fame,
For glory marked the way;
And this foe aimed the blow,
But victory crowned the day.
Then emulate the deeds of yore,
Let victory crown the day.”—OLD SONG.



NEW ENGLAND experienced very little actual war within its borders, yet it felt its pressure heavily in the paralysis of its peculiar industries, the continual drain upon its wealth of men and money, and the wasting excitement caused by constantly impending menaces and a sense of insecurity. From the spring of 1813 until the close of the contest, British squadrons were hovering along its coasts, and, in connection with the Embargo Acts, were double-barring its sea-ports against commerce, and threatening the destruction of its maritime cities and villages.

The year 1814 was a specially trying one for New England. The British government, as we have observed, had determined and prepared, at the beginning of that year, to make the campaign a vigorous, sharp, and decisive one on land and sea. Hitherto the more northerly coasts of the United States had been very little molested by the enemy excepting by threatenings, for Commodore Hardy's blockade of New London and its vicinity had been so mild that it was practically little more than a jailor's custody of two prisoners—Decatur's vessels—above that town. Now a system of petty invasions commenced, and were followed by more serious operations.

The blockade of New London was kept up in 1814, and as early as April a party of British seamen and marines, in several small vessels (each armed with a 9 or 12 pounder), under the command of Lieutenant Coote, of the Royal Navy, went up the Connecticut River in the evening, and at four o'clock the next morning^a landed on Pautopaug Point, seven miles from the Sound, spiked the heavy guns found there, and destroyed twenty-two vessels, valued at one hundred and sixty thousand dollars. At ten o'clock they went down the river two or three miles to Brockway's Ferry, where they indulged in similar incendiary sport. In the mean time a body of militia, with some marines and sailors from Decatur's vessels in the Thames, under Captain Jones and Lieutenant Biddle, gathered on the shore and endeavored to cut off their retreat, but, under cover of darkness that night, and with the silence of muffled oars, they escaped.

At about this time Commodore Lewis made his appearance in the Sound with thirteen American gun-boats for the protection of the coast-trade against the *Liverpool Packet* privateer, which was cruising very mischievously all along the Connecticut shore. She fled eastward at Lewis's approach, and when he reached Saybrook he found more than fifty vessels there, afraid to weigh anchor for fear of this corsair. Lewis told them to follow his flotilla, and he would endeavor to convoy them safely to New London. The entire fleet sailed on the 25th,^b and during the afternoon Lewis had a sharp engagement with a British frigate, sloop, and tender.

^a April, 1814.

Lewis attacks the Blockaders. Amphibious Warfare on the New England Coast. New Bedford and Fair Haven.

The merchant fleet entered the Thames in safety, and Lewis, inspired by his success, determined to attack the blockading squadron with his gun-boats. He began by hurling hot shot, which set the British vessels on fire. He soon disabled the sloop, which, with the frigate, had attacked him while convoying the coasting vessels. He so maimed the frigate that she was on the point of surfendering, when night set in and the fire of the gun-boats ceased. It was excessively dark, and at dawn Lewis saw the enemy in the far distance towing away the wounded vessel. He was about to pursue, when several other frigates made their appearance, and he prudently abandoned the design.

Early in June the enemy commenced depredations on the coasts of Massachusetts. On the 13th a detachment of two hundred men, in six barges, were sent from the *Superb* and *Nimrod*, then lying in Buzzard's Bay, to destroy the shipping at Wareham, a village at the head of the bay. The elevated rocky neck at the mouth of the Narrows concealed the approach of the barges, and the inhabitants were taken by surprise. The enemy fired a ship, brig, and several schooners and sloops. The ship was partially saved, and so also was a cotton factory, which was set on fire by a Congreve rocket. The estimated value of the loss was \$40,000. Quite a number of the leading inhabitants were seized and carried away as hostages, so as to prevent the militia from firing on the vessels. These were released when the ships arrived at their anchorage. Similar destruction was inflicted at Scituate and smaller places. Sometimes the militia would meet the marauders and drive them away, but in most cases the blow would be struck before a foil could be raised to avert it.

On the 16th of June the *Bulwark*, 74, Captain Milne, carrying about ninety guns, anchored off the mouth of Saco River, in Maine, and her commander sent one hundred and fifty armed men, in five large boats, to destroy property on the Neck belonging to Captain Thomas Cutts. That gentleman met them with a white flag, and proposed a money commutation. The matter was referred to Captain Milne, who soon afterward came ashore in his gig. He assured Cutts that he had positive orders to destroy, and could not spare. The torch was then applied, and two vessels (one finished, the other on the stocks), valued at \$15,000, were destroyed, and another one taken away, which the owner afterward ransomed for \$6000. They also plundered Mr. Cutts's store of goods to the amount of \$2000.¹

At about the same time the *Nimrod* and *La Hogue* were blockading New Bedford and Fair Haven, little villages on each bank of the Acushnet River, an inlet from Buzzard's Bay. They lay in Tarpaulin Cove, watching vigilantly the privateer *Yankee*, belonging to De Wolfe, of Bristol, Rhode Island, the great slave-merchant. This vessel, and all others of her class, were unwelcome to the New Bedford people, who were Federalists, but right welcome to those of Fair Haven, who were Democrats—a difference of opinion which led to the separation of the two towns. The Fair Haven people cherished all privateers and other enemies of the British, and had, moreover, a fort on their Point, built in the time of the threatened war with France in 1798 on the site of a battery of the Revolution. It now had about a dozen iron cannon on its ramparts, and was guarded by a small garrison under Lieutenant Selleck Osborne, the poet.² Of course, the British blockaders did not like the Fair Haven folk, and one dark night they planned an attack on the fort and the destruction of the village. Every thing was ready long before daylight, and the *Nimrod* was to be the executor of the plan. Just then the tin horn of a solitary mail-carrier was heard, and the clatter of his horse's feet as he galloped across the Acushnet bridge and causeway sound-

¹ History of Saco and Biddeford, by George Folsom, page 309.

² Selleck Osborne was a native of Connecticut, and a printer by trade. He printed a paper in Litchfield about the year 1806. He was afterward an editor in Wilmington, Delaware. He was commissioned first lieutenant of light dragoons in July, 1808, and made captain in 1811. His company was disbanded in May, 1814, and he was acting as lieutenant in garrison at Fair Haven. He went to Lake Champlain, and was engaged in the battle of Plattsburg. In 1823 he published a volume of poems. He died in Philadelphia on the 1st of October, 1826.

Sea-port Towns of New England blockaded. Appearance of Hardy's Squadron. The British capture Eastport.

ed loudly upon the night air. The horn was mistaken for the braying of a trumpet sounding an advance, and the rattle of hoofs was interpreted as the forerunner of the approach of a large American force. The *Nimrod* hastened to withdraw to a safe distance from the fort, and New Bedford and Fair Haven were spared the notoriety of a battle. The fort and its iron cannon yet (1867) remain, monuments of the wisdom of ample preparation for evil.

Other places were menaced, and some were attacked. Formidable squadrons were kept before New York, New London, and Boston. Eastport and Castine fell into the hands of the British, and Stonington became the theatre of a most distressing bombardment. All along the eastern coast, from the Connecticut to the St. Croix, the enemy carried on this kind of warfare, in most cases marauding on private property in a manner which degraded the actors in the eyes of all honorable men to the level of mere freebooters. The more respectable portion of British writers condemned the policy, for it was damaging to the British interest. Hitherto lukewarm New England now became intensely heated with indignation against the common enemy, and burned with a war-fever which made the peace party in that region exceedingly circumspect.

A more serious invasion of the New England coast now occurred. Early in July ^{July 5, 1814.} Sir Thomas M. Hardy sailed secretly from Halifax^a with a considerable force for land and sea service. His squadron consisted of the *Ramillies*, 74, his flag-ship; the sloop *Martin*, brig *Borer*, the *Bream*, the bomb-ship *Terror*, and several transports with troops, under Colonel Thomas Pilkington. The squadron entered Passamaquoddy Bay on the 11th, and anchored off Fort Sullivan at Eastport,¹ which was then in command of Major Perley Putnam, of Salem,² with a garrison of fifty men and six pieces of artillery. The baronet demanded an instant surrender of the post, giving the commander only five minutes for consideration. Putnam promptly refused compliance, but, on account of the vehement importunities of the alarmed inhabitants, who were indisposed to resist, he yielded his own judgment, and gave up the post on condition that while the British should take possession of all public property, private property should be respected. When this agreement was signed, a thousand armed men, with women and children, a battalion of artillery, and fifty or sixty pieces of cannon, were landed on the main, and formal possession was taken of the fort, the town of Eastport, and all the islands and villages in and around Passamaquoddy Bay. Declaration was made that these were in permanent possession of the British,³ and the inhabitants were called upon to take an oath of allegiance within seven days, or leave the territory.⁴ Two thirds of them complied. The custom-house was opened under British officials;⁵ trade was resumed; the fortifications around Eastport were completed, and sixty pieces of cannon were mounted; and an arsenal was established. Several vessels, and goods valued at three hundred thousand dollars, accumulated there to be smuggled into the United States, were made prizes of by the British. The enemy held quiet possession of that region until the close of the war.

Having established British rule at Eastport, and left eight hundred troops to hold

¹ Eastport is on Moose Island, in Passamaquoddy Bay, which the British claimed as belonging to New Brunswick under the treaty of 1783.

² After the declaration of war in June, 1812, the United States kept a garrison at Fort Sullivan. At first there were two militia companies, from General Blake's brigade on the Penobscot, under the command of Major Ulmer. The United States afterward took possession, and substituted regular troops for militia. In the autumn of 1813 Major Putnam was appointed to the command there.

³ It was declared that "the object of the British government was to obtain possession of the islands of Passamaquoddy Bay, in consequence of their being considered within their boundary-line."—Letter from Lieutenant Colonel J. Fitzherbert to General Brewer, of the Washington County Militia, July 12, 1814.

⁴ A "royal proclamation" to this effect was made by Commodore Hardy on the 14th, in which notice was given that "all persons at present on the island are to appear before us on Saturday next, at ten o'clock in the forenoon, on the ground near the school-house [at Eastport], to declare their intentions," etc.

⁵ They took all the public property from the custom-house, and vainly endeavored to compel the collector to sign unfinished treasury notes of the value of \$9000. He refused, saying "hanging will be no compulsion."

The British Squadron off Portsmouth.

Vigilance of General Montgomery.

Attack on Boston expected.

the conquered region, Hardy sailed westward with his squadron, spreading alarm along the coast. Preparations for his reception were made every where. Vigilant eyes were watching, and strong arms were waiting for the appearance of the foe at Portsmouth, where little Fort Sumner was manned. The energetic General Montgomery,¹ of New Hampshire, ordered every tenth man of his brigade to repair to Portsmouth for its defense, and there he commanded in person. Little Fort Lilly, at Gloucester, was armed. Fort Pickering, near Salem, and Fort Sewall, at Marblehead, were strengthened and garrisoned. Fort Warren, on Governor's Island, and Fort Independence, on Castle Island, in Boston Harbor, were put in readiness for action, and well garrisoned by Massachusetts militia.

An attack upon the important city of Boston was confidently expected after intelligence was received of the bombardment of



John Montgomery



FORT PICKERING.²

Stonington,³ which we shall presently consider. It was the capital of New England, and the moral effect of its capture or destruction would be great. It was a place for the construction of American war-vessels, which the enemy feared more than armies. On this account its destruction was desirable. It was also a wealthy town, and offered a rich harvest for plunderers. It was well known, too, that it was almost defenseless, for it was not until the descent of the enemy upon Eastport, and his hostile operations elsewhere, had aroused the authorities of Massa-

* August 9, 1814.

¹ John Montgomery was born in Massachusetts in 1760, and was a relative of General Montgomery who was killed at Quebec. He became a spirited and successful merchant, and when the War of 1812 broke out he had just sent a heavy consignment of goods abroad, which were totally lost to him. At that time he was a brigadier general of New Hampshire militia. He was a Federalist in politics, but when his country was in danger he gave the government his support, and when Portsmouth was threatened by the British squadron, he took command in person at that place, and there he remained until the danger disappeared.

General Montgomery married a daughter of General Henry Knox, of the Revolution, by whom he had six children, all daughters. He died at Haverhill, New Hampshire, on the 29th of February, 1825, at the age of fifty-six years. I am indebted to his daughter, Mrs. Samuel Bachelder, of Cambridge, for the above portrait.

² This view is from the slope back of the fort, looking seaward. On the extreme left, in the distance, is seen Beverly. A little to the right, Misery Island. Still farther toward the right, Baker's Island light-house. On the extreme right is Marblehead Point.

Alarm in Boston.

Preparations for the Defense of the City.

Citizens at Work on Fortifications.

chusetts from their dreams of peace that any important preparations were made to repel an attack.¹ The people had seen the blockading squadrons from the tops of their houses, and trembled for the safety of the town, but it was not until the close of August that any energetic measures were taken by the leading men of the city toward providing for its defense. Then^a a public meeting was called to consider the matter; and a committee, consisting of Harrison Gray Otis, James Lloyd, Thomas H. Perkins, and others, were appointed to wait on the governor, and present to him an address on the defenseless state of the city. They assured him that the people were ready to co-operate in any way for the security of the capital and the state.

Governor Strong, whose opposition to the war was intense, listened to this appeal, and at once instituted measures for the defense of the whole line of the coast of Massachusetts and of the District of Maine, its dependent. The high ground on Noddle's Island (now East Boston), known as Camp Hill,² was chosen for the site of a new and heavy fort, and it was resolved to place its erection under the supervision of Laommi Baldwin, a graduate of Harvard College, as engineer. He issued his first official notice on the 10th of September, when he asked for tools and volunteers to work on the fortification. The response was patriotic. Large numbers of the inhabitants might be seen, day after day, toiling like common laborers with pickaxe, spade, shovel, and barrow. Every class of citizens was represented. "I remember," says an eye-witness, "the venerable Rev. Dr. Lathrop, with the deacons and elders of his church, each shouldering his shovel and doing yeoman's service in digging, shoveling, and carrying sods in wheelbarrows."³ The volunteers were soon numbered by hundreds. A regular system of employment was adopted, confusion was avoided, and the work went on rapidly.⁴ The fort was completed at the close of October. On the 26th of that month it was formally named, in honor of Governor Strong, Fort Strong, Lieutenant Governor Phillips officiating as the chief actor in the ceremonies. The flag was hoisted amid the roar of artillery from Noddle's Island, North Battery, and India Wharf, and on the 29th the Selectmen of Boston announced that "the important post of Fort Strong was completed," to the great joy of the people.⁵ Happily, it was never needed.⁶ A battery of heavy guns was placed on Dorchester Heights (South Boston), and other defenses were prepared on prominent points at Roxbury and Cambridge.

When Commodore Hardy left Eastport he rejoined the blockading squadron off New London. He was not long inactive. He was charged with a part of the duty enjoined in the terrible order of Admiral Cochrane, *to destroy the coast towns and ravage the country*, and on the 9th of August^b he appeared off the bor-

¹ The demonstrations near Saybrook and in Buzzard's Bay had caused some alarm in Boston early in the summer; and on the 16th of June the governor and council appointed the Honorable David Cobb, John Brooks, and Timothy Pickering commissioners for the defense of the sea-coast.

² On the crown of present Webster Street, East Boston, near Belmont Square. The fort was between the square and brow of the hill, near the dwelling of Mr. Lamson in 1860.

³ Funeral sermon at the burial of Dr. Lathrop, by his successor, Reverend Dr. Parkman.

⁴ A superintendent was appointed, who entered in a register the names of the inhabitants who offered their services. The laborers were classified, and particular days assigned for particular classes. The newspapers of that period were filled with accounts of the patriotic ardor of the people of all classes. Notices like the following appeared: "Twenty-five mechanics from each ward in this town will labor on the fortifications on Noddle's Island. This day (September 14) to embark from the ferry ways at half past six o'clock."—*Sentinel*, September 14. "Dealers in dry goods and in hardware to meet the next Thursday (20th) to do a day's work on Fort Strong," the name which it had already been determined to give the new fortification. Other industrial pursuits, trades, and professions, as well as military and civil organizations, were continually represented on the work. Citizens also came from the interior. The *Boston Gazette* of October 3 has the following paragraph: "Fort Strong progresses rapidly. On Saturday the citizens of Concord and Lincoln, to the number of two hundred, performed labor on it; the punctuality of the patriotic husbandmen deserved the highest praise of their fellow-citizens of the metropolis. The volunteers from wards 1, 3, and 4, together with others, amounted yesterday to five hundred."

⁵ Sumner's *History of East Boston*, page 418.

⁶ Governor Strong had called an extraordinary session of the Legislature on the 5th of October, and in his short message to that body, after giving the General Government a blow, he said: "But, though we may be convinced that the war in its commencement was unnecessary and unjust," etc., "and though, in a war thus commenced, we may have declined to afford our voluntary aid to offensive measures, yet I presume there will be no doubts of our rights to defend our dwellings and possessions against any hostile attack by which their destruction is menaced."

The British Squadron off Stonington.

Surrender of the Town demanded and refused.

It is bombarded.

ough of Stonington, in Connecticut, for that purpose, with the *Ramillies*, 74, *Pactolus*, 44, bomb-ship *Terror*, the brig *Dispatch*, 22, and barges and launches. He anchored his little squadron within two miles of the town at four o'clock in the afternoon, a mile and a half being the nearest point to the village which the depth of water would allow the flag-ship to approach. He then sent a flag of truce ashore, bearing to the selectmen of the town the following message, dated half past five o'clock P.M.: "Not wishing to destroy the unoffending inhabitants residing in the town of Stonington, one hour is granted them from the receipt of this to remove out of the town."¹ "Will a flag be received from us in return?" inquired the magistrates of the bearer of Hardy's letter. "No arrangements can be made," was the reply; and in answer to a question whether it was the commodore's intention to destroy the town, they were assured that it was, and that it would be done effectually. Satisfied that no accommodation could be effected, the magistrates returned the following answer: "We shall defend the place to the last extremity; should it be destroyed, we will perish in its ruins!"

The inhabitants were now in a state of great consternation. The sick and infirm, the women and children—all who were incapable of bearing arms, left the village, and the most valuable articles were immediately removed or concealed. A few militia under Lieutenant Hough were stationed on the point of the narrow peninsula on which Stonington stands, to watch the enemy and give notice of his nearer approach; a precaution adopted none too soon, for toward sunset they reported the *Terror* moving nearer the town by warping, accompanied by barges and launches each carrying a carronade. At eight o'clock the bomb-ship commenced throwing shell from a 13 and a 15 inch mortar, and the launches hurled rockets. This assault, grand in appearance but terrible in fact, was kept up until midnight, when it ceased, and it was ascertained that no life had been lost, and no serious damage inflicted on the shore.

In the mean time an express had been sent to General Cushing, the United States commander of the district, who regarded the movement as a feint to cover a real attack on Fort Griswold, at Groton, and an attempt to seize Decatur's frigates in the Thames above New London. He made corresponding arrangements with General Williams, the commander of the militia of the district. A regiment was ordered to Stonington; another to the head of the Mystic, to oppose the landing of the enemy there; a company of artillery and one of infantry were sent to a point on the Thames above the frigates; and another company of artillery and a regiment of infantry were ordered to re-enforce the garrison of Fort Trumbull, for the protection of New London. These prompt dispositions of troops disconcerted the enemy's movements toward the Thames, if he ever had a design of making any.

During the bombardment on the evening of the 9th, some bold spirits at Stonington took measures for opposing the landing of the enemy. The only ordnance in the place consisted of two 18, one 6, and one 4 pound cannon. They dragged the 6 and one 18 pounder down to the extreme point of the peninsula, cast up some breastworks, and placed them in battery there. The other 18-pounder was left in a slight battery on the southwest point, near where the present breakwater leaves the shore. By the streaming light of the rockets they watched the approach of the enemy, reserving their fire until the barges and a launch came in a line near the southeast point of the peninsula, when they opened upon them with serious effect. The guns, loaded with solid balls, were double shotted, and these so shattered the enemy's vessels that the little flotilla retreated in confusion toward the larger warriors. From midnight until dawn quiet prevailed, and during that time considerable numbers of militia and volunteers assembled in the neighborhood.

At daylight on the morning of the 10th the frigate *Pactolus* and brig *Dispatch* were seen making their way up nearer the town, and at the same time the barges and

¹ This was received by two magistrates, and Lieutenant Hough of the militia.

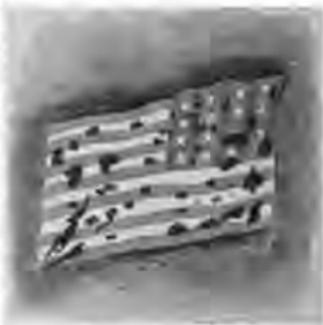
a launch had approached the eastern side of the peninsula, out of reach of the battery, and commenced throwing rockets. A number of volunteers, with muskets and the 4-pounder, immediately crossed the peninsula to oppose an expected landing of the enemy, but they could effect little. The *Dispatch* came beating up, the *Terror* hurled her shells, and the rocketeers of the barges were industrious. The *Pactolus* grounded too far distant to hurt or to be hurt, and she was not engaged in the fight that ensued. So severe was the bombardment of the *Terror* that the militia and volunteers who had assembled dared not enter the town. Most of the missiles went over the borough, but some of them went crashing through the village. One of them, called a carcass,¹ unexploded, may still (1867) be seen on a granite post on the corner of Main and Harmony Streets, in Stonington. It weighs two hundred and fifteen pounds.²



CARCASS.

At about six o'clock in the morning some bold volunteers came over from Mystic, among whom was the now (1867) venerable Captain Jeremiah Holmes, who had been a prisoner in a British war-ship some years before, and had learned the art of gunnery well. He and his companions made their way to the battery on the point, when Holmes took charge of the old 18-pounder. At that moment the *Dispatch* was making her last tack preparatory to anchoring. Holmes sighted the gun, which was double-shot with solid round balls, and at a favorable moment gave the word to fire. Both shots struck the hull of the brig. She at once cast anchor, with springs on her cable, and opened fire with 24-pound shot. The *Terror* sent shells in quick succession, while Holmes and his companions kept the old iron cannon busy. The fight was now fairly opened, and it continued briskly for about an hour, when Holmes's ammunition gave out, and the borough was searched in vain for more. At eight o'clock he ceased firing; and to prevent the great gun, which they could not drag away, being turned upon the town by the enemy, he had it spiked.

Stonington was now wholly defenseless, for the militia were at a respectful distance from danger. It was at the mercy of the invaders, and a timid citizen, who was at the battery, proposed a formal surrender by lowering the color that was floating over their heads. "No!" shouted Captain Holmes, indignantly, "that flag shall never come down while I am alive!" And it did not, in submission to the foe. When the wind died away, and it hung drooping by the side of the staff, the brave captain held out the flag on the point of a bayonet that the British might see it, and while in that position several shots passed through it. To prevent its being struck by some coward, Holmes held a companion (J. Dean Gallup) upon his shoulders while the latter nailed it to the staff. It was completely riddled by the British balls fired at the battery. I saw it in Stonington in the autumn of 1860, and the above engraving is a correct sketch of its appearance.



STONINGTON FLAG.

The old cannon was not long silent. Six kegs of powder, taken from the privateer *Halka*, and belonging to Thomas Swan, had been concealed by sea-weed behind a

¹ These carcasses were generally made of iron hoops, canvas, and cord, of oblong shape, and filled with combustibles for burning towns and ships. This one is of cast-iron, and was one of the missiles filled with fetid substances, and called "stink-pots."

² Their weight varied from sixteen to two hundred and sixteen pounds. One of the carcasses was set on fire, and burned with a flame ten feet in height and emitting a horrible stench. Some of the rockets were sharp-pointed, others not, and all were made of thick sheet-iron, with a fuse. The rocket (which is still in use in modified form) contains in its cylindrical case a composition of nitre, charcoal, and sulphur, proportioned so as to burn slower than gunpowder. The head is either a solid shot, shell, or spherical case-shot. It has a guide-stick attached, like the common rocket in pyrotechnic displays.

Captain Holmes reopens fire on the British.	A Deputation sent to Hardy.	The Result.	Parting Shots.
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rock. Their hiding-place was revealed by a lad, and at about nine o'clock the powder was placed in care of Captain Holmes. The cannon was dragged by oxen to the blacksmith-shop of Mr. Cobb, the spiking taken out, and then it was drawn back again to the little redoubt and placed in position. To the astonishment of the British, it reopened fire vigorously. The gun was always double-shotted, and so telling were its missiles that by noon the *Dispatch* was so much injured that she slipped her cables and hauled off to a place of safety. The *Terror* kept throwing shells until night, but she was out of reach of the little battery.

During the day quite a number of militia assembled at Stonington, and General Isham took chief command. Order was soon restored, and many of the inhabitants, somewhat reassured, came back to their homes. During the afternoon, a deputation, consisting of Colonel Williams and William Lord, went with a flag to the *Ramillies* as bearers of a note from the authorities of the borough (signed Amos Denison, burgess, and William Lord, magistrate), in which Hardy was informed that all unoffending inhabitants had left the village, and asked what was to be the fate of the place. They gave him assurances that no torpedoes had been fitted out from that port, and that none should be in the future; and he agreed to cease hostilities and spare the town on condition that they should send on board the flag-ship, by eight o'clock the next morning, Mrs. Stewart, a resident of New London, and wife of James Stewart, the late British consul at that place, who was then in the squadron. The deputation returned, and the *Ramillies* and *Pactolus* took station within cannon-shot of the village to await an answer, Hardy having threatened, in the event of noncompliance with his demand, to lay the village in ruins.

At eight o'clock on the morning of the 11th, the authorities, under the direction of General Isham, sent a message to Commodore Hardy,¹ saying (what he already knew) that the borough of Stonington had no power to comply with the requisition. "I will wait till twelve o'clock to-day," said Hardy, "and if the lady shall not be on board my ship at that hour I shall renew the assault on the town."

At three o'clock the *Terror* resumed the bombardment, and threw shells until evening. A sufficient military force had now arrived to prevent the landing of the enemy, but they could do his shipping no harm.

The night of the 11th was an anxious one for the inhabitants of Stonington. There was an ominous quietude on the water. It was broken at sunrise,^a when the *Terror* opened her mortars again. The *Ramillies* and *Pactolus* warped up near the town, and at eight o'clock opened fire. At this time an order was given by General Isham for the cannon on the Point to be removed to the north end of the town, where it was supposed the enemy would attempt to land. About twenty of the Norwich artillery, under Lieutenant Lathrop, volunteered to perform that perilous service. They did so without the slightest accident.

In the mean time the *Ramillies* and *Pactolus* had given three tremendous broadsides with spiteful vigor, which proved to be a parting salute, and quite harmless. They then withdrew, but the *Terror* kept up a bombardment until past noon. At four o'clock the assailants all withdrew, and the little squadron anchored far away toward Fisher's Island.²

During this whole series of assaults not a single life was lost. One person was mortally wounded,³ and five or six slightly. Among the latter was Lieutenant

¹ It was signed Isaac Williams, William Lord, Alexander G. Smith, magistrates; John Smith, ward; George Hubbard, Amos Denison, burgesses.

² Perkins's *History, etc., of the last War*; Reverend Frederick Denison's paper on the *Bombardment of Stonington*, in *The Mystic Pioneer*; Oral statements to me by Captain Jeremiah Holmes; Report of General Cushing.

³ This was Frederick Denison, from Mystic Bridge, a highly-respected young man, nineteen years of age, who was in the battery with Captain Holmes. While outside of the battery relieving the match-rope with which to fire the old cannon, he was struck by a ball from the *Dispatch*, which shattered his knee. He lingered in pain many weeks, and then died. Over his grave was placed a stone with the following inscription: "If thy country's freedom is dear to thee, contemplate here congenial virtue. His life was short, but its sacrifice deserves a grateful recollection. His

Effects of the Bombardment at Stonington. The Numbers engaged in the Affair. The Impotency of the Attack.



THE COBB HOUSE.

Hough. About forty buildings were more or less injured, and two or three were nearly ruined. The rockets and shells set several of them on fire, but the flames were extinguished. Among the four houses then on the Point, only one remained unaltered when I visited the spot in 1860. This was known as the "Cobb House." It was ancient in form, covered on the sides with shingles instead of clap-boards, and presenting many a scar of wounds received during the bombardment. It stood on Water Street, not far from the site of the battery, and was owned in 1814 by Elkanah Cobb. Of my visit at Stonington and in its vicinity in the autumn of 1860 I shall write presently.

The repulse of the British at Stonington was one of the most gallant affairs of the war, and the spirit there shown by the few who conducted the defense caused Hardy and his commanders to avoid all farther attempts to capture or destroy Connecticut sea-port towns. The assailing squadron had about fifteen hundred men, while the number actually engaged in driving them away did not exceed twenty.¹ It was computed that the British hurled no less than fifty tons of metal on to the little peninsula during the three days.² The loss to the British was twenty lives, over fifty wounded, and the expenditure of ten thousand pounds sterling. The affair spread a feeling of joy throughout the whole country, and the result was a deep mortification of British pride. The impotence of the attack was the point of many a squib and epigram.³

Hardy's easy conquest at Eastport and its vicinity encouraged the British to attempt the seizure of the whole country lying between Passamaquoddy Bay and the

body moulders beneath this stone, but his spirit has fled to the seat of immortality.

"There the brave youth, with love of virtue fired,
Who gallantly in his country's cause expired,
Shall know he conquered."

In 1856 the State of Connecticut caused a handsome marble monument, eighty feet in height, to be erected over his grave in the cemetery at Mystic, on which are the following inscriptions:

Eastern Side: "Frederick Denison, died Nov. 1, 1814, aged 19. He was mortally wounded by a shot from the enemy's brig-of-war *Dispatch* while acting as a volunteer in the defense of Stonington against the attack of the British squadron, August 10, 1814." *Northern Side:* "Erected by the State of Connecticut, 1856, that the deed of patriotic devotion may be handed down to other generations, inspiring them with fidelity to our liberties, and prompting them to such sacrifices as shall win their country's meed." *Southern Side:* "His life was his legacy, and his country his heir." The tablet with the earlier inscription was lying near this monument.



DENISON'S MONUMENT.

Young Denison was born in Stonington township on the 27th of December, 1795. He heard the roar and saw the smoke of battle from Mystic on the morning of the 10th, and, borrowing a gun, he crossed the river in a canoe, stopped a moment to speak with his sick father at the homestead, and hastened to the post of danger, where he received his death-blow.

¹ The following are the names which have been preserved of the most prominent of the defenders of Stonington: Jeremiah Helmes, George Fellows, Simon Haley, Amos Denison, J. Deane Gallup, Isaac Minor, Isaac Denison, Horatio Williams, Jeremiah Haley, Asa Lee, William Lord, Nathaniel Clift, Ebenezer Denison, Frederick Denison, — Potter, John Miner.

² About fifteen tons were picked up by the inhabitants of Stonington, and sold to the United States government. The following advertisement appeared in a New York paper on the 19th of November following:

"Just received, and offered for sale, about THREE TONS of BROWN SNOW, consisting of 6, 9, 12, 18, 24, and 32 pounds, very handsome, being a small proportion which were fired from his Britannic majesty's ships on the unoffending inhabitants of Stonington in the recent brilliant attack on that place. Likewise a few carcasses, in good order, weighing about 200 pounds each. Apply to S. THURMELL, 41 Peck Slip."

³ The occasion was the theme of one of the most popular ballads of the time, written by Philip Freneau, the bard of the Revolution, in which the impotence of the attack was set forth in the following verses:

"The bombardiers, with bomb and ball,
Soon made a farmer's barrack fall,
And did a cow-house sadly maul
That stood a mile from Stonington.

"They killed a goose, they killed a hen,
Three hogs they wounded in a pen—

They dashed away—and, pray, what then?
That was not taking Stonington.

"The shells were thrown, the rockets flew,
But not a shell of all they threw,
Though every house was full in view,
Could burn a house in Stonington."

A British land and naval Expedition leaves Halifax.

It appears off Castine, at the Mouth of the Penobscot.

Penobscot River. For this purpose a British fleet, consisting of the *Bulwark*, *Dragon*, and *Spencer*, 74 guns each; the frigates *Bacchante* (late from the Mediterranean) and *Tenedos*; sloop-of-war *Sylph* and *Peruvian*; and schooner *Picton*, with ten transports, sailed from Halifax on the 26th of August, 1814.¹ The latter bore almost four thousand troops, under the command of Lieutenant General Sir John Cope Sherbrooke, governor of Nova Scotia, assisted by Major General Gerard Gosselin and Colonel Douglass. The fleet was in command of Rear Admiral Edward Griffith.

It was the intention of Sherbrooke and Griffith when they sailed to stop and take possession of Machias; but on the 30th² they learned from the commander of the brig *Rifleman*, with whom they fell in, that the United States corvette *John Adams*, 24, Captain Morris, had gone up the Penobscot, so they hastened to the mouth of that river to blockade her. Passing up the Green Island channel, they arrived in the fine harbor of Castine, off Cape Bigaduce,² on which the pleasant village of Castine now lies, on the morning of the 1st of September. Lieutenant Lewis, of the United States Army, with about forty men, was occupying a half-moon redoubt



J. C. Sherbrooke



HALF-MOON REDOUBT.—FORT PORTER.³

which the Americans had erected in 1808. That redoubt, whose embankments were

¹ The troops consisted of the 1st company of Royal Artillery; two rifle companies of the 7th battalion of the Sixtieth Regiment; detachments from the Twenty-ninth, Sixty-second, and Ninety-eighth Regiments—the whole divided into two brigades.

² This is a corruption and diminutive of *Majabigouane*, the Indian name of the peninsula, which the Baron Castine, of whom I shall presently write, wrote *Marché-biguinus*, the *u* in the last syllable being pronounced long. It is on the east side of Penobscot Bay, in full view of the ocean.

³ The engraving is a view of the remains of the Half-moon Redoubt as it appeared when I visited the spot in the autumn of 1860, looking southward. On the extreme left, in the distance, are Noddie's Island, Cape Rozier, and Hook's Island. Directly over the redoubt is seen the ocean; on the right, the main, with a portion of the Camden Mountains. A little to the right of the redoubt is seen a small beacon at the entrance to the *Marché-biguine*, or Castine Creek. This redoubt was to command that entrance.

very conspicuous on the edge of the water southward of the village when the writer was there in 1860, was armed with four 24-pounders and two field-pieces. Lieutenant Colonel Nichols, of the Royal Engineers, who had been sent in a small schooner to reconnoitre, sent a summons to Lewis, at sunrise, to surrender. Lewis saw that resistance would be vain, so he resolved to flee. He gave Nichols a volley from his 24-pounders, then spiked them, blew up the redoubt, and, with the field-pieces, he and the garrison fled over the high peninsula to its neck, and escaped up the Penobscot. Colonel Douglass immediately landed from the fleet at the back of the peninsula with a detachment of Royal Artillery and two companies of riflemen, and took quiet possession of Castine, and with it the control of Penobscot Bay. The number of troops landed was about six hundred. Governor Sherbrooke made the house of Judge Nelson his head-quarters, and the court-house and other suitable buildings were occupied as barracks for the soldiers. A number of women also were lauded.¹

The *John Adams* had just arrived from a successful cruise, and on entering Penobscot Bay in thick weather had struck a rock and received so much injury that it was found necessary to lay her down for repairs. She was taken as far out of harm's way as possible. It was with great difficulty that she was kept afloat until she reached Hampden, a few miles below Bangor, when she was moored at Crosby's Wharf, with several feet of water in her hold. Some of her crew were disabled by scurvy, and she was almost helpless. This condition and position of the *Adams* was made known to Sherbrooke on landing at Castine, and he and Griffith immediately detached a land and naval force to seize or destroy that vessel, and treat the inhabitants of the towns on the Penobscot as circumstances might seem to require. The expedition consisted

Robt. Barrie

of the *Sylph* and *Peruvian*, a small schooner as a tender, the transport brig *Harmony*, and nine launches, commanded by Captain Robert Barrie, of the Royal Navy (commander of the *Dragon*, 74), who acted as commodore. The land forces,

seven hundred strong, were under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Henry John, assisted by Major Riddle. The expedition sailed in the afternoon of the day of the
 • September 1, arrival at Castine,^a and, passing Buckston at twilight, anchored for the
 1814. night in Marsh Bay. In the mean time Sherbrooke and Griffith had issued a joint proclamation, assuring the inhabitants of their intention to take possession of the country between the Penobscot and Passamaquoddy, and offering them protection on condition of acquiescence. All persons taken in arms were to be punished, and those who should supply the British with provisions should be paid and protected.

There was no disposition among the inhabitants along the Penobscot to submit quietly unless absolutely compelled to. On the day when the expedition sailed up the river, information of the fact was conveyed by express to Captain Morris, at Castine, and he at once sent word to Brigadier General John Blake, at his home in Brewer, opposite Bangor, asking him to call out the militia immediately.

Blake mounted his horse, and late in the afternoon was at Bangor, issuing orders for the assembling of the brigade of



GENERAL BLAKE'S RESIDENCE.

¹ On the 1st and 5th of September Sherbrooke and Griffith issued joint proclamations assuring the inhabitants ample protection and quietude if they should conduct themselves peaceably.

The *John Adams* at Hampden.

Preparations there to oppose the British.

Gathering of the Militia.

the tenth Massachusetts division, of which he was commander, and the same evening he rode down to Hampden. There he found Captain Morris engaged in preparations for defense. He had dismantled the *John Adams*, dragged her heavy guns to the summit of the high right bank of the Soadabscook, fifty rods from the wharf, and placed them in battery there, so as to command the river approaches from below. On the following morning Blake held a consultation with Morris, and citizens of Bangor and Hampden, on the best methods of defense, but opinions were so various that no specific determination was arrived at. Morris had not much confidence in the militia, and declined any immediate co-operation with them. He approved of a proposition to meet the foe at his landing-place, wherever that might be, and expressed his resolution to destroy the *Adams* should the militia retreat.

On the morning of the 2d, Belfast, on the western side of Penobscot Bay, was taken possession of by General Gosselin, at the head of six hundred troops, without resistance; and, at the same time, the expedition under Barrie and John, after landing a detachment from the Sixtieth and Ninety-eighth Regiments at Frankfort, at the head of Marsh Bay, proceeded up the river. The detachment marched up the western side of the Penobscot unmolested, and the little squadron arrived at Bald Hill Cove, near Hampton, at five o'clock in the evening. The troops and about eighty marines were landed, and bivouacked there during the night in the midst of a drenching rain-storm.

During the 2d, about six hundred raw militia, who had never seen any thing more like war than their own annual parade, assembled at Hampden, and General Blake posted them in an admirable position on the brow of the hill, where the residence of Mr. James A. Swett was standing when I visited Hampden in 1860. He had been joined by Lieutenant Lewis and forty regulars who fled from Castine. The artillery company of Blake's brigade, commanded by Captain Hammond, was there with two brass 3-pounders; and an iron 18-pound carronade from Morris's vessel was placed in battery in the highway near the meeting-house, in charge of Mr. Bent, of the artillery. Many of the militia were without weapons and ammunition, and these were supplied, as far as possible, by Captain Morris. Such was Blake's position on the dark and gloomy morning of the 3d.

Morris in the mean time had mounted nine short 18-pounders from the *Adams* upon his redoubt on the high bank over Crosby's Wharf, and placed the battery in charge



GROSBY'S WHARF.

of Lieutenant Wadsworth, the first of the *Adams*, assisted by Lieutenants Madison and Purser. With the remainder of his guns he took position in person on the wharf, with about two hundred seamen and marines and twenty invalids, prepared to defend his crippled ship to the last extremity.

¹ This is a view of Crosby's Wharf from the mouth of the Soadabscook Creek, north side, looking south. The place where the *Adams* lay is indicated by the vessel at the end of the wharf. Hampden is seen in the distance over the wharf. Toward the right is Crosby's old store-house, and the cleared spot to the right and above it is the place where Morris's battery was planted. It is the property of the Honorable Hannibal Hamlin, late (1864) Vice-President of the United States. Another store-house, like the one seen in the picture, stood on the end of the wharf, and was burnt when the *John Adams* was destroyed.

The British arrive at Hampden.

Panic and Flight of the Militia.

The British march on Bangor.

The whole region of the Penobscot was enveloped in a dense fog on the morning of the 3d. The British at Bald Hill Cove had been joined by the detachment who landed at Frankfort, and at five o'clock all were in motion toward Hampden. They moved cautiously in the mist, with a vanguard of riflemen. On the flanks were detachments of marines and sailors, with a 6-pound cannon, a 6½-inch howitzer, and a rocket apparatus. The British vessels moved slowly up the river at the same time, within supporting distance.

Blake had dispatched two flank companies to watch and annoy the approaching enemy. Between seven and eight o'clock they reported them crossing the little stream that divides Hampden Corners from Hampden, and ascending the hill to attack the Americans. The fog was so thick that no enemy could be seen, but Blake pointed his 18-pounder in the direction of the foe, and with his field-pieces blazed away with considerable effect, as was afterward ascertained. He had resolved to reserve his musket-firing until the enemy should be near enough to be seriously hurt, but the ordeal of waiting, without breastworks in front, was too severe for the untried militia. The enemy suddenly advanced at a "double-quick," firing volleys in rapid succession. The militia, panic-stricken, broke and fled in every direction, leaving Blake and his officers alone. Lieutenant Wadsworth, at Morris's upper battery, perceived the disaster in its full extent, and communicated the fact to his chief on the wharf. Morris knew the impending danger. His rear and flank were exposed, and he saw no other way for salvation than flight. He ordered Wadsworth to spike his guns, and with his men retreat across the bridge over the Soadabscook while it was yet open, for that stream was fordable only at low water, and the tide was rising. Wadsworth did so, his rear gallantly covered by Lieutenant Watson with some marines. The *John Adams* was fired at the same time, the guns on the wharf were spiked, and the men under the immediate command of Morris retreated across the Soadabscook bridge. Their commander was the last man to leave the wharf. Before he could reach the bridge the enemy were on the bank above him. He dashed across the stream, arm-pit deep, under a galling musket-firing from the British, unhurt, and, joining his friends on the other side, retreated, with Blake, his officers, and a bare remnant of his command, to Bangor. From there Morris soon made his way to Portland overland.

The British took possession of Hampden without farther resistance, and a part of their force, about five hundred strong, with their vessels, pushed on toward Bangor. They met a flag of truce a mile from the town, with a message from the magistrates asking terms of capitulation. No other was



¹ Charles Morris was born in Woodstock, Connecticut, on the 20th of July, 1784. He was one of the most useful men in the American Navy. He entered the service as midshipman in July, 1799, and from that day until his death, a period of fifty-seven years, his furlongs and absences from active duty amounted only to two years. He was distinguished in the Mediterranean during the wars with the Barbary powers; and as a volunteer with Decatur in the de-

P plundering at Bangor.	Destruction of Vessels.	Outrages at Hampden.	Commodore Morris.
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promised excepting respect for private property. They entered the village at about ten o'clock,¹ when Commodore Barrie gave notice that, if required, supplies should be cheerfully sent in, the inhabitants should be unharmed in persons and property. This assurance was scarcely uttered before Barrie gave tacit license to his sailors to plunder as much as they pleased; and almost every store on the western side of the Kenduskeag Creek, which there enters the Penobscot, was robbed of all valuable property. Colonel John, on the contrary, did all in his power to protect the inhabitants.

The British remained at Bangor thirty-one hours, during which time they were quartered on the inhabitants, and compelled them not only to bring in and surrender all their arms, military stores, and public property of every kind—even a few dollars in the post-office—but to report themselves prisoners of war for parole, with the agreement that they would not take up arms against the British. They compelled General Blake to come to Bangor, surrender himself as a prisoner, and sign the same parole. One hundred and ninety citizens were thus bound to keep themselves from hostilities. When this work was accomplished, the selectmen were required to give a bond, in the penal sum of \$30,000, as a guaranty for the delivery of vessels on the stocks at Bangor to the commander at Castine by the end of October. The speedy appearance of peace canceled this bond.

Having finished their work, and despoiled the inhabitants of property valued at \$23,000, and destroyed several vessels,² the marauders left Bangor, and spent the 5th in similar employment at Hampden. There the soldiers and sailors, unrebuked by Barrie, performed scenes which had been enacted at Havre de Grace under the eye of Cockburn. They committed the most wanton acts of destruction. The village meeting-house (now the town-house—see engraving, next page) was desolated. They tore up the Bible and Psalm-books, and demolished the pulpit and pews. They destroyed cattle and hogs as at Havre de Grace. They carried away much private property, and compelled the selectmen to sign a bond for \$12,000 as a guaranty for the delivery of vessels at Hampden to the commander at Castine.³ This bond shared

struction of the *Philadelphia*, he was the first on her deck. He was a lieutenant when the War of 1812 broke out, and was the executive officer of the *Constitution* at the time of her escape from a British squadron (see page 49), and her capture of the *Guerricre*. In that action he was shot through the body by a musket-ball. He was promoted to post captain in September, 1813, for special services, and took command of the *John Adams* sloop-of-war. The following year, as we have seen in the text, he was compelled to destroy his vessel. The war closed soon afterward, and he was employed in important services. He was captain of the *Brandwine* when she conveyed La Fayette back to France in 1825, and he afterward commanded squadrons on the Brazil and Mediterranean stations. His last cruise was in the *Delaware* in 1844, after which he was almost continually at the head of one of the bureaus in the Navy Department at Washington. At the time of his death, which occurred at Washington on the 27th of January, 1856, he was chief of the Bureau of Hydrography and Repairs. No man in the navy ever stood higher in the estimation of his countrymen for wisdom and integrity. He was buried, with appropriate honors, upon a beautiful wooded slope in Oak Hill Cemetery, near Georgetown, in the District of Columbia, and over his grave is a beautiful white marble monument, delineated in the engraving, with this simple inscription on its western side, under an anchor entwined: "COM. CHARLES MORRIS. BORN JULY 26, 1784. DIED JANUARY 27, 1856."

¹ The number of vessels burned was fourteen, and six were carried away. The entire property destroyed or carried away from Bangor was valued at \$46,000.—Williamson's *History of Maine*, II., 648, note 4.

² *History of Acadie, Penobscot Bay and River, etc.*, by Joseph Whipple, 1810; *MS. History of the British Operations on the Penobscot*, by the late William D. Williamson, author of a *History of the State of Maine*.



COMMODORE MORRIS'S MONUMENT.

Loss of Property at Hampden.

General Blake censured, but acquitted.

Castine in the Revolution.



OLD MEETING-HOUSE (NOW TOWN-HOUSE), HAMPDEN.²

the fate of the one given at Bangor. The total loss of property at Hampden, exclusive of a valuable cargo of brandy, wine, oil, and silk which they found on board the schooner *Commodore Decatur*, was estimated at \$44,000.¹

The indignant sufferers charged a greater portion of

their misfortunes to the feeble resistance made by General Blake at Hampden. His tardiness; his non-compliance with the wishes of Morris and others to attack the enemy at their landing-place; his neglect to throw up breastworks on the ridge at Hampden, and other evidence of inefficiency, were regarded as crimes; and he was charged with cowardice, and even treason. The clamor against him was vehement for some time. He was hung, shot, and burned in effigy;³ and for a while his personal safety was not considered secure in some districts. The public indignation finally cooled, and sober judgment, on considering the crude materials of his little force, acquitted him of every other fault but a lack of competent military ability and experience for the extraordinary occasion. A court of inquiry investigated his conduct, and acquitted him of censure or suspicion.⁴

On the 12th of September Sherbrooke and Griffith, with most of the troops and a greater part of the fleet, left Penobscot Bay, and, after capturing Machias,⁵ returned to Halifax. General Gerard Gosselin, a gentleman in manners and a brave soldier, was left in command at Castine, and immediately prepared to maintain his position by thoroughly repairing the fortifications there. Old Fort George, in the centre of the peninsula, which was built by the British in 1779,⁶ was repaired, fraised, and

¹ In the midst of the rapine a committee waited on Barrie, and told him that the people expected at his hands the common safeguards of *humanity*, if nothing more, when the brutal officer replied, "I have none for you. My business is to burn, sink, and destroy. Your town is taken by storm, and by the rules of war we ought both to lay your village in ashes and put its inhabitants to the sword. But I will spare your lives, though I don't mean to spare your houses." — *Williamson's History of Maine*, ii., 646.

² This is a view of the old meeting-house, now used as a town-house, as it appeared in the autumn of 1860. On the left is seen the old hearse-house, and in the distance is seen the dwelling of Mr. Swett, mentioned on page 892 as the position of General Blake when attacked by the British on the morning of the 3d of September.

³ A small building was yet standing in Hampden when I was there in 1860, in which the effigy of General Blake was made. It was a cabinet-maker's shop, the property of George C. Reed, standing about ninety rods from the town-house. In one corner of it I saw a post into which a cannon-ball entered during the action, and was still lodged. In the shop was a rude candelabra, used on the occasion of exhibiting the effigy. That shop is one of the scarred relics of the fight, and is represented in the annexed engraving.

⁴ *Williamson's History of Maine*, ii., 649.

⁵ Machias is on the west branch of the Machias River, and capital of Washington County, Maine. At the time we are considering, the fort at that place was garrisoned by fifty United States troops and ten militia, under the command of Captain Leonard. When the British appeared, and it was evident that the fort could not be held, it was blown up, and the garrison retreated to the block-house near. They were forced to fly from that, and escaped.

⁶ In 1779, the British, under General Francis M'Lean, took possession of the peninsula of Blandage (see note 2, page 897), and commenced the erection of a fort on the high central part of the land. The people of Massachusetts resolved to expel them, for they were on their territory, Maine being then a dependent of the Old Bay State. They sent a fleet of nineteen armed vessels and twenty-four transports, with almost four thousand men. Commodore Saltonstall was the naval commander, and General Lovell led the troops. M'Lean was informed of this expedition four days before its arrival in Penobscot Bay, and prepared to receive the Americans. They arrived on the 25th of July, and landed on the 28th. They at once commenced a siege of the fort, and continued it until the 13th of August, when Lovell was informed of the arrival of Sir George Collier with a heavy naval force. He immediately re-embarked his troops on the transports, and had the flotilla drawn up in crescent form across the Penobscot, to dispute the passage until the troops in the boats could flee up the river. Collier sailed boldly in, chased the Americans up the river, destroyed all their vessels, and compelled them to find their way home through the wilderness. The British then completed the fort, which they named *George*, in honor of the king.

The Twenty-ninth British Regiment, that was at the taking of Castine, was the same that was stalled at Boeslog



REED'S SHOP.

New military Works at Castine.

An Oath of Allegiance exacted.

Popularity of General Gosselin.

armed. The half-moon redoubt was rebuilt. In various parts of the peninsula new works were thrown up;¹ and through the Neck, from Hatch's Cove to Perkins's Back Cove, a canal was cut. General Gosselin issued a proclamation,² by which he directed all the male inhabitants between the Penobscot and the boundary-line of New Brunswick, above sixteen years of age, to take an oath of allegiance to his majesty,³ and also of neutrality. By the latter they agreed that they would peaceably and quietly demean and conduct themselves while in that territory; that they would not carry arms, harbor British deserters, nor give intelligence to the king's enemies during the current war.⁴ The selectmen of different towns were authorized to administer these oaths of allegiance and neutrality; and the permanent occupation of the country by the British was quietly accepted by the inhabitants as an inevitable necessity.



REMAINS OF FORT GEORGE.

Gerard Gosselin



arms, harbor British deserters, nor give intelligence to the king's enemies during the current war.⁵ The selectmen of different

towns were authorized to administer these oaths of allegiance and neutrality; and the permanent occupation of the country by the British was quietly accepted by the inhabitants as an inevitable necessity.

General Gosselin made himself very popular at Castine. The officers were quartered in private houses, and paid fairly for all they received from the inhabitants.⁶ The soldiers were housed in the court-house and public school building. The barn of Mr. Hook, the collector of the port,⁷ was converted into a theatre, and play-actors from Halifax afforded much amusement. Had these new-comers been friends instead of enemies, the inhabitants of Castine would have enjoyed their visit, notwithstanding the citizens suffered many inconveniences. It was not very long. Peace was proclaimed early in 1815, and on the 25th of April⁸ the British sailed out of Penobscot Bay.⁹ The event was celebrated by the people with festivities

at the time of the "massacre" there in 1778. The celebrated Sir John Moore, whose burial was the subject of Wolfe's immortal poem, commencing

"Not a gun was heard, nor a funeral note," etc.,

was an ensign in this regiment, and, in a letter to a friend, said that the first time he ever heard an enemy's gun was at Castine on the occasion in question. He then commanded a picket.

¹ The following defensive works garnished the peninsula at the close of the year: Fort George; batteries Sherbrooke, Gosselin, Penobscot, Griffith, Furiense, Castine, and United States; a redoubt called Fort Anne; little batteries on North and West Points, and a block-house. Battery Castine was old Fort Castine, now in the village, and Battery United States was the half-moon redoubt blown up by Lewis. It was originally called Fort Porter, it having been constructed by an officer of that name in 1808.

² The following was the form of the oath of allegiance, copied from an original, in manuscript, before me:

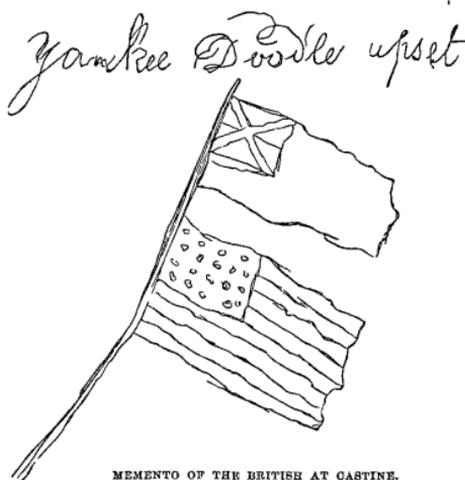
"I, A. B., do swear that I will be faithful, and bear true allegiance to his majesty King George the Third. So help me God."

³ The seal and signature of General Gosselin above given I copied from his proclamation in manuscript.

⁴ See note 1, page 904.

⁵ Mr. Hook had the good fortune to escape from Castine with the public papers before the British landed.

⁶ *History of Acadia, Penobscot Bay and River*, by Joseph Whipple, 1816; *History of the State of Maine*, by William D. Williams, in two volumes, 1-32; *MS. Narrative of the War in Maine*, placed in the author's hands by the Hon. Joseph Williamson, of Belfast; Oral and written statements to the author by Dr. John Mason and the widow of the Rev. Wil-



MEMENTO OF THE BRITISH AT CASTINE.

and rejoicings. Within a few days afterward not an armed enemy remained westward of the St. Croix River and Passamaquoddy Bay. Peace, joy, tranquillity, and prosperity came with the birds and blossoms in the spring of 1815; and from that day until now no foreign enemy has ever appeared on our coast with hostile intentions, and probably never will.¹

I visited most of the places mentioned in this chapter in the month of November, 1860. Leaving New York in the afternoon of the 16th, I arrived in Boston at midnight, and spent three days there visiting men and places associated with the War of 1812, in company with a friend,² to whom I had been indebted for kind attentions and information while

seeking materials for my *Pictorial Field-book of the Revolution* twelve years before.

In East Boston³ we visited Mr. Samuel Dillaway, who was a soldier and a privateer in the war. He was captured on board the privateer *Sine qua non*, put into a prison-ship at Gibraltar, sent to England, and finally exchanged. He informed us that the authorities in charge of the exchange of prisoners, and sending them in *cartel* ships to America, generally subjected their victims to as much annoyance as possible. They were in the habit of sending prisoners whose homes were in the Northern States to some Southern port, and those from Southern States to Northern ports. This produced exasperation, and in many instances the prisoners rose and took possession of the ship. That was the case when Mr. Dillaway came in the brig *Shakespeare*. The captain was ordered to a Southern port. The prisoners took possession of the ship and sailed her into Boston.

We went to the site of Fort Strong, in East Boston,⁴ saw some of its remaining mounds, and then started to visit Fort Warren, on Governor's Island, which became famous as a prison for political offenders during the late Civil War. The sea was too rough for a skiff, and we contented ourselves with gazing at the venerable fortress from the highest part of East Boston. We turned, and in a two-wheeled chaise rode over to Charlestown, dined with Mr. Frothingham, the accomplished author of *The Siege of Boston*,⁵ who then lived in the shadow of Bunker's Hill Monument, on Monument Square, and with him visited Mr. Byron, one of the last survivors of the crew of the frigate *Constitution*. He was a Baltimorean and a musician. He entered the land service, but, preferring the sea, became a fier on board the *Constitution*, and was made a "minute-man;" that is to say, one ready to fight at a moment's warning. As such he fought gallantly in the actions of that vessel, and was highly commended by his superiors. Mr. Byron was lively and fluent in conversation, and entertained us for an hour with grave and humorous narratives of his experience in the service. He has passed away since my visit.

Hiam Mason, of Bangor; Major Crosby and Mrs. Stetson, of Hampden; Dr. Joseph L. Stevens and Samuel T. Noyes, of Castine, and Judge Williams, of Belfast.

¹ A curious memento of the British at Castine was yet in existence when I visited that place in 1860. It was an outline of the British flag above that of the American flag, and the words "Yankee Doodle upset," cut by Lieutenant Elliot, of the British Army, with a diamond on a window-pane in the house of Mrs. Whitney, where some of the officers were quartered. That pane of glass was the only one in the sash at the time of my visit that was not badly cracked. The above engraving is a fac-simile of the diamond-etching, slightly reduced.

² Noddle's Island. It contained 25,000 inhabitants in 1860.

³ Frederick Kidder, Esq.

⁴ Page 802.

⁵ *History of the Siege of Boston*, etc., by Richard Frothingham, Jun.

Forts Pickering and Lee.

Salem Harbor and its Surroundings.

Situation of Marblehead.



FORT PICKERING, NEAR SALEM, IN 1800.

and South Rivers, as the estuaries are called which embrace the peninsula. Its embankments, composed of earth and stone, excepting the brick wall in the rear (see picture on page 891), were about eight feet in height, and well preserved. The officers' quarters (seen on the right), built of brick, and shaded by balm of Gilead trees, were well preserved. There the keeper, Sergeant Reuben Cahoon, resided. He was seventy-one years of age when I was there. He was a soldier on the Northern frontier in 1812, and yet

carried a ball in his leg which he received at the battle of Plattsburg. His wife was his only companion.

Not far from Fort Pickering we passed the remains of Fort Lee, near the house of Mr. Welch, at the western end of the causeway leading to Winter Island. It was an irregular work, built at the beginning of the War of 1812, and occupied a very commanding position, especially as the guardian of Beverly Harbor. It also commanded Salem Harbor, in a degree. From its mounds, now eight or ten feet in height, we obtained fine views of Salem, Beverly, and the whole outer harbor. The water which it was chiefly designed to watch over and protect was the estuary called Bass River. It extends up to Danvers, or Old Salem Village,¹ and was the one spanned by the famous "Leslie Bridge"² of the Revolution.



REMAINS OF FORT LEE, SALEM.

Returning to Salem, we rode out to Marblehead. After passing a fine avenue skirted with lofty elms, we crossed the Forest River, near the Forest City Mills, and, ascending the gentle slope of Marblehead promontory, soon came to the village lying at the head of a bay in which there is a good harbor. The village is situated among rocks, and the street lines are so irregular in some places that it appears as if the houses might have dropped from the clouds, and the ways among them had been laid out afterward. It was quite natural for the celebrated Whitefield, on entering the

¹ At Danvers Governor Endicott and his associates made the first settlement in 1628. There was the scene of "Salem Witchcraft," and there the famous General Israel Putnam was born. A pear-tree planted by Governor Endicott yet (1867) bears fruit. It was planted at about the time the Stuyvesant pear-tree in the city of New York, that died in 1866, was brought from Holland.

² See Lossing's *Field-book of the Revolution*, II, 374, note 2.

Fort Sewall and its Keeper,

A Family of Soldiers.

Marblehead during the Revolution.

town, and seeing no verdure as indicative of soil, to inquire, "Pray, where do they bury their dead?"¹ It was inhabited chiefly because of its advantages and convenience as a fishing port, a character which it has always borne.² Its trade was almost wholly destroyed during the Revolution,³ but it revived soon afterward.



MARBLEHEAD HARBOR.¹

The harbor of Marblehead is quite spacious, with many rocky islands at its entrance. On the high promontory near the village was Fort Sewall, built in the year 1800,

and rebuilt early in the War of 1812. When I visited it Mrs. Maria T. Perkins was the United States Agent in charge of the property there, having been a resident of Fort Sewall since 1835. She was an energetic woman, and with the greatest courtesy she received and entertained us. On the floor of one of her rooms was a carpet of which she was justly proud. It was made entirely of the clothes of her father (Sergeant Stephen Twist,



FORT SEWALL.²

of the Continental Army) and her two brothers, worn by them during the War of 1812. They were ever afterward in the military service of the United States up to 1857.⁴ She was engaged in piecing it during twenty years. The carpet was woven by Mrs. Perkins and her daughter, in Fort Sewall, a few months before my visit, and took a premium at a Fair in Boston.

On returning to Salem I had the pleasure of meeting Dr. Benjamin F. Browne, a native of that place, who entered the naval service as surgeon's mate in the privateer *Alfred*, in September, 1812, when he was only nineteen years of age. While in the schooner *Frolic*, in the West Indies, he was captured, taken to Barbadoes, sent to En-

¹ Barber's *Historical Collections of Massachusetts*, page 291, note.

² A hundred years ago there were between thirty and forty ships, scows, and topsail-schooners owned in Marblehead, and engaged in foreign trade; and in 1770 it contained a greater number of inhabitants than any town in Massachusetts excepting Boston.

³ The inhabitants were very patriotic. In 1774, when the port of Boston was closed by order of Parliament, the inhabitants offered the use of their harbor to the Boston merchants. They also furnished an entire regiment, fully officered, for the Continental Army. Elbridge Gerry, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, was born at Marblehead.

⁴ This sketch was made from the gravelly beach. On the left is seen Fort Sewall, and on the extreme right, in the distance, Marblehead Point. Toward the left, and extending behind Fort Sewall, is seen Lowell Island.

⁵ In this view, from the entrance to the fort, with back to the harbor, is seen the row of bomb-proof casemates, with arched windows and doors. Above them is seen the officers' quarters, built of brick, in which Mrs. Perkins resided.

⁶ The aggregate time of military service by her father and two brothers was about one hundred years.



Benjn. F. Browne

gland, and confined six months in the notorious Dartmoor prison, of which I shall write hereafter. The cartel ship *Anne*, in which he was sent home, was ordered to Norfolk. Most of the prisoners were from New England and New York. They seized the ship, and sailed into New York in June, 1815. Dr. Browne was in the Dartmoor prison at the time of the massacre there, and published an interesting sketch of it in the *Democratic Review*, 1845.¹ The prisoners were chiefly privateersmen, and a very large proportion of them were from New England. He furnished me with a list of the names of more than one hundred survivors known to be living in the vicinity of Salem at the time of my visit.

In the evening I had an interview with Mr. William Leavitt, a teacher of navigation at Salem, who was living there during the war, and saw the *Constitution* chased into Marblehead by the

British frigates *Junon* and *Tenedos*, early in April, 1814. Mr. Leavitt was a careful investigator and chronicler; and he furnished me with a most interesting list of all the privateers fitted out at Salem during the war, and of the names, armament, tonnage, commanders, etc., of all the prizes taken by them during that period.

I passed the night at Salem, returned to Boston the next day, and toward evening departed on a visit to the theatre of the stirring historic scenes on the Penobscot Bay and River, in Maine, in the year 1814. I traveled on the Eastern Railway to Portland, one hundred and seven miles, where I embarked for Belfast, at ten o'clock in the evening, in the steamer *Daniel Webster*. It was a rough and stormy night on the Atlantic, but we made the voyage of one hundred and thirty miles in good time. When we entered Penobscot Bay at dawn, the storm-clouds had passed away, and the sun shone out brilliantly when we landed at Belfast between seven and eight

* November 19, 1869. o'clock in the morning.² Soon after breakfast I sailed in the little packet *Spy* (formerly a Boston pilot-boat), with raking masts and schooner-rigged, for Castine, on the eastern side of Penobscot Bay. A stiff breeze had sprung up from the northwest, and before it we ran across the bay, thirteen miles, in little more than an hour. It was an exhilarating voyage. We entered the picturesque harbor of Castine at eleven o'clock, and, after a pleasant and profitable interview with Dr. Joseph L. Stevens and Samuel T. Noyes, Esq. (the former a physician and the latter a ship-builder of Castine), I rambled over the interesting peninsula with an intelligent lad who was familiar with the historical localities. A portion of the peninsula is high, rocky, and covered with evergreens, while its southwestern slope is wet and spongy, bare, and abounding in juniper bushes. The village of Castine is beautifully situated on a slope overlooking several picturesque islands. It is said to be the wealthiest town in Maine in proportion to its size, and is the seat of customs of the Penobscot district.²

¹ Dr. Browne was a member of the Massachusetts Legislature in 1831, and of the State Senate in 1843. He was in the enjoyment of remarkable health, having never been sick in his life.

² Castine is a pleasant town of about fifteen hundred inhabitants, whose principal business is fishing and ship-build-

(then the property of David Sears, of Boston), near the centre of the picture, is seen the mouth of the Penobscot River. On the extreme left, over the cedar-covered point of land called Banks's Head, is seen Belfast, thirteen miles distant.



REMAINS OF FORT GRIFFITH.¹

From Fort George we went down the northwestern slope toward the Neck to the remains of Fort Griffith, one of the larger redoubts built by the British, and named in honor of the English admiral. It was intended to guard the Neck. There was another, called Fort Gosselin in honor of the general, just above the

present bridge over the canal. After sketching the remains of Fort Griffith, we visited those of two or three others, and then hastened back to Castine, and embarked in the *Spy* for Belfast. It was toward evening, and the light wind was directly ahead. The voyage was long and tedious, and it was almost eight o'clock before I was admitted to the comforts of a warm supper at our destined haven, where I had the pleasure of meeting Judge Joseph Williamson, son of the historian of Maine, and to whom I am indebted for valuable information.

On the morning of the 21st I left Belfast for Hampden on the steamer *Sanford*, Captain C. B. Sanford, which plied between Boston and Bangor. The voyage up the Penobscot—the winding, picturesque Penobscot—was a delightful one, and was made particularly instructive to me by Captain Sanford, who kindly pointed out every place and object of interest on the way. Fourteen miles from Belfast we passed Fort Point, a bluff with a lighthouse upon it.²



FORT POINT.

Opposite Bucksport, on the rugged hills, the solid masonry of a stupendous fortifica-

tion, called Fort Knox, in process of erection, was seen, with the small village of Prospect nestled near. A little above we passed Indian Point, made famous as the site of a conflict between the savages and Captain Church, the decapitator of the slain King Philip. Farther on we entered Marsh Bay, in which the British invading squadron lay one night on their way toward Hampden.³ It is an expansion of the Penobscot, and at its head lies the pretty little village of Frankfort. Westward rises the Musquito Mountain, a huge mass of granite, where, it seems, quarrying might be carried on for a thousand years. In Frankfort, McGlathry's store-house was pointed out as the recipient of a British cannon-ball when the invaders landed there in September, 1814;⁴ and about a mile above the landing my attention was called to a thick Norway pine, the only one in that region, which bears the name of "The Bacon Tree." It is a round, compact tree, its short trunk composed apparently of a group of smaller ones, and the limbs so near the ground that it is difficult to get under it.

¹ On the left is seen Banks's Head, on which were batteries. One was named *Furieuse*, as it was armed with cannon taken from a French vessel of that name, by the English. On the right is Brigadier Island and mouth of the Penobscot.

² For the protection of the Penobscot River, Governor Pownall caused a fort to be built on this point in 1795. He made an expedition from Boston for the purpose with three hundred and thirty-three men. It was completed in July at a cost of nearly £5000. It was named Fort Pownall. Some remains of it may yet be seen. It was garrisoned until the Revolution, when it was betrayed into the hands of the British by a Tory commander. ³ Page 898. ⁴ Page 899.

I had a good view of it through a telescope, by which I was enabled to make the annexed sketch. It derived its name from the circumstance that when the British landed, a citizen of Frankfort, having a large quantity of bacon, carried it to this tree, and hung the pieces in the branches to conceal them from the foe. The measure was successful. The British passed along the road a short distance from the tree without observing its savory fruit, and the man saved his bacon. In a cove off Oak Point, two or three miles above Frankfort, we saw the ribs of the *Warren*, one of the Massachusetts vessels destroyed by the British when they took Castine in 1779.¹



THE BACON TREE.

We landed at Hampden at an early hour, and I went immediately in search of the historical localities of that pleasant town. I called on the venerable Mrs. Stetson with a letter of introduction from a friend in Boston. She was then eighty-seven years of age, and lived in a fine old mansion in the Upper Town, not far from the Soadabscook. Her husband was one of the citizens who was confined as a prisoner on board the *Decatur*.² She gave me a most vivid description of events in Hampden at the time of the invasion; and she furnished me with such directions that, with the aid of a young man whom I had engaged to take me to Bangor in a light wagon, I experienced no difficulty in finding all I had come to see. I went down the winding road to the mouth of the Soadabscook, and sketched Crosby's Wharf,³ climbed to the place of Morris's hill battery, and visited the meeting (now town) house and the site of Blake's brief encounter with the invaders near the Lower Town. When these pleasant tasks were accomplished, we dined at the hotel, near which I saw a small building, with a little weather-beaten sign-board over the door, that was innocent of all paint excepting the black letters which composed the name of HANNIBAL HAMLIN. It was the law office⁴ of that distinguished United States Senator, who a few weeks before had been elected Vice-President of the Republic.

At three o'clock in the afternoon I left Hampden for Bangor, following the road which the British traveled in their march to that place.⁵ I spent the remainder of the afternoon in rambling about that fine inland city of the picturesque State of Maine, and was surprised by the great number of schooners that lay in the Penobscot and in the mouth of the Kenduskeag. There were no less than two hundred and thirty. It was the



VIEW AT THE MOUTH OF THE KENDUSKEAG.

¹ Note 6, page 502.

² Crosby's Wharf (see picture on page 899) was erected by General John Crosby, one of the early settlers, who came from Woolwich in 1775. He entered into commercial business there, and carried on an extensive trade with Europe and the West Indies. He was a friend and correspondent of Washington during the Revolution. General Crosby died at Hampden in May, 1843, at the age of eighty-six years. For a more minute account of Hampden and its people, see Coolidge and Mansfield's *History and Description of New England—Maine*.

³ Mr. Hamlin settled in Hampden as a lawyer in the year 1832.

⁴ Bangor is a fine city of about seventeen thousand inhabitants. It is a port of entry and a great lumber dépôt. It is about thirty miles from the mouth of the Penobscot, and was originally called Kenduskeag, from the Indian name of the stream that there enters the river.

⁵ Page 902.

time for these vessels, engaged in the lumber-trade, to lay up for the winter, and they were rapidly filling the stream below the bridge.

I remained in Bangor two days, and spent a greater part of the time in the company and under the hospitable roof of Dr. John Mason. With him I visited places of interest about Bangor; rode over to Brewer, and sketched the residence of General Blake,¹ and spent some time in the humble dwelling of Henry Van Meter, a remarkable black man, then ninety-five years of age. He was a slave to Governor Nelson, of Virginia, during the Revolution, became a seaman in long after years, and was one of the crew of the privateer *Lawrence* which sailed from Baltimore in 1814.² He was captured, sent to Plymouth, and confined in the Dartmoor Prison, where he saw the massacre in the spring of 1815. Van Meter's history, as he related it to me, was an eventful one.³ His mind seemed clear, and his body not very feeble; and when I had finished the annexed sketch of him, he wrote his name, with my pencil, under it, as well as he could without glasses.



Henry Van Meter

[•] November, 1860. I left Bangor on the morning of the 23d,⁴ and, traveling by railway, reached Boston the same evening. A few days afterward, just at twilight, I arrived at New Bedford,⁵ spent the evening with Dr. Charles L. Swasey, and made arrangements for a ride the next morning to the old fort near Fair Haven, across the Acushnet, spoken of on page 889 as having been saved from an attack by the British on a dark night in 1814 by the blast of a postman's tin-horn and the clatter of his horse's hoofs, which frightened them away. A heavy storm of wind and rain arose during the night; nevertheless we made the journey, and at ten o'clock

¹ About a mile and a half above Bangor, on the same side of the Penobscot, was the residence of General Joseph Treat. See note 2, page 807.

² See page 1006.

³ Henry remembered seeing Washington many times. When Governor Nelson's estate was sold after the war to pay his debts, Henry became the property of a planter beyond the Blue Ridge, on the extreme frontier. He was discontented, and wished to leave, notwithstanding his master was kind. He wished Henry to marry one of his slave girls, and raise children for him, offering, if he would do so, to order in his will that he should be made a free man at his death. "I didn't like the gals," said Henry, "and didn't want to 'wait for dead men's shoes.' So master sold me to a man near Lexington, in Kentucky, and there was only one log house in that town when I went there." He was soon sold to one of those vile men engaged in the slave-trading business, who treated him shamefully. Henry mounted one of his master's horses one night, and fled to the Kentucky River, where he turned him loose, and told him to go home if he had a mind to, as he didn't wish to steal him. Some benevolent white people helped him on to the Ohio, and at Cincinnati, then a collection of horses around Fort Washington, he took the name of Van Meter, borne by some of the family of his kind master of the Shenandoah Valley.

Henry became a servant of an officer in St. Clair's army, and served in the company, in the Northwest, with that commander and General Wayne. After the peace in 1795, he was living in Chillicothe, and came East with some Englishmen with horses, by way of Wheeling, to Philadelphia. In the latter city some Quakers sent him to school, and he learned to read and write. When the war broke out he shipped as a common sailor in the privateer *Lawrence*, having previously been to Europe several times in the same capacity, and when cast into Dartmoor he held a prize ticket which was worth, when he got home, one thousand dollars. He let a captain have it as security for sixteen dollars. The man died of yellow fever in the South, and Henry never recovered his ticket.

⁴ The half-shire town of Bristol County, Massachusetts, on the west side of the Acushnet River, an arm of Buzzard's Bay. It is beautifully situated upon rising ground, and is the child of the whale-fishery, that, and other branches connected with it, having been from the beginning the chief business of the inhabitants. During the Revolution it was a great resort for privateers. A force of four thousand men, under General Grey, fell upon it, and destroyed buildings, wharves, vessels, and merchandise to the amount of more than \$320,000.

The Fort at Fair Haven.	Captain Lemuel Akin.	Providence.	New London.	Stonington.
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rode into the parade of the ruined fortress as far as the rocks would allow. The remains of the fort were upon a very rough cape opposite New Bedford, and a mile below the Acushnet Bridge and causeway. It was called Fort Phoenix, and was little more than an 8 or 10 gun battery, whose walls were of hewn stone and earth. Several of the iron cannon (24-pounders) with which it was armed were lying within it, never having been removed since they were placed there in 1812.

The storm was beating so furiously as it came driving in from the sea that our horse became very restive;

so the kind Doctor stood out in the blinding tempest, and held him in quietude while, under the cover of the little carriage, I made the annexed sketch of the interior of the fort with all possible dispatch.¹ Then we returned to Fair Haven village, and rode out to the residence of Captain Lemuel Akin, an exceedingly intelligent and well-read gentleman, whose home had been on the sea during a large portion of his long life.² For



REMAINS OF FORT PHOENIX, FAIR HAVEN.

the good cheer with which he welcomed us, and for much valuable information which he gave me then, and afterward in letters, I feel grateful. While at his house the storm abated somewhat. We rode back to New Bedford, and in the afternoon I traveled by railway to Providence, Rhode Island, where I passed Thanksgiving Day most profitably with Dr. Usher Parsons, the surgeon of the *Lawrence*, Perry's flagship at the time of the battle of Lake Erie, whose name and record of services are familiar to the readers of this volume. From this last survivor of Perry's commissioned officers I received much valuable and minute information concerning the army and navy on the Niagara frontier and on Lake Erie.³ Dr. Parsons is still (1867) living, in the enjoyment of excellent health of body and mind.

Early on the morning of the 29th* I left Providence for New London, on the Thames, fifty miles westward, where I spent the day, as already recorded in the latter part of Chapter XXX. of this work. At sunset I left for Stonington, a few miles eastward, and became the guest of Dr. George E. Palmer, whose house bears evidence of the cannonade in 1814. On the following morning, accompanied by Dr. Palmer, I visited places of interest about Stonington, among others the old arsenal at the upper end of Main Street, in which were two or three cannon. It

* November, 1860.
¹ Between the walls of the fort and the wooden building more in the foreground is seen Ceres Island, with the city of New Bedford beyond. Since my visit the fort has been revived. "For five months," Dr. Swasey wrote to me in September, 1861 (six months after the great Civil War had begun), "the old fort has been thoroughly repaired, and garrisoned by the Home Guard of New Bedford and Fair Haven. How little did you or I dream of the events and necessities which have brought about this change, as we stood on that old place that day when you sketched the fort! How mild and gentle was even that storm that beat on our unsheltered heads compared with the tempest of war that has since burst over our beloved land!"

² Mr. Akin was engaged in the merchant service. He was captured off the Carolina coast by the British frigate *Severn*, taken to Amelia Island, and sent from there to Bermuda, where he was exchanged. Captain Akin died in 1867, at the age of seventy-five years.

³ See Chapter XXV.



ARSENAL AT STONINGTON.

was a brick building, somewhat altered since the war, when the door was in the centre where the arch is seen. Toward noon we rode over to Mystic, to visit the venerable hero, Captain Holmes, who performed so conspicuous a part in the defense of Stonington, as already related in this chapter. We found him and his aged wife in the enjoyment of good health of mind and body, and such is still their condition.²

* December,
1867.

Mrs. Holmes is a small woman, and retains many marks of the beauty of her earlier years. She was as energetic and patriotic as her husband, and did all a woman could do at the trying time when Stonington was attacked. When, several months after-

ward, the joyful news of peace came, and the men of Stonington and Mystic were celebrating the event at a public dinner, Mrs. Holmes, justly considering her sex entitled to recognition in the public demonstrations of delight, procured some powder, and, with the aid of other young women, loaded and fired, with her own hands, a heavy cannon, in joyful commemoration of the great event. She bears the distinction of having fired the first salute in that region as a voice of welcome to Peace.

While at Mystic we



Juniah Holmes

Ann B. Holmes



DENISON'S GRAVE, MYSTIC.

visited the beautiful Elm Grove Cemetery, in which, as we have observed in note on page 896, the State of Connecticut erected a monument to the memory of Frederick Denison, who lost his life in defense of Stonington. Near that monument was one (delineated in the annexed engraving) in commemoration of the first of his family who resided in that vicinity;¹ and near it (seen to the left of the monument in the picture) was the first tombstone erected in the town of Stonington.² It is of dark

¹ Upon it is the following inscription: "GEORGE DENISON, a first settler in Stonington, and founder of the Denison family. Died Oct. 23d, 1694, aged 74 years. This stone is erected by his descendants in 1858. ANN B., his wife, died Sept. 26, 1712, aged 97 years."

² It bears the following inscription: "Here lies y^e body of ANN DENISON, who died Sept. y^e 26th, 1712, aged 97 years." This stone is about twenty inches in height. The modern monument is of granite, fifteen feet in height.

Baron de Steuben's Gold Box.

The faithful Daughter.

Return Home.

slate, with the cherub on the arched upper part, which was a fashionable ornament a hundred and fifty years ago.

We returned to Stonington toward sunset, and called on the Rev. Mr. Weston, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, where we saw the beautiful gold box in which the freedom of the city of New York was publicly presented to the Baron de Steuben by the hands of his old friend and aid-de-camp, General North. Around its edge was the following inscription: "*Presented by the Corporation of the City of New York, with the Freedom of the City.*" On the lid are the arms of the city, engraved by Maverick. We also saw, in the course of the evening, the famous Stonington flag, delineated on page 894, bearing sixteen stars, the then number of States in the Union. It is bunting, about six yards in length and three yards and a half in width. It was in the possession of Captain Francis Amy, of Stonington.

During that evening I heard many relations of stirring incidents connected with the attack on Stonington. I will repeat only one, a touching narrative of a dying mother and her faithful daughter. The mother (Mrs. Hall) was a poor woman, living in the old barracks near the "Cobb House" (page 896), in the last stages of consumption, and exposed to the British balls when they were hurled upon the town. The people had fled in terror, and none but Huldah, the daughter of the dying woman, remained. She was faithful. Sometimes, when the balls came crashing through the building, she would fly to the cellar, and sometimes to the garret, and then immediately return to the bedside of her mother. At length two or three soldiers rushed into the building, and bore the poor woman away on her bed to the burying-ground near the present Watawanuc¹ Institute, by the railway, where they thought she would be safe. Just as they had laid her on the greensward, a bomb-shell struck near and exploded, by which a deep trench was scooped from the earth. The shock was too much for the poor woman, and she expired. In the grave dug by the shell she was hastily buried, and then the faithful Huldah hurried away to a place of greater safety.

At a late hour in the evening I bade adieu to Dr. Palmer and his excellent family, rode over to New London, and then embarked in a stanch steamer for New York, where we arrived the next morning at the beginning of the first snow-storm of the season. I had seen snow but once before since my departure from the city, and that was on the summits of the lofty Katahdin mountains of Maine, while viewing them from the hills around Bangor at a distance of almost a hundred miles in the far north-east.

So ended a delightful and instructive visit to the eastern coast district of New England, where I gleaned much valuable materials for History, and enjoyed open-handed hospitality that can never be forgotten by the recipient.

¹ Watawanuc was the Indian name for the site of Stonington.



CHAPTER XXXIX.

"A veteran host, by veterans led,
With Ross and Cockburn at their head,
They came—they saw—they burned—and fled!
They left our Congress naked walls—
Farewell to towers and capitols!
To lofty roofs and splendid halls!
To conquer armies in the field
Was, once, the surest method held
To make a hostile country yield.
The warfare now the invaders make
Must surely keep us all awake,
Or life is lost for freedom's sake.

PHILIP STUART.



WHILE the events recorded in the preceding chapter were occurring on the New England coast, others of a more important character in the vicinity of Chesapeake Bay were attracting public attention. We have already observed how audaciously the British operated along the shores of the Chesapeake and Delaware Bays during the year 1813, continually menacing not only the smaller coast villages, but the larger cities. The national capital itself, situated at the head of the navigation of the Potomac, was in peril at times, and yet the government seemed to have been paralyzed by a strange delusion—a conviction that the British would never attempt to penetrate the country so far as the city of Washington, and that the archives of the nation were safe there. Tokens of danger were not wanting. First came intelligence, late in January, that four thousand British troops destined for the United States had landed at Bermuda. This was followed by the appearance of Admiral Cockburn, the marauder, in Lynnhaven Bay, on the 1st of March, with a 74 line-of-battle ship, two frigates, and a brig, and who commenced at once the practice of his wicked amphibious warfare. At the close of April a vessel from Europe brought the startling news of the downfall of Napoleon; and soon afterward came the announcement of his abdication and retirement to Elba, and the probable release of a large British force that might be sent to America.

For several months previous to the advent of Cockburn, thoughtful men had called the attention of the President and his constitutional advisers to the exposed state of the entire District of Columbia, and especially the capital, and to the importance of adopting vigorous measures for its defense.¹ The President appears to have feared danger, but his cabinet were unmoved. Even when the foe was so near that the booming of his cannon could almost be heard, they could not be impressed with a sense of impending danger; and on the 14th of May the government organ (*National Intelligencer*²) said: "We have no idea of the enemy attempting to reach the vicinity of the capital; and if he does, we have no doubt he will meet such a reception as

¹ So early as the middle of July, the previous year, when the enemy were no nearer the capital than at the time in question, General Philip Stuart, of the Maryland militia, offered a resolution in Congress for the distribution of arms among the people of the District of Columbia and the members of Congress for the defense of the capital.

² This paper is still (1867) published at Washington City, and, until recently, by Gales and Seaton, the proprietors in 1814.

Philip Stuart

A Dearth of Troops for the Defense of Washington. The Government alarmed. The President's Plan for Defense.

he had a sample of at Craney Island. The enemy knows better than to trust himself abreast of or on this side of Fort Washington." This idle boast and the government apathy were terribly rebuked a little more than three months afterward by British arms and British torches. At that very time hostile marauders were in the waters of the Potomac, and their leaders, employing competent spies, had made themselves perfectly acquainted with the condition of the country, and of military affairs around Washington.

June came, and yet there was strange apathy in official circles, and very little preparation for defense. In the entire Fifth Military District, of which the District of Columbia was a part, there were only two thousand one hundred and fifty-four effective enlisted men, of whom one half were at Norfolk, one quarter at Baltimore, and

the remaining quarter divided between Annapolis, Fort Washington, and St. Mary's. There were, besides, only a company of marines in the barracks at Washington, and a company of artillery at Fort Washington (late Fort Warburton), on the Potomac, twelve miles below the capital. Five hundred recruits for the regular army from North Carolina, under Lieutenant Colonel Clinch,¹ who had been in camp near Washington for the purpose of drill and exercise, were allowed to leave for the Northern frontier quite late in June, when the public mind was filled with alarm because of the menaces of the enemy.

At length the government was aroused to a sense of danger and responsibility by intelligence that a number of the largest class of transports had been fitted out at Portsmouth, England, "as well as all troop-ships in that port," for the purpose, it was believed, of going to Bordeaux and taking on board there the most effective of Wellington's reg-

iments and conveying them to the United States. This was confirmed at near the close of June by the arrival at New York of a cartel from Bermuda, which brought intelligence that she left at that port "a fleet of transports, with a large force, bound to some port in the United States, probably the Potomac." Official intelligence of this fact reached the government on the 26th, and on the 1st of July the President called a cabinet council and laid before them a well-considered plan of defense against threatened invasion, which had been suggested, if not actually prepared, by General William H. Winder, who had lately been exchanged, and had returned from Canada.² It contemplated the establishment of a camp of regular troops, two or three thousand strong, somewhere between the Eastern Branch of the Potomac and the Patuxent Rivers, in Maryland, and the concentration of ten thousand militia in the vicinity of Washington City.



D. F. Clinch

¹ Duncan L. Clinch was one of the most meritorious officers in the United States service. He was a native of North Carolina, and entered the army as first lieutenant of infantry in 1806, and was soon made regimental paymaster. He was promoted to captain in 1810, and lieutenant colonel in August, 1813. At the close of the war he was retained in the army, and was promoted to colonel in 1819. In 1829 he was breveted brigadier general for ten years' meritorious services. He was an efficient officer in the war with the Seminoles in 1835 and 1836. He resigned in September, 1836. From 1840 to 1845 he was a representative in Congress from Georgia. He died at Macon, Georgia, on the 25th of October, 1849. He was a brave soldier and noble-hearted man. I am indebted to his daughter, the wife of General Robert Anderson, of Fort Sumter fame, for the above portrait.

² Letter to the Secretary of War, June 30, 1814, in Winder's Letter-book.



Wm H Winder

The Cabinet approved the President's plan.¹ A new military district, entitled the Tenth, was formed, comprising Maryland, the District of Columbia, and the portions of Eastern Virginia lying between the Potomac and Rappahannock Rivers. Brigadier General Winder² was appointed to the command of it, and the government made a requisition upon the several States for militia to the aggregate of ninety-three thousand men, who were to be organized at home and held in readiness.³ The District of Columbia and the State of Maryland were called upon to furnish their respective quotas immediately, the former being two thousand men and the latter six thousand. Pennsylvania was directed to send five thousand and Virginia two thousand to the militia rendezvous at once. The naval defenses were intrusted to Commodore Barney, a veter-

eran commander, who was in the Patuxent with a small flotilla of gun-boats.

In official orders there appeared an army of fifteen thousand militia for the defense of Washington, and General Winder was envied as the fortunate commander of a larger force than had yet appeared in the field. But that army remained hidden in

¹ The Secretary of War could not be made to believe, even as late as August, when the enemy was almost at the door of the capital, that Washington City was his object. "What the devil will they do here?" was his question to one who expressed a belief that the capital was in danger. "No, no; Baltimore is the place, sir; that is of so much more consequence."—Statement of General Van Ness before a Committee of Inquiry. In his *Notices of the War of 1812*, the Secretary says that the attack on Washington was an after-thought of Admiral Cochrane when he had caused the destruction of Barney's flotilla. Cochrane, in a letter to the Board of Admiralty in September, said that the presence of a flotilla at the head of the Patuxent gave him a "pretext for ascending that river," while "the ultimate destination of the combined force was Washington, should it be found that the attempt might be made with any prospect of success." And at the beginning of August, a letter, written by some one on compulsory duty in the British fleet in the Chesapeake, dated July 27th, was placed in Winder's hands, and submitted to the Secretary of War, in which the intentions of the enemy to rush to the capital were fully revealed. "The manner in which they intend doing it is," said the writer, "to take advantage of a fair wind in ascending the Patuxent, and, after having ascended it a certain distance, to land their men at once and to make all possible dispatch to the capital, batter it down, and then return to their vessels immediately. In doing this there is calculated to be employed upward of seven thousand men."—*Winder Papers*.

On the contrary, Mr. Gleig, the now (1867) venerable chaplain general of the British Army, who accompanied the invaders, says that the destruction of Barney's flotilla was the *sole* object of the passage up the Patuxent, and that the capture and destruction of Washington was suggested by Cockburn, the marauder, when that work was accomplished.

² William H. Winder was born in Somerset County, Maryland, on the 15th of February, 1775. His ancestors were among the earliest settlers in that state, and were influential men. He was graduated at the University of Pennsylvania, studied law, and entered upon its practice. He went to Nashville, Tennessee, to settle, but found so little encouragement that he returned to his native state. At the age of twenty-three he was elected a member of the Maryland Legislature. In 1802 he took up his residence in Baltimore, and soon stood in the foremost rank at the bar in that city, where his rivals and friends were William Pinkney, Luther Martin, and men of that character. In March, 1812, he received the commission of lieutenant colonel of infantry, and was promoted to colonel in July following, and with troops from his state performed eminent service on the Niagara frontier. He was commissioned a brigadier in March, 1813, and in June following he was captured at Stony Creek, in Canada, and held as a prisoner of war until the spring of 1814. In May of that year he was appointed adjutant and inspector general, and at the beginning of July he was assigned to the command of the Tenth Military District. He was active in efforts to defend Washington City, and afterward Baltimore. After the retirement of the British he was ordered to the Northern frontier. He left the army in 1815, and returned to the practice of his profession with a ruined constitution. He was twice elected state senator. His health finally gave way, and he died in Baltimore on the 24th of May, 1824, at the age of forty-eight years. He was Grand Master of the Masonic Order in Maryland. No private citizen was ever before or since honored with such a funeral as his; and the pen of William Wirt indited a most eloquent eulogy of his character.

³ The requisition upon the several States was as follows: New Hampshire, 3500; Massachusetts, 10,000; Rhode Island, 500; Connecticut, 3000; New York, 13,600; New Jersey, 6000; Pennsylvania, 14,000; Delaware, 1000; Maryland, 6000; Virginia, 12,000; North Carolina, 7000; South Carolina, 5000; Georgia, 3500; Kentucky, 5500; Tennessee, 2000; Louisiana, 1000; Mississippi Territory, 500. Of this force \$400 were to be artillery, and the remainder infantry.

Tardiness of the Secretary of War.

Apathy of the People.

Winder's Advice and Warnings.

official paragraphs, and only a small portion of it confronted the invader, for he came before the States on whom the government had made a requisition for militia had moved in the matter. There was extraordinary tardiness every where, and indications of the most fatal official apathy or weakness. The Governor of Maryland, residing within an easy day's ride of the War Office, did not receive a copy of that requisition until six days after it was ordered; and the Governor of Pennsylvania did not receive his until ten days afterward. And it was not until the day when the British appeared in heavy force in Chesapeake Bay (July 12, 1814) that the Secretary of War placed a copy of it in the hands of General Winder, and then it was accompanied by a cautious order directing him, in the event of an invasion, to call for a part or the whole quota required of Maryland, but to "be careful to avoid unnecessary calls, and to apportion the call to the exigency."¹ Five days afterward another order from the War Department reached him, which gave him authority to draw, in addition to the Maryland quota, two thousand men from Virginia and five thousand from Pennsylvania, and assuring him that the whole of the militia of the District of Columbia, amounting to about two thousand, were kept in a disposable state, and subject to his orders.

General Winder had comprehended the difficulties of the situation from the beginning. As early as the 9th of July, before he had received notice of his appointment to the command, he wrote a letter to the Secretary of War, full of sound advice, wholesome warning, and sagacious predictions, but that functionary never deigned to reply to it.² He issued orders in accordance with his own judgment alone, and with an apparent obliviousness to stern facts—orders which implied the organization and readiness of the troops mentioned when there was not a shadow of such force in existence. The Governor of Maryland (Levin Winder), after issuing drafts for three thousand men, found that scarcely so many hundreds could be collected; and the Governor of Pennsylvania informed the Secretary of War that, in consequence of the defect of the militia laws of that commonwealth, the executive had no power to enforce the draft.

General Winder entered upon his duties with alacrity, under the inspiration of seductive promises by the government; and, notwithstanding he was soon made to feel that he was the victim of official incompetency, he was untiring in his exertions to make the defense of the District a certainty. He visited every part of the region to be defended, inspecting every fortification under his command, and reconnoitring every position thought to be favorable for the defense of the capital.³ He was in daily communication with the government, giving information, sounding notes of alarm, and making wise suggestions. "The door of Washington" (meaning Annapolis), he wrote on the 16th of July, "is wide open, and can not be shut with the few troops under my command." Fort Madison there was utterly defenseless, and too unhealthful for a garrison to occupy it. He warned the government that its heavy armament might be easily seized by the invaders, and turned upon the town and Fort Severn with fatal effect.⁴ He begged in vain for efforts to save that post, and made stirring appeals to the people to come forward for the defense of the state. Yet, notwithstanding the danger that threatened, and his great personal popularity, heightened by good deeds on the Northern frontier, Winder was compelled to report on the 1st of August that he had actually in camp only one thousand regulars, and about

¹ The Secretary of War, as we have seen, did not believe that the British would attempt to penetrate to Washington; and on the day when he gave this cautious order, the *National Intelligencer* (the government organ) said, "It is not probable they will be required to be embodied unless the enemy should attempt to execute his threats of invasion."

² Autograph Letter, Winder Papers; Report of an Investigating Committee of Congress.

³ It is related that a farmer living near Bladensburg, who having, with some of his neighbors, followed some directions for deep plowing given in a book, struck the gravel below his soil, and allowed all his manure to leach through and thus ruin his land, saw General Winder one day, when the British were near, with a map in his hand, inspecting that region. "He'll be whipped," said the farmer. "Why?" asked a by-stander. "Because he's going to book-fighting the British, as we have been book-farming, and got whipped."

⁴ Autograph Letter.

The British appear in Chesapeake Bay.

Barney's Flotilla.

General Winder's Calls for Troops.

four thousand militia enrolled, a larger proportion of them yet to be collected. The government had neglected to call for cavalry and riflemen, very important branches of the service.

While these feeble efforts were in operation the enemy appeared in strong force. On the 16th of August the small British squadron in the Chesapeake was re-enforced by a fleet of twenty-one vessels under Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane, the senior commander on the American station. These were soon joined by another under Commodore Sir Charles Malcolm. These vessels bore several thousand land troops commanded by General Ross, an Irish officer, and one of Wellington's most active leaders. Washington and Baltimore appear to have been chosen objects of attack simultaneously. A part of the British naval force, under Captain Gordon, went up the Potomac, and another portion, under Sir Peter Parker, went up the Chesapeake toward Baltimore.

At that time Commodore Barney, with a flotilla of thirteen armed barges and the schooner *Scorpion*, with an aggregate of about five hundred men, was in the Patuxent River. His vessels had been chased out of the Chesapeake, and blockaded in St. Leonard's Bay. Of this confinement

Henry Carbery

they were relieved by some artillery under Colonel Henry Carbery,¹ with which he drove away the *Loire*, the blockading frigate, when the released

flotilla went up the Patuxent, first to Benedict, and then to Nottingham, that it might be within co-operating distance of both Washington and Baltimore. Seeing this, the British determined to capture or destroy it, and on the 18th of August a force of a little more than five thousand men, composed of regulars, marines, and negroes,² went up the Patuxent, and landed at Benedict with three cannon under cover of an armed brig. Most of the other large British vessels were below, some of them aground, and all too heavy to ascend the comparatively shallow stream.

Barney, then at Nottingham,³ promptly informed the Navy Department of this movement, and of a boast of the British admiral that he would destroy the American flotilla, and dine in Washington the following Sunday. General Winder, by direction of the War Department, immediately ordered General Samuel Smith's division (the Third) of the Maryland militia into actual service. He also called upon General John

^a August 18, P. Van Ness,⁴ commander of the militia

of the District of Columbia, for two brigades, to be encamped near Alexandria; and he sent a

John P. Van Ness

^b August 19. circular letter^b to all

the brigadiers of the Maryland militia, asking for volunteers to the amount of one half of their respective commands. By his orders, his adjutant general, Hite, issued a stirring appeal to the citizens to come forward, "without regard to sacrifices and privations," in defense of the national capital. Winder also asked General Stricker, of Baltimore, to send to Washington his volunteer regiments of infantry and his rifle battalion. These calls for volunteers were approved by the Secretary of War, who enjoined Winder so to word the requisition as "to guard against interfering with the legal draft."⁴

¹ Henry Carbery was a captain in the American Navy in 1792, and resigned in 1794. He entered the military service in Maryland in the spring of 1813 as colonel. He died on the 26th of May, 1822.

² These "disciplined negroes" had been forced by threats, and bribed by promises of freedom, to enter the British service.

³ Barney had been very active with his flotilla in opposing the marauding expeditions of the British. On the 9th of July he wrote from Nottingham to a friend, saying, "Six times in one month I have beat the enemy, always increasing in their force, so that I believe they are tired of me. They now lie at the mouth of the Patuxent."—Autograph Letter.

⁴ Autograph Letter, Winder Papers.

Gathering of Troops.

The British in the Patuxent.

Destruction of Barney's Flotilla.

The veteran patriot, General Smith, promptly responded to the call of the government. He at once issued a division order,^a in which he gave notice of the invasion, and directed the whole of General Stansbury's brigade (the ^{August 19, 1814.}

Tob. E. Stansbury

Third) to be held in readiness for active service, adding, "The third brigade is now under the pay of the United States, in its service, and subject to the Ar-

ticles of War."¹ That corps General Smith declared to be "the finest set of men he ever saw."² They paraded at four o'clock the same day, and on the following morning General Stansbury³ left Baltimore for Washington with thirteen hundred of his corps. Another force, under Lieutenant Colonel Joseph Sterett, consisting of the Fifth Regiment of Baltimore Volunteers, Major Pinkney's⁴ rifle battalion, and the artillery companies of Captains Myers and Magruder, left Baltimore on the evening of the 20th, and joined Stansbury on the evening of the 23d. With wise precaution, General Smith ordered^b the eleventh ^{August 20.} brigade and Colonel Moore's cavalry to hold themselves in readiness to march to Baltimore at a moment's warning, for it seemed probable that the enemy would strike at both cities simultaneously. They were ordered to Baltimore on the 23d.

Joseph Sterett

The British in the mean time had moved up the Patuxent from Benedict, the land troops being accompanied by a flotilla of launches and barges that kept abreast of them. The naval forces were under the command of the notorious marauder, Cockburn. They reached Lower Marlborough on the 21st, when Barney's flotilla, then in charge of Lieutenant Frazier and a sufficient number of men to destroy it if necessary, moved up to Pig Point, where some of the vessels grounded in the shallow water. Barney had landed with four hundred seamen and pushed on toward Winder's head-quarters, then at the Wood Yard, on the road between Upper Marlborough and Washington, and twelve miles from the latter, where he had established a slightly-intrenched camp. Frazier was instructed to destroy the flotilla at Pig Point rather than allow it to fall into the hands of the foe. This order was obeyed, and the flotilla was blown up on the morning of the 22d, when the enemy moved up from Notting-ham in forty barges, and commenced firing upon it with cannon and rockets.⁵ They found only the ruins of Barney's vessels at Pig Point. Their land force pressed forward to Upper Marlborough, whence a road led directly to Washington City, and there encamped, leaving Cockburn and the British flotilla at Pig Point.

Now let us see what forces were at the disposal of General Winder for the defense of Washington. There were two small brigades of District troops. One of these comprised the militia and volunteers of Washington and Georgetown, arranged in two regiments under Colonels Magruder and Brent, and was commanded by General Walter Smith, of Georgetown. Attached to the brigade were two companies of light

¹ General Smith's MS. Order-book. I am indebted to the kind courtesy of General John Spear Smith, of Baltimore, son of General Samuel Smith, and his aid-de-camp in 1814, for the use of his father's military papers of this period.

² Autograph Letter to General Winder.

³ Tobias E. Stansbury lived to the great age of ninety-three years. He was an active public man from the commencement of the Revolution almost to the time of his death, which occurred in Baltimore County, Maryland, on the 25th of October, 1849. He was repeatedly a member of the Maryland Legislature, and was Speaker of its House of Delegates. He always enjoyed the perfect confidence of his fellow-citizens.

⁴ See sketch of William Pinkney on page 148.

⁵ Barney's autograph Letter to the Investigating Committee, October 30, 1814.

The Forces gathered for the Defense of Washington and Baltimore.

artillery, commanded respectively by Major George Peter, of the regular army, and Captain Benjamin Burch, a soldier of the Revolution. There were also two rifle companies under Captains Doughty and Stull. This brigade numbered, on the morning of the 21st of August, one thousand and seventy men. The second brigade was commanded by General Robert Young, and numbered five hundred men. It comprised a company of artillery led by Captain Marsteller. It was chiefly employed in defending the approaches to Fort Washington, about twelve miles below the capital. Brigadier General West, of Prince George's County, had troops on the look-out toward the Potomac.



The troops from Baltimore comprised a greater portion of the brigade of General Stansbury, formed in two regiments under Lieutenant Colonels Ragan and Schutz, thirteen hundred and fifty in number; and the Fifth Regiment, under Colonel Sterett, with artillery and riflemen already mentioned, the latter under the celebrated William Pinkney. The whole force from Baltimore was about two thousand two hundred, commanded by General Stansbury as chief. Besides these there were various detachments of Maryland militia, under the respective command of Colonels W. D. Beall (of the Revolution) and Hood, Lieutenant Colonel Kramer, and Majors Waring and Maynard—in all less than twelve hundred. There was also a regiment of Virginia militia under Colonel George Minor, six hundred strong, with one hundred cavalry. The regular army contributed three hundred men from the Twelfth, Thirty-sixth, and Thirty-eighth Regiments, under Lieutenant Colonel William Scott. To these must be added the sailors of Barney's flotilla, four hundred, and one hundred and twenty marines from the navy yard at Washington, furnished with two 18-pound-



ers and three 12-pounders. There were also various small companies of volunteer cavalry from the District, Maryland, and Virginia, under Lieutenant Colonel Tilghman, and Majors O. H. Williams and Charles Sterett, three hundred in number, and a squadron of United States dragoons commanded by Major Laval. The whole force was about seven thousand strong, of whom nine hundred were enlisted men. The cavalry did not exceed four hundred in number. The little army had twenty-six pieces of cannon, of which twenty were only 6-pounders. This force, if concentrated, would have been competent to roll back the invasion had the commanding officer been untrammelled by the interference of the President and his Cabinet.

Winder's vigilance was sleepless after the appearance of the invaders in the Patuxent. He was actively employed with the cavalry in reconnoitring; and on the morning of the 22d he ordered Lieutenant Colonel Scott's command, Laval's cavalry, Major Peter's artillery, and the rifle company of Stull, and another under Captain Davidson, acting as riflemen, with several field-pieces, numbering about eight hundred men, to proceed immediately to Nottingham, where the enemy had encamped during the night just passed, and reconnoitre and harass them. The remainder of Winder's force in hand was directed to follow in their support. The general himself, accompa-



The British move on Washington.

Alarming Note from Secretary Monroe.

Removal of the Public Records.

nied by his limited staff, proceeded in advance of the troops, and soon discovered the enemy moving up the river. He was convinced that an encounter with that overwhelming force would be perilous, and he ordered Scott and Peter to fall back to the Wood Yard and wait for him. The main body of the troops, under General W. Smith, had arrived in the mean time within two miles of the advance; and the whole American force, then within five miles of the invaders, including Barney's men and marines from the Washington Navy Yard, numbered about twenty-five hundred, fairly armed with muskets and rifles, and five pieces of heavy artillery.

On arriving at the junction of the roads leading respectively to Marlborough and the Wood Yard, General Ross, who led the British column in person, turned into the latter with the seeming intention of pushing on toward Washington. He was induced to do so by Cockburn, who thirsted for plunder, and who argued that the prestige which the British would acquire by the capture of the metropolis of the republic would be of immense advantage to the cause, and that no doubt the government, to save the city, would make a liberal offer of money, a circumstance that would greatly increase the marauder's amount of prize-money. After proceeding a short distance, Ross changed his course and proceeded toward Marlborough. Winder deemed it prudent to avoid an encounter, and in the afternoon he retreated toward the capital, and encamped at a place called Long Old Battalion Fields, about eight miles from the city, where he might be within easy striking distance of Bladensburg, the bridges over the East Branch of the Potomac, and the road leading to Fort Washington.¹

Colonel James Monroe, the Secretary of State, who had been several days with Winder reconnoitring the enemy, and watching all military movements, believed that Washington was in great peril, for he well knew the weakness of the American forces. While Ross was yet advancing, and before he retraced his steps and went toward Marlborough, Monroe sent the following dispatch to the President:

"The enemy are advanced six miles on the road to the Wood Yard, and our troops are retiring. Our troops were on the march to meet them, but in too small a body to engage. General Winder proposes to retire till he can collect them in a body. The enemy are in full march to Washington. Have the materials prepared to destroy the bridges.
J. MONROE.

"P.S.—You had better remove the records."²

This message produced the wildest excitement in the national capital, then a straggling town of between eight and nine thousand inhabitants, and caused a sudden and confused exodus of all the timid and helpless ones who were able to leave.

Winder's situation was an unenviable one. With a comparatively strong foe on his front, ready to fall upon him or the capital he was expected to defend, he had only about twenty-five hundred armed and effective men in camp, and many of these had been from their homes only three or four days. They were undisciplined and untried, and surrounded and influenced by a crowd of excited civilians, to whose "officious but well-intended information and advice" the general was compelled to listen. In addition to this intrusion and interference of common men, he was embar-

¹ See Map on page 929.

² Mr. S. Pleasanton, then employed in the office of the Secretary of State, made immediate arrangements for the removal of the books and papers of the State Department. He had linen bags made in which they were placed, and then conveyed in carts across the Chain Bridge, over the Potomac, two miles above Georgetown, to the grist-mill of Edgar Patterson, in Virginia. Considering them unsafe there, Mr. Pleasanton had them conveyed to Leesburg, thirty-five miles from Washington, where they were locked up in an unoccupied house, and the keys given to the Rev. Mr. Littlejohn, who had been one of the collectors of the internal revenue. Thus the precious documents of the Revolutionary period and other valuable papers now in the Office of the Rolls at Washington City were saved from destruction.—Autograph Letter of S. Pleasanton to General Winder, August 7, 1848. Mr. Pleasanton, in his account of this transaction, says: "While engaged in the passage-way of the buildings with the papers, the Department of State being on this side, and the War Department on the other side of the passage, General Armstrong, then Secretary of War, on his way to his own room, stopped a short time, and observed to me that he thought we were under unnecessary alarm, as he did not think the British were serious in their intentions of coming to Washington." To this belief the Secretary adhered until they were in full march upon the capital.

rassed by the presence and suggestions of the President and his Cabinet ministers, the most of them utterly ignorant of military affairs. Better would it have been for Winder and the country if these civilians, from the President down, had kept away from the camp and the field, and prudently preserved silence.

The fatigued little army at Long Old Fields had reposed but a short time when, at two o'clock in the morning (August 23), a timid sentinel gave a false alarm, and they were summoned to their feet in battle order. They were soon dismissed, and slept on their arms until dawn. At sunrise they were ordered to strike their tents, load the baggage wagons, and have every thing in readiness to move within an hour. When every thing was prepared for marching they were reviewed by President Madison. In the mean time Winder had ascertained from scouts that the British were resting quietly in their camp at Upper Marlborough, and he resolved to concentrate all the troops within his reach at some point between his present camp and that of the enemy. He accordingly sent orders to General Stansbury, at Bladensburg, to march with his own and Lieutenant Colonel Sterett's troops, and take position in the road within seven miles of Marlborough. The same order was sent to Lieutenant Colonel Beall, supposed to be then approaching with his corps from Annapolis. A detachment from General Walter Smith's brigade, under Major Peter, composed of the same companies as the detachment sent forward the day before, was ordered to move from camp in the same direction and for the same purpose—to approach as near the enemy as possible without incurring too much risk, and annoy him whether in motion or at rest. General Winder himself, accompanied by a troop of Laval's cavalry, started for Bladensburg at noon for the purpose of holding a conference with General Stansbury. When within four or five miles of that place, he was overtaken by Major McKenney with intelligence that Major Peter had met and skirmished with the vanguard of the advancing enemy, two or three miles from Marlborough, on the road toward the Wood Yard, had been driven back toward the Old Fields, and that General Smith had sent off the baggage toward Washington across the Eastern Branch, and had drawn up his own troops and Barney's seamen in battle order to await an attack from the foe. Winder immediately sent orders to Stansbury, now moving forward, to fall back toward Bladensburg, take the best position possible with his own and Sterett's troops in front of that village, and resist the enemy if attacked.

If driven, he was to retreat toward the capital. He then hastened back to the Old Fields, where he found Smith and Barney well posted. Stansbury's force took position in an orchard (near a mill yet standing near Bladensburg) on a gentle eminence, and there, behind a slight breastwork, he placed six heavy guns in position to command the pass into the town and the bridge southwestward of it. About one hundred yards in the rear



OLD MILL NEAR BLADENSBURG IN 1861.

* This is a sketch of the old mill made near the close of 1861. Bladensburg and the bridge are seen in the distance.

Advance of the British.

Retreat of the Americans.

Winder invites the Government to a Council.

of this position, in the small dwelling on Tournecliffe's farm, the surgeons of the command were placed, to receive and take care of the wounded soldiers.¹

General Ross rested at Upper Marlborough until after noon of the 23d, when, being joined by Cockburn and his seamen and marines, he moved forward at two o'clock, and, as we have observed, encountered and drove back Major Peter and his command. He then pressed steadily on unmolested to the junction of the roads leading respectively to Washington City and the Alexandria Ferry, on the Potomac River, not far above Fort Washington. There they halted. The Americans were puzzled. Some believed that an attack on Fort Washington in the rear, simultaneously with an assault by the British fleet in front, was contemplated; but more, and among these General Winder and Colonel Monroe, believed the national capital to be the prize sought to be won. Impressed with this conviction, Winder issued orders toward sunset for the troops to retire across the Eastern Branch Bridge and take position on the borders of the city, where greater facility would be afforded for assisting General Young, who was covering Fort Washington with a small force, and for drawing to himself Stansbury and Sterett if the enemy should advance rapidly upon the capital. Late at night the troops, greatly wearied and dispirited, encamped within the limits of the city. "Thus," said General Smith, "terminated the four days of service of the troops of this District. They had been under arms, with but little intermission, the whole of the time, both night and day; had traveled, during their different marches in advance and retreat, a considerable tract of country, exposed to the burning heat of a sultry sun by day, and many of them to the cold dews of the night, uncovered. They had in this period drawn but two rations, the requisition therefor in the first instance being but partially complied with, and it being afterward almost impossible to procure the means of transportation, the wagons employed by our quartermaster for that purpose being constantly impressed by the government agents for the purpose of removing the public records when the enemy's approach was known, and some of them thus seized while proceeding to take in provisions for the army."

The night of the 23d of August was marked by great excitement in the National capital. The President and his Cabinet indulged in no slumbers, for Ross, the invader, was bivouacked at Melwood, near the Long Old Fields, about ten miles from the city, and Winder's troops, worn down and dispirited, were fugitives before him. Laval's horsemen were exhausted, and Stansbury's troops at Bladensburg were too wearied with long marching to do much fighting without some repose. What the morning would reveal no one could tell, and the dark hours were passed in great anxiety by the troops and people. The Secretary of State was in his saddle half the night; and at midnight he had visited the head-quarters of Stansbury, acquainted him with the relative positions of Winder and Ross, and advised him to fall in the rear of the latter. Fortunately the military leader did not follow the advice of the civilian.

Winder's head-quarters were at Combs's, near the Eastern Branch Bridge, and at dawn the President and several of his Cabinet ministers were there.² Before their arrival, General Winder (who was greatly fatigued in body and mind, and had received a severe injury from a fall during the night) had sent a note to the Secretary of War, expressing a desire to have the counsel of that officer and of the government. This was a mistake. He had had too much of that bane to success already, and it was now administered too liberally for the good reputation of himself and his country. These government officers were so officious as well as fickle—fickle, because impulse, and not judgment, guided them—that the general's thoughts and plans were

¹ I have before me a very interesting narrative in manuscript of the events of the battle, which came under the observation of Dr. Samuel B. Martin, one of the surgeons stationed at Tournecliffe's house, where he was made a prisoner at the close of the battle.

² Secretaries of War, Navy, and Treasury, and the Attorney General.

interfered with at a moment when one mind should control all movements, and that mind be free to act untrammelled and unbiased.¹

While Winder and the government were in council, Ross moved toward Bladensburg. Laval's scouts first brought intelligence of the fact to head-quarters. They were soon followed by an express from Stansbury, giving positive information that the British were marching in that direction, with the view, no doubt, of crushing the little force of Baltimoreans near the Bladensburg Mill. Up to that moment the council believed that Ross would move on Fort Washington, or on the city by the very bridge near which they were in consultation. This delusive idea now vanished, and government, general, and troops all moved off toward the point of danger. Winder had now under his command at Washington and Bladensburg five thousand one hundred effective men. The force of the enemy was about the same.

It was ten o'clock in the morning when Winder ordered General W. Smith, with the whole of his troops, to hasten toward Bladensburg. Barney was soon afterward ordered to move with his five hundred men, and the Secretary of State, who had seen some military service in the Revolution, was requested by the President and General Winder to hasten to Stansbury and assist him in properly posting his troops. Mr. Monroe was immediately followed by General Winder and his staff. The Secretary of War then followed; and lastly the President and Attorney General, accompanied by some friends, all on horseback, rode on toward the expected theatre of battle.² Stansbury seems not to have been well pleased with the aid of the Secretary of State, for he afterward intimated that "somebody," without consulting him, changed and deranged his order of battle. That "somebody" was Colonel Monroe, as we shall presently observe.

Let us for a moment take a glance at the theatre on which the opposing forces were soon to meet face to face. It was the slopes and plain around Bladensburg, then a little straggling village at the head of small-craft navigation on the Eastern Branch of the Potomac, up which for four miles vessels of largest class might ride. The village is about six miles from Washington by the old post-road from that city to Baltimore. Another road from Georgetown joined the Washington Road at an acute angle a few yards from the bridge less than a hundred feet long, that spanned the stream at Bladensburg. Above the bridge the creek was every where fordable.

In the triangular field formed by the two roads just mentioned, and near the mill, General Stansbury's command was posted on the morning of the 24th. On the brow of a little eminence in that field, three hundred and fifty yards from the Bladensburg Bridge, between a large barn³ and the Washington Road, a barbette earth-work had been thrown up for the use of heavy cannon. Behind this work were the artillery companies from Baltimore, under Captains Myers and Magruder, one hundred and fifty strong, with six 6-pounders. These were too small for the high embankment, and embrasures were cut so that they might command the bridge and both roads. Major Pinkney's riflemen were on the right of the battery, near the junction of the

¹ It appears from contemporaneous testimony that, at the interview at Winder's head-quarters that morning, it was resolved by the President to give the supreme control of military affairs to the Secretary of War, but that in a short time the President changed his mind, who told the Secretary that "the military functionaries should be left to the discharge of their own duties on their own responsibilities."—See General Armstrong's account of the matter in his *Notices of the War of 1812*. The now (1887) venerable Jacob Barker, of New Orleans, who was at the seat of government at this time, in an interesting narrative of these events, says: "The President left Washington at about 9 A.M. [August 24], in great haste, to recall General Armstrong, who had preceded him about an hour with the President's order to supersede General Winder in the defense of the capital, and reaching the ground a few minutes before the fight began, said to General Armstrong, 'It is too late to make any change. Come with me, and leave the defense with the military authorities, where it belongs.'"—Letter to Mr. Carroll, February 8, 1848, in reply to one from that gentleman in the *New York Herald*, December 1, 1847. General Armstrong was offended, and, as he says in his narrative, "now became, of course, a mere spectator of the combat."

² Richard Rush, then Attorney General, says that the President informed him, when they were riding out toward Bladensburg, that one motive that caused his going to the field was to be on hand to give the requisite sanction to the claims to superior command of General Armstrong.

³ This barn, on the Georgetown Road, was yet standing in 1861. A small drawing of it is seen in the corner of the smaller section of the map on page 929.

Arrangements for Battle near Bladensburg.



THE BRIDGE AT BLADENSBURG IN 1861.¹

roads, and concealed by the shrubbery on the low ground near the river. Two companies of militia, under Captains Ducker and Gorsuch, acting as riflemen, were stationed in the rear of the battery, near the barn and the Georgetown Road. About fifty yards in the rear of Pinkney's riflemen was Sterett's Fifth Regiment of Baltimore Volunteers, while the regiments of Ragan and Schutz were drawn up *en echelon*,² their right resting

ing on the left of Ducker's and Gorsuch's companies, and commanding the Georgetown Road. The cavalry, about three hundred and eighty in all, were placed somewhat in the rear, on the extreme left, and seem not to have taken any part in the battle that ensued.

This, all things considered, seems to have been a judicious arrangement; but Colonel Monroe, without consulting General Stansbury, and in face of the enemy, then on the other side of the Eastern Branch, proceeded to change it, by moving the Baltimore regiments of Sterett, Ragan, and Schutz a quarter of a mile in the rear of the artillery and riflemen, their right resting on the Washington Road. This formed a second line in full view of the enemy, within reach of his Congreve rockets, entirely uncovered, and so far from the first line as not to be able to give it immediate support in case of an attack. This was a blunder that proved disastrous, but it was made too late to be corrected, the enemy was so near.

General Winder in the mean time had arrived on the field, and posted a third and rear line on the crown of the hills, near the residence of the late John C. Rives, proprietor of the *Washington Globe*, about a mile from the Bladensburg Bridge. This line embraced a regiment of Maryland militia, under Colonel



RESIDENCE OF THE LATE JOHN C. RIVES.³

¹ This view is from the right bank of the Eastern Branch, on the road leading to Washington.

² See note 4, page 652.

³ This mansion stands between the Baltimore and Washington Railway and the turnpike leading from Washington to Bladensburg. It is about four miles from the national capital. Mr. Rives, who died there on Sunday, the 10th of April, 1864, at the age of sixty-nine years, was one of the founders of the *Washington Globe*, the official organ of President Jackson. His partner in the establishment of that paper, Mr. Blair, survives him. Mr. Blair was the editor of the *Globe*, and Mr. Rives was the business manager. The latter was the publisher of the *Globe* at the time of his death. He was a noble and generous citizen. For a long time during the great Civil War he gave from his private purse about \$1000 a month to the families of the volunteer soldiers in the District of Columbia.

Order of Battle near Bladensburg.

Advance of the British.

Duelling-ground at Bladensburg.

Beall, which had just arrived from Annapolis, and was posted on the extreme right; Barney's flotilla-men, who formed the centre on the Washington Road, with two 18-pounders planted in the highway a few yards from the site of Rives's barn, a portion of the seamen acting as artillerists; and Colonel Magruder's District militia, regulars under Lieutenant Colonel Scott, and Peter's battery, who formed the left. About five hundred yards in front of this position the road descends into a gentle ravine, which was then, as now, crossed by a small bridge (Tournecliff's), on the north of which it widens into a little grassy level, and formed the duelling-ground where De-



DUELING-GROUND NEAR BLADENSBURG.¹

ecatur and others lost their lives. Overlooking it, about one hundred and fifty yards from the road, is an abrupt bluff, on which the companies of Captains Stull and Davidson were posted in position to command that highway. Lieutenant

John Davidson

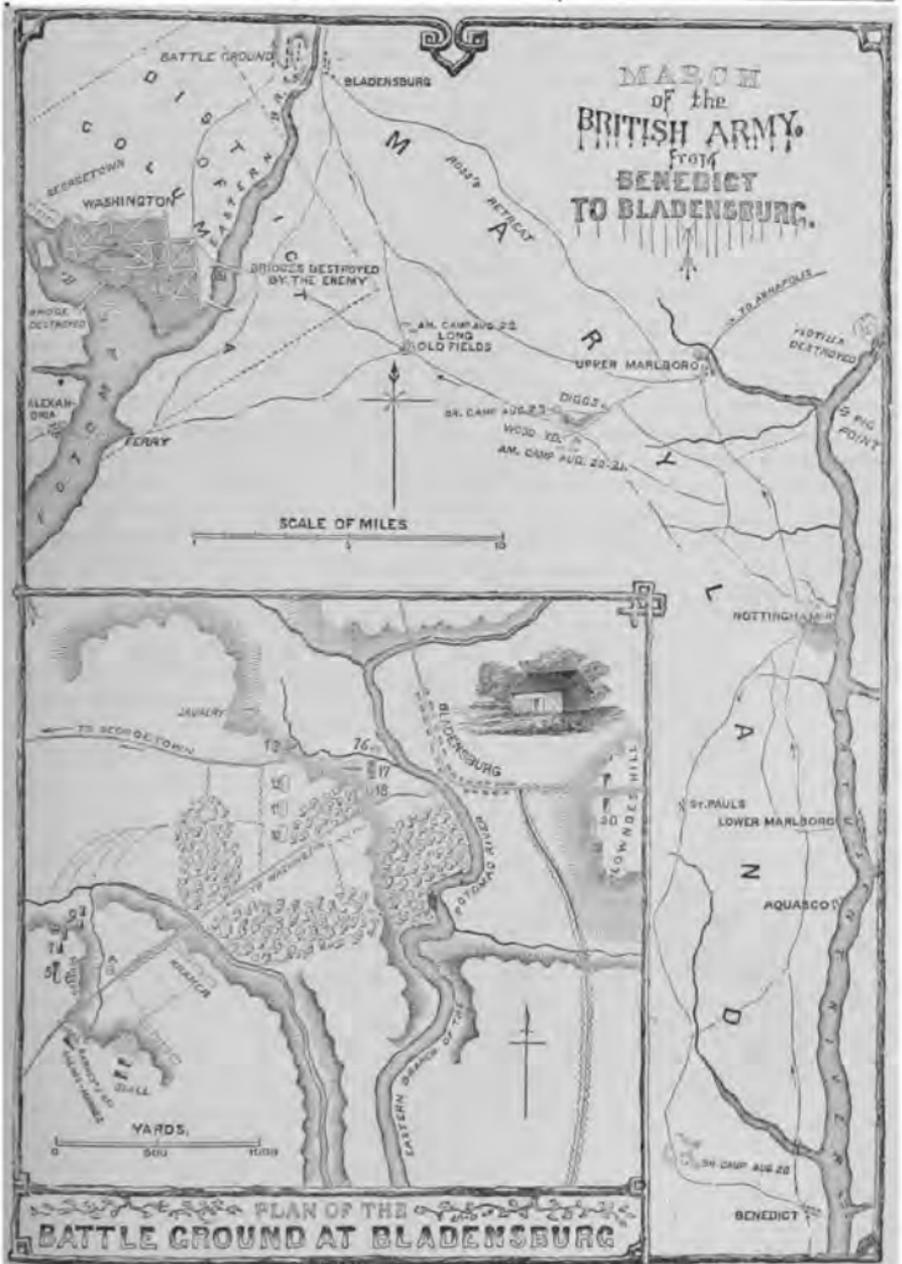
Colonel Scott, with his regulars, Colonel Brent, with the Second Regiment of General Smith's brigade, and Major Waring, with the battalion of Maryland militia, were posted in the rear of Major Peter's battery. Magruder was immediately on the left of Barney's men, his right resting on the Washington Road; and Colonel Kramer, with a small detachment, was thrown forward of Colonel Beall.

Such was the disposition of Winder's little army when, at noon, the enemy were seen descending the hills beyond Bladensburg, and pressing on toward the bridge. At half past twelve they were in the town, and came within range of the heavy guns

¹ This is a view of Tournecliff's Bridge and the Duelling-ground from the north side of the road from Washington to Bladensburg. The place where Decatur and Barron fought was on the low ground by the creek, seen immediately over the two figures in the picture, nearest the left of it. These officers fought with pistols on the 22d of March, 1810, when Decatur was mortally wounded, and died in the arms of his distracted wife at Kalorama, near Georgetown, the same night, at the early age of forty years. The event is elsewhere mentioned in this volume. Here, also, a duel was fought by Jonathan Cilley, of Maine, and W. J. Graves, of Kentucky (both members of Congress), on the 24th of February, 1828. They fought with rifles at eighty yards' distance. Cilley was mortally wounded at the third fire. The higher ground seen toward the right of the picture is the place where Captains Davidson and Stull were posted.

Other duels have been fought on this ground. The first was in 1814, when one of the parties (Edward Hopkins) was killed. The next was in 1819, by A. T. Mason and John M'Carty. Mason was killed. Decatur and Barron fought there the next year. In 1822, Midsheptan Locke, and Gibson, Chief Clerk of the Treasury Department, fought there. Gibson was shot. Key and Sherborn fought there in 1833, when Key was killed. The duel of Graves and Cilley, as we have seen, was in 1828. There was a duel there in 1845, when a lawyer named Jones killed Dr. Johnson. Hoole and Dallas exchanged shots there in 1850 or 1851.

Battle-ground at Bladensburg.



of the first American line.¹ The British commenced hurling rockets at the exposed Americans, and attempted to throw a heavy force across the bridge, but were driven back by their antagonists' cannon, and forced to take shelter in the village and behind Lowndes's Hill, in the rear of it.² Again, after due preparation, they advanced in double-quick time; and, when the bridge was crowded with them, the artillery of

¹ See Note on page 943.

² Ross made the house of Mr. Lowndes his head-quarters on that day.

Battle near Bladensburg.

Gallant and effective Stand by Commodore Barney.

Winder's first and second lines opened upon them with terrible effect, sweeping down a whole company. The concealed riflemen, under Pinkney, also poured deadly volleys into their exposed ranks; but the British, continually re-enforced, pushed gallantly forward, some over the bridge, and some fording the stream above it, and fell so heavily upon the first and unsupported line of the Americans that it was compelled to fall back upon the second. A company, whose commander is unnamed in the reports of the battle, were so panic-stricken that they fled after the first fire, leaving their guns to fall into the hands of the enemy.

The first British brigade were now over the stream, and, elated by their success, did not wait for the second. They threw away their knapsacks and haversacks, and pushed up the hill to attack the American second line in the face of an annoying fire from Captain Burch's artillery. They weakened their force by stretching out so as to form a front equal to that of their antagonists. It was a blunder which Winder quickly perceived and took advantage of. He was then at the head of Sterett's regiment. With this and some of Stansbury's militia, who behaved gallantly, he not only checked the enemy's advance, but, at the point of the bayonet, pressed their attenuated line so strongly that it fell back to the thickets on the brink of the river, near the bridge, where it maintained its position most obstinately until re-enforced by the second brigade. Thus strengthened, it again pressed forward, and soon turned the left flank of the Americans, and at the same time sent a flight of hissing rockets over and very near the centre and right of Stansbury's line. The frightened regiments of Schutz and Ragan broke, and fled in the wildest confusion. Winder tried

to rally them, but in vain. Sterett's corps maintained their ground gallantly until the enemy had gained both their flanks, when Winder ordered them and the supporting artillery to retire up the hill. They, too, became alarmed, and the retreat, covered by riflemen, was soon a disorderly flight.

The first and second line of the Americans having been dispersed, the British, flushed with success, pushed forward to attack the third. Peter's artillery annoyed, but did not check them; and the left, under the gallant Colonel Thornton, soon confronted Barney, in the centre, who maintained his position like a genuine hero, as he was. His 18-pounders enfladed the Washington Road, and with them he swept the highway with such terrible effect that the enemy fled off into a field, and attempted to turn Barney's right flank. There they were met by three 12-pounders and marines, under Captains Miller and Seyier, and were badly cut up. They were driven back to the ravine already mentioned as the dueling-ground, leaving several of their wounded officers in the hands of the Americans. Colonel Thornton, who bravely led the attacking column, was severely



Joshua Barney

wounded, and General Ross had his horse shot under him.

Barney wounded, made Prisoner, and paroled.

Biographical Sketch of Barney.

The flight of Stansbury's troops left Barney unsupported in that direction, while a heavy column was hurled against Beall and his militia, on the right, with such force as to disperse them. The British light troops soon gained position on each flank, and Barney himself was severely wounded near a living fountain of water on the estate of the late Mr. Rives, which is still known as Barney's Spring.¹ When it became evident that Minor's Virginia troops could not arrive in time to aid the gallant flotillamen, who were obstinately maintaining their position against fearful odds, and that farther resistance would be useless, Winder ordered a general retreat. The commodore, too severely hurt to be moved, became a prisoner of war,² but was immediately paroled by General Ross, and sent to Bladensburg after his wound was dressed by a British surgeon.³ There he was joined



VIEW AT BARNEY'S SPRING.

by his wife and son, and his own surgeon, and on the 27th was conveyed to his farm at Elkridge, in Maryland. The great body of the Americans who were not dis-

¹ The picture is a view at "Barney's Spring" when I visited and sketched it in December, 1860. It is a little south of the road leading between Washington and Bladensburg, and about two hundred yards southwest from the mansion of the late Mr. Rives. Barney's battery was in the road near by; and the stumps of two cedar-trees, a short distance from the site of the battery, indicate the spot where the commodore's horse, which was shot under him, was buried.

² Joshua Barney was born in Baltimore, Maryland, on the 6th of July, 1759. He went to sea when a small boy, and at the age of fourteen years was second mate of a vessel, and at sixteen was commander.

After many adventures abroad, he arrived in the Chesapeake in October, 1775. The following June he was appointed a lieutenant in the United States Navy, and was the first to unfurl the American flag in Maryland. He was a very active officer during the whole war. He brought the first news of peace with Great Britain, on the 12th of March, 1789. Continuing in service, he was one of the six commanders appointed under the act of 1793, but he declined the honor. He went to France with Monroe, and was the bearer of the American flag to the National Convention. He entered the French service in command of two fine frigates. He resigned his French commission in 1802, and returned home. He again entered the naval service of the United States in 1812, and distinguished himself during the war that ensued. He died of a bilious fever at Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, on the 1st of December, 1818, at the age of fifty-nine years. His remains were interred in the burying-ground of the First Presbyterian Church at Pittsburg, and over them a plain white marble slab was laid by his widow. They were removed to the Alleghany Cemetery on the 12th of May, 1848, where they repose in the shadow of thrifty young trees, without a record there on wood or stone. The bullet which finally caused the death of Commodore Barney was never extracted during his lifetime. In obedience to his orders, it was sought for after his death, and found. It is preserved in a disc of brass, with an inscription, in the archives of the Navy Department at Washington City. The annexed engraving is a representation, the exact size, of the bullet, the disc, and the inscription. The portrait of Barney on the oppo-



³ The page was painted by Joseph Wood, of Washington City, in 1818.

⁴ Dr. Martin, in his MS. Reminiscences, already mentioned, says that when he and other prisoners were going up the hill toward where Barney fell, they met a litter with the wounded commodore on it. He desired his guard to halt, and call the prisoners to him. The leader called out to them, "Coom over here, Yankees, to see your countryman, Barney; he looks like a spread eagle, Yankees!" The prisoners shook hands with the brave old commodore, who gave them words of cheer.

Close of the Battle of Bladensburg. The British march on Washington. An Excuse for burning the City wanted.

persed retreated toward Montgomery Court-house, in Maryland, leaving the battlefield in full possession of the enemy, and their way to the national capital unobstructed except by the burning of the two bridges over the Eastern Branch of the Potomac.¹ The Americans lost twenty-six killed and fifty-one wounded. The British loss was manifold greater. According to one of their officers who was in the battle, and yet living (Mr. Gleig, Chaplain General of the British Army), it was "upward of five hundred killed and wounded," among them "several officers of rank and distinction." The battle commenced at about noon, and ended at four o'clock.

Up to this time the conduct of the British had been in accordance with the rules of modern warfare. Now they abandoned them, and on entering the national capital they performed deeds worthy only of barbarians. In a proclamation issued by the President on the 1st of September he submitted the following indictment: "They wantonly destroyed the public edifices, having no relation in their structure to operations of war, nor used at the time for military annoyance; some of these edifices being also costly monuments of taste and of the arts, and others depositories of the public archives, not only precious to the nation as the memorials of its origin and its early transactions, but interesting to all nations as contributions to the general stock of historical instruction and political science." Let us briefly examine the testimony of history.

When Ross was assured of complete victory, he halted his army a short time on the field of battle, and then, with the fresh Third Brigade, which had not been in the



THE CAPITOL IN 1814, FROM PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE.

conflict, he crossed the Eastern Branch Bridge. Assured of the retreat of the Americans beyond Georgetown, Ross left the main body a mile and a half from the Capitol, and entered the town, then containing about nine hundred buildings. He came to destroy the public property there. It was an errand, it is said, not at all

coincident with his taste or habits, and what was done by him appears to have been performed as humanely as the orders of his superiors would allow.² When, on his arrival in the Chesapeake, he had been informed by Admiral Cochrane that he (the admiral) had been urged by Sir George Prevost, the Governor General of Canada (who was not satisfied with the terrible devastation of the Niagara frontier at the close of 1813),³ to retaliate in kind upon the Americans for the destruction of the government buildings at York⁴ and the village of Newark,⁵ he demurred, saying that they

¹ The lower bridge, near the navy yard, had been left in charge of Captain Creighton, with orders to destroy it on the approach of the enemy. It was fired at four o'clock in the afternoon.

² Hoping to spare the town, Ross had sent an agent to negotiate for a pecuniary ransom. There was no competent authority to meet his agent, and if there was, the proposition would, as the President afterward said, have been treated with contempt.

³ See page 634.

⁴ See page 625.

⁵ See page 627. Evidently ashamed of the barbarism committed by British hands, Vice Admiral Cochrane attempted to palliate it by a pitiful trick. After the destruction of the capital, and the invaders were safely back on their vessels in the Potomac, Cochrane wrote a letter to Secretary Monroe, in which he said to him, "Having been called upon by the Governor General of the Canadas to aid him in carrying into effect measures of retaliation against the inhabitants of the United States for the wanton destruction committed by their army in Upper Canada, it has become imperiously my duty, conformably with the governor general's application, to issue to the naval force under my command an order to destroy and lay waste such towns and districts upon the coast as may be found available." Cochrane then expressed a hope that the "conduct of the executive of the United States would authorize him in staying such proceedings, by making reparation to the suffering inhabitants of Upper Canada," etc. This letter was antedated August 15, or six days before the battle of Bladensburg, so as to appear like a humane suggestion, in the non-compliance with which might be found an excuse for the destruction of the national capital. It did not reach Mr. Monroe until the morning of the 1st of August, a week after Washington was devastated, when that officer, in a dignified reply, reminded the vice admiral that the wanton destruction by the British of Frenchtown, Frederick, Georgetown, and Havre de Grace, and the outrages at Hampton by the same people, had occurred long before the destruction of Newark.

The British enter Washington.

Cockburn in his Element.

Destruction of the Public Buildings.

had carried on the war on the Peninsula and in France with a very different spirit, and that he could not sanction the destruction of public or private property, with the exception of military structures and warlike stores.¹ "It was not," says one of Ross's surviving aids, Sir Duncan McDougall, in a letter to the author in 1861, "until he was warmly pressed that he consented to destroy the Capitol and President's house, for the purpose of preventing a repetition of the uncivilized proceedings of the troops of the United States." Fortunately for Ross's sensibility there was a titled incendiary at hand in the person of Admiral Sir George Cockburn, who delighted in such inhuman work, and who literally became his torch-bearer.

The bulk of the invaders, having crossed the Eastern Branch, halted upon the plain between the Capitol and the site of the Congressional Burying-ground, when General Ross, accompanied by Cockburn and a guard of two hundred men, rode into the city at eight o'clock in the evening. They were fired upon from behind the house of Robert Sewall, near the Capitol, by a single musket, and the horse on which the general was riding was killed. Mr. Sewall's house was immediately destroyed. The same fate awaited the materials in the office of the *National Intelligencer*, the government organ, whose strictures on the brutality of Cockburn had filled that marauder with hot anger.² These, and some houses on Capitol Hill, a large rope-walk, and a tavern, comprised the bulk of private property destroyed, thanks to the restraining power of General Ross. Several houses and stores were also plundered. The unfinished Capitol, in which was the library of Congress, the President's house, a mile distant, the Treasury buildings, the Arsenal, and barracks for almost three thousand troops, were soon in flames, whose light was plainly seen in Baltimore, about forty miles northward. In the course of a few hours nothing of the superb Capitol and the Presidential mansion was left but their smoke-blackened walls.³ Of the public buildings only the Patent-office was saved.

All the glory that the British had won on the battle-field was lost in this barbarian



REMAINS OF THE CAPITOL AFTER THE FIRE.

conflagration. "Willingly," said the London *Statesman* newspaper, "would we throw a veil of oblivion over our transactions at Washington. The Cossacks spared Paris, but we spared not the capital of America." The British *Annual Register* for 1814 denounced the proceedings as "a return to the times of barbarism." It can not be concealed," the writer continued, "that the extent of devastation practiced by the victors brought a heavy censure upon the British character, not only in America, but

¹ Dr. Martin (see note 1, page 925) says: "General Ross was the perfect model of the Irish gentleman, of easy and beautiful manners, humane and brave, and dignified in his deportment to all. He was beloved by all his officers, and his prisoners had no reason to regret falling into such hands."

² Cockburn was about to apply the torch, when he was prevailed upon by the women of adjoining residences not to do so, as it would endanger their dwellings. He caused all the type and other printing materials to be thrown into the street, the printing-presses to be destroyed, and the library, containing several hundred volumes, to be burned. He assisted in this work with his own hands. His companions in the business were some sailors and soldiers.

³ These buildings were fired under the direct superintendence of Lieutenant George Pratt, the second of the *Sea-horse*, who was shot in the gun-boat battle on Lake Borgne, near New Orleans, a few months afterward.

The Barbarities of the British condemned by their Countrymen. The Navy Yard destroyed. The Long Bridge burnt.



REMAINS OF THE PRESIDENT'S HOUSE AFTER THE FIRE.

on the Continent of Europe." Continental writers and speakers condemned the act in unmeasured terms; and yet the government of England, which has seldom represented the sentiments of the *people*, caused the Tower guns to be fired in honor of Ross's victory; thanked the actors through Parliament; decreed a monument to that general in Westminster Abbey at his death; and, making additions to his armorial bearings, authorized his descendants forever to style themselves "Ross of Bladenburg!"¹

While the public buildings in Washington were in flames, the national shipping, stores, and other property were blazing at the navy yard; also the great bridge over the Potomac, from Washington City to the Virginia shore. Commodore Thomas

Thos. Tingey

Tingey was in command of the navy yard, and, before the battle, had received orders to set fire to the public property there in the event of the British gaining a victory, so as to prevent

its falling into the hands of the invaders. Tingey delayed the execution of the order for four hours after the contingency had occurred. When, at half past eight in the evening, he was informed that the enemy was encamped within the city limits, near the Capitol, he applied the torch, and property valued at about a million of dollars was destroyed. The schooner *Lynx* was saved, and most of the metallic work at the navy yard remained but little injured.² The fine naval monument, delineated on page 124, was somewhat mutilated, but whether accidentally at the time of the conflagration, or wantonly by the British, who went there the next day to complete the destructive work, is an unsettled question.³ At the same time, the Long Bridge over the Potomac was fired at both ends. The Americans on the Virginia side thought a large body of British troops were about to pass over, and fired that end to foil them, while the British on the city side, perceiving, as they thought, a large body of Americans about to cross over from the Virginia side, fired the Maryland end of the bridge. The value of the entire amount of property destroyed at Washington by the

¹ The London *Times*, then, as now, the exponent of the principles of the ruling classes in England, and the bitter foe of the American people, gloried in the destruction of the public buildings, and the expulsion of the President and Cabinet from the capital, and indulged in exulting prophecies of the speedy disappearance of the great republic in the West. "That ill-organized association," said the *Times*, "is on the eve of dissolution, and the world is speedily to be delivered of the mischievous example of the existence of a government founded on democratic rebellion." In long after years, when Cockburn died at the age of eighty-two, the *Times* lauded him chiefly for his marauding exploits in this country, and his "splendid achievement" in firing our national capital.

² Letter of Commodore Tingey to the Secretary of the Navy, August 27, 1814. The officers and other persons at the navy yard fled in boats to Alexandria.

³ On the day after the entrance of the British into Washington (August 26), a party of two hundred of them were sent to finish the work of destruction at the navy yard. A large quantity of powder, shot, and shell had been thrown into a well. A British artilleryman accidentally dropped a match into it, when a terrible explosion occurred, and communicated fire to a small magazine of powder near by. That also exploded. Earth, stones, bricks, shot, shells, etc., were thrown into the air, and, falling among the invaders, killed twelve men, and wounded more than thirty others.

Flight of the President and his Cabinet.

Mrs. Madison's Patriotism.¹

Jacob Barker at the President's Home.

British and Americans was estimated at about two million dollars. The walls of the Capitol and President's house stood firm, and were used in rebuilding.

President Madison, and other civil officers who went out to see the fight and give such assistance as they might, remained on the field until Barney fell, when they fled to the city as fast as swift-footed horses could carry them, and were among the first to announce the startling intelligence that the British, victorious, were probably marching on the town.¹ Mrs. Madison² had already been apprised of the danger. When the flight of Congreve rockets caused the panic-stricken militia to fly, the President sent messengers to inform her that the defeat of the Americans and the capture of the city seemed to be promised, and to advise her to fly to a place of safety. These messengers reached her between two and three o'clock. Mrs. Madison ordered her carriage, and sent away in a wagon silver plate and other valuables, to be deposited in the Bank of Maryland. She anxiously waited for her husband, and in the mean time took measures for preserving the full-length portrait of Washington, painted by Stuart, which hung in the presidential mansion.³ Finding the process of unscrewing the frame from the wall too tedious for the exigency, she had it broken in pieces, and the picture removed with the "stretcher," or light frame on which the canvas was nailed. This she did with her own hands. Just as she had accomplished so much, two gentlemen from New York, one of whom was the now (1867) venerable New Orleans banker, Jacob Barker,⁴ entered the room. The picture was lying on the floor. The sounds of approaching troops were heard. They might be the invaders, who would be delighted by the possession of so notable a captive as the beautiful wife of the President. It was time for her to fly. "Save that picture," she said to Mr. Barker and Mr. R. G. L. De Peyster, his companion — "save that picture, if possible; if not possible, destroy it: under no circumstances allow it to fall into the hands of the



D. P. Madison

¹ The Opposition press and speakers were merry over the flight of the President and his Cabinet from the battle-field. A New York paper said: "Should some Walter Scott in the next century write a poem, and call it *Madison, or the Battle of Bladensburg*, we would suggest the following lines for the conclusion, to be put into the mouth of his hero:

"Fly, Monroe, fly! run, Armstrong, run!
Were the last words of Madison."

² Dolley Payne was the maiden name of Mrs. Madison. She was the daughter of Quaker parents, residents of Virginia, and was born on the 20th of May, 1767, while her mother was visiting some friends in North Carolina. Her father manumitted his slaves, and made Philadelphia his residence. There Dolley married a young lawyer named Todd, who was also a Quaker. He died, leaving her a young widow with an infant son; and in 1794 she married Mr. Madison, then a distinguished member of Congress, and Montpelier, in Virginia, became their home. She adorned every station in life in which she was placed. She died in July, 1859, at the age of eighty-three years, having survived her husband fourteen years.

³ Mrs. Madison wrote to her sister at intervals. At three o'clock she wrote: "Mr. Madison comes not. May God protect him! Two messengers, covered with dust, come to bid me fly, but I wait for him. . . . Our kind friend, Mr. Carroll, has come to hasten my departure, and is in a very bad humor with me because I insist on waiting until the large picture of General Washington is secured, and it requires to be unscrewed from the wall."

⁴ Jacob Barker is one of the remarkable men of this country. He was born in Maize on the 17th of December, 1779. His mother was a Quaker, and he has been a member of that Society through life. He entered early into mercantile life, and became largely interested in commerce as an extensive ship-owner. He was a firm and efficient supporter of the administration during the war, and aided the government largely in its financial operations. He was an intimate family friend of President Madison. He became extensively engaged in banking, and his long and active life has been a scene of many vicissitudes for him. He is now (1867), at the age of eighty-nine years, engaged in banking in the city of New Orleans.

The Declaration of Independence saved. Original Object of this British Invasion. Their Fears of the aroused People.

British." Then, snatching up the precious parchment on which was written the Declaration of Independence and the autographs of the signers, which she had resolved to save also, she hastened to the carriage with her sister (Mrs. Cutts) and her husband, and two servants, and was borne away to a place of safety beyond the Potomac.¹

Just as Barker and De Peyster had taken the picture from the stretcher and rolled it up, a portion of the flying American army came up, and halted in front of the President's house. Some refreshments were given to them, when they marched on toward Montgomery Court-house, the appointed place of rendezvous for the broken army, followed by those gentlemen with the picture. They left it in charge of a farmer in whose house they lodged that night, and a few weeks afterward Mr. Barker restored the portrait to Mrs. Madison.² It now



hangs upon the wall in the Blue Room of the Presidential mansion.

It was not the design of the British to hold the territory which they had, unexpectedly to themselves, acquired. Indeed, the whole movement up the Chesapeake was originally intended as a feint—a menace of Baltimore and Washington, to engage the attention of the government and people, and to draw in that direction the military force of the country, while the far more important measure of invading Louisiana with a formidable force, and taking possession of the Mississippi Valley, should be matured and executed. Accordingly, when Winder's forces were defeated and routed, the President and his Cabinet driven from the national capital, and the public buildings were destroyed, the invaders retreated precipitately, evidently in fear of a reactive blow. While the British Cabinet, judging from metropolitan influence in European countries, were disposed to believe that, with the loss of their capital, the Americans would consider all gone, and would yield in despair to their victors, those conquerors, on the spot, saw too well the danger to be apprehended from the spirit of a people aroused to greater exertions, and with more united energy, because of that very misfortune.

¹ The flight of the President from the battle-field, and of Mrs. Madison from the Presidential mansion, formed the subject of many squibs for the Opposition. Among others was a witty parody on *John Gilpin's Ride*, only one stanza of which I can now recall. It is descriptive of Mrs. Madison's directions for the flight of the family, where she says to the President:

"Sister Cutts, and Cutts and I,
And Cutts's children three,
Shall in the coach—and you shall ride
On horseback after we."

According to letters among General Winder's papers, the President and his Cabinet fled to different places. On the 26th, the day after the British withdrew from Washington, the President, with General Mason, the Commissary of Provisions, and Richard Rush, the Attorney General, was at Brookville, in Maryland; the Secretary of the Navy was with the President's family in Loudon County, Virginia; and the Secretary of War and Secretary of the Treasury were at Frederick, in Maryland, on the Monocacy River. As soon as the President was certified of the flight of the invaders to their ships, he summoned his Cabinet to a reunion at Washington. The President, with the Secretary of State, arrived there on the 28th. The reunion took place on the 29th.—Autograph Letters of Monroe and Armstrong, August 26 and 27, 1814.

² Oral statement of Mr. Barker to the author at New Orleans in April, 1861.

British retreat from Washington.

An Account by an Eye-witness.

Effect of the Invasion.

Impressed with a sense of this danger, Ross and Cochrane moved away with their forces with great secrecy on the night of the 25th of August, after ordering every inhabitant of Washington to remain within doors from sunset till sunrise, on pain of death, and increasing their camp-fires, so as to deceive the Americans. It was immediately after the passage of a terrific tempest of wind, lightning, and rain, during which houses were unroofed and trees were uprooted. Softly these victors stole away in the gloom. "No man spoke above his breath," says one of the British officers who was present. "Our very steps were planted lightly, and we cleared the town without exciting observation."¹ At midnight, just as the moon arose and cast a pale light over the scenes, they passed the battle-field and Bladensburg, leaving their dead unburied, and full ninety of their wounded to the humanity of Commodore Barney and his men. It was humiliating to the British troops thus to steal away in the dark from the field of their conquest. They moved sullenly onward, so wearied with fatigue and loss of sleep that, when the columns halted for a few minutes, the roads would be filled with sleeping soldiers. At seven o'clock in the morning, finding themselves but little annoyed by pursuers, they halted for rest and refreshments for several hours. At noon they moved forward, encamped at Marlborough, and, marching leisurely, reached Benedict on the 29th, where they embarked on the transports the next day.²²



G. R. Gleig

The loss of the battle at Bladensburg and of the national capital filled the American people with mortification, and produced the most intense excitement throughout the country.³ Crimination and recrimination kindled widespread anger, that burned intensely while the actors lived. The public were disposed to hold the Secretary of War responsible for the misfortune, because of his alleged obstinacy and inefficiency, and on the 3d of September he left the Cabinet, and retired to private

* August 26,
1814.

¹ Rev. George R. Gleig, now (1867) chaplain general of the British Army. He entered the army at an early age, was in the Peninsular War with Wellington, and served as a subaltern in America at Baltimore, and Washington, and New Orleans. He was severely wounded in the battle of Bladensburg. He has published two works on these campaigns, one entitled *The Subaltern in America*, and the other *Campaigns of Washington and New Orleans*. To these books, written with great candor, I am indebted for much information concerning the movements of the British in these campaigns. Mr. Gleig has been an industrious book-maker. After the war in this country he took orders, and was chaplain of Chelsea Hospital for some time. He was made chaplain general to the forces in 1846. A fine lithographed portrait of him, from which the above picture was copied, and his signature, I received from him through the hands of a gentleman residing in London.

² The chief authorities consulted in the preparation of the narrative of the capture of Washington are the official reports of the commanders; Wilkinson's *Memoirs*; Armstrong's *Notices of the War of 1812*; files of the National Intelligence; Niles's *Register*; Ingraham's *Sketch of the Events which preceded the Capture of Washington*; Jagersoll's *Historical Sketch of the Second War*, etc.; Williams's *History of the Invasion and Capture of Washington*; the *MS. Papers of General Winder and Commodore Barney*; Gleig's *Campaign of Washington*, etc.; *Statements of Survivors*, etc., etc.

³ Intelligence of the disaster reached Cincinnati on the 6th of September. General Harrison was there. Forgetful of the ill treatment which he had received from those in power, and anxious to save his country, he at once addressed a letter to the Governors of Ohio and Kentucky, to whom appeals had never been made in vain, suggesting the propriety of sending a volunteer force of dragoons and mounted riflemen to the aid of the people on the sea-board. Movements for that purpose were set on foot, when the repulse of the British at Baltimore, and their abandonment of expeditions (if ever conceived) against Philadelphia and New York, rendered farther operations in the West unnecessary.—Autograph Letter of General Harrison to Governor Shelby, September 6, 1814.

Who was to blame for the Defeat at Bladensburg.

Slavery the Culprit.

Fort Washington.

life.¹ The government gladly attempted to fix the odium upon the militia of Maryland and the District of Columbia, who were easily panic-stricken, and who, on being driven from the field, fled in disorder to their homes; and General Winder received a full share of blame, how worthily let the preceding narrative determine. Only Barney and his seamen were praised. Historians, puzzled by contemporaneous quarrels, have generally agreed in condemning both the government and the militia—the former for imbecility, and the latter for cowardice. A culprit more culpable than either may be discovered by close research. The late Alvan Stewart, in a letter to Dr. Bailey on the 30th of August, 1845, gives us a clew to the identity of the criminal. He says: "General Smith,² of Georgetown, District of Columbia, told me in 1818, while passing over this very ground [between Bladensburg and the national capital], in a journey I was taking to Washington City, that he commanded a brigade in the fleeing army of ours, and that the secret of our disgraceful flight was, that a story had been circulated through the District and adjacent counties of the two states, that on that day the slaves were to rise and assert their liberty,³ and that *each man more feared the enemy he had left behind, in the shape of a slave in his own house or plantation, than he did any thing else.*"⁴ The officers and soldiers had their minds distracted with the possibility of this insurrection," said General Smith, "and therefore fled to their homes before an inferior force, and left Washington to the mercy of its captors."⁵ Barney's men, having no such fears, fought gallantly and persistently. May we not look for the chief cause of the disaster at Bladensburg, and the loss of the national capital in 1814, to the slave system, which has cursed every thing upon which the blight of its influence has fallen?

While Cochrane and Ross were making their way toward Washington, a portion of the British fleet, consisting of two frigates of thirty-six and thirty-eight guns, two rocket-ships of eighteen guns each, two bomb-vessels of eight guns each, and one schooner of two guns, sailed up the Potomac River, under Commodore Gordon, of the *Sea-horse*, to co-operate with them. The only obstruction to the passage of the fleet on which the Americans might place the least reliance was Fort Washington (late Warburton), on the Maryland side of the Potomac, about twelve miles below the National capital. It was a feeble fortress, but capable of being made strong. So early as May, 1813, a deputation from Alexandria, Georgetown, and Washington waited upon the Secretary of War, and represented the importance of strengthening that post. An engineer (Colonel Decius Wadsworth) was sent to examine it. He reported in favor of additional works in the rear, while he believed that the armament

D. Wadsworth

of the fort, and its elevated situation, would enable a well-managed garrison to repulse any number of ships of war that might attempt to pass up the river. Nothing more was done. In July, 1814, when a British fleet and army were in the Chesapeake, the authorities of Alexandria again called the attention of the Secretary of War to the feeble condition of Fort Washington. The Secretary did not believe the enemy would push for the capital, and nothing was done. The Alexandrians appealed

¹ On the 29th of August President Madison informed General Armstrong that there was a high degree of excitement against him among the militia of the District, and that an officer of a corps had given notice that he would no longer obey any order coming through the then Secretary of War. He told Armstrong that he must so far yield to public clamor as to permit some other person to perform the duties of his office in relation to the defense of the District. Armstrong would not consent to a division of his duties, and resigned. In his letter of resignation, and in a subsequent paper, he offered a vindication of his conduct. In the year 1850 General Armstrong published a still more elaborate vindication, in two small volumes, entitled *Notices of the War of 1812*.

² General Walter Smith. See page 922.

³ On several occasions during the war the British had offered liberty to the slaves if the latter would join them, and on one occasion, as we have seen (page 690), preparations were made, on that account, for a general insurrection in South Carolina.

⁴ See the testimony of John Randolph on this point in a speech on the floor of Congress in the year 1811. See page 214.

⁵ *Writings and Speeches of Alvan Stewart on Slavery*, edited by his son-in-law, Luther R. Marsh, page 372.

Fort Washington neglected.

It is deserted and blown up.

British Ships pass up the Potomac.

to General Winder, who, in a letter to the Secretary of War,¹ recommended the strengthening of the post. Three of the banks of Alexandria offered to loan the government fifty thousand dollars for the construction of more defenses for the District. The money was accepted, but nothing was done to Fort Washington. When the battle of Bladensburg occurred, and the seat of government was left to the mercy of the invaders, Fort Washington was as feebly armed as ever, and its garrison consisted of only about eighty men, under Captain Samuel T. Dyson, who had received orders from General Winder to be very watchful, and, in the event of its being approached by the enemy on land, to blow up the fortification and retreat across the river.

The British squadron appeared before Fort Washington on the 27th of August,



FORT WASHINGTON.¹

three days after the capture of the capital. Captain Dyson either misunderstood General Winder's order, or was influenced by mortal fear, for he blew up and abandoned the fort without firing a gun.² No doubt the British fleet could have been kept below by the heavy cannon of the fort. Dyson chose not to try the experiment, and for his injurious conduct he was dismissed from the service.

The British squadron now had nothing to fear, and without hinderance it sailed on, and was anchored off Alexandria on the evening of the 28th. On the morning of the 29th it assumed a hostile attitude a hundred yards from the wharves, and was well prepared to lay every building in the town in ashes. The citizens had done what they could to protect their city.³ The able-bodied men and their heavy guns had been called to the defense of Washington City, and only exempts and a few others, not more than one hundred in all, were left. When the squadron came they had no effective means to oppose the intruders, and the citizens sent a deputation to Commodore Gordon to ask upon what terms he would consent to spare the town. He replied that all naval stores and ordnance; all the shipping and its furniture; merchandise of every description in the city, or which had been carried out of it to a place of safety; and refreshments of every kind, must be immediately given up to him. Also that the vessels which had been scuttled to save them from destruction must be raised, and delivered up to him. "Do all this," he said, "and the town of Alexandria, with the exception of public works, shall be spared, and the inhabitants

¹ This is a view of Fort Washington from the rear, looking across the Potomac to the Virginia shore, as it appeared in November, 1861. It is on the Maryland shore, about three miles higher up the river than Mount Vernon.

² In a letter to the Secretary of War, dated "Camp at Macon's Island, August 29, 1814," Captain Dyson excused his conduct by saying he had been informed that the enemy had been re-enforced at Benedict by six thousand men, and were marching on Fort Washington to co-operate with the fleet. This was a false rumor. He acted too precipitately to find out the truth, but not until it was too late to be useful.

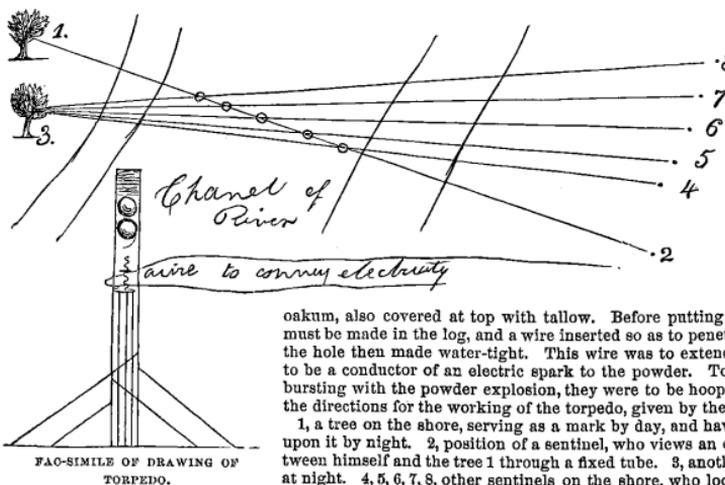
³ At about the time when the British fleet appeared in the Potomac, General Winder received from an unknown hand a sketch of a simple torpedo for blowing up vessels, with a description of its construction and use. The engraving of it on the next page is a fac-simile of the original pen-and-ink sketch found among the Winder papers. General Winder believed it was from General Guy, of Alexandria, who had conversed with him on the subject previously.

The torpedo's construction and use were described as follows: Ascertain the depth of the channel in which a row of torpedoes are to be placed, and cut trees three feet in diameter of such length as will allow ships to pass over them when they stand perpendicular. Bore them out with a pump auger, the hole being large enough for a 12-pound ball,

shall remain unmolested. These were harsh and humiliating terms, and the inhabitants were allowed only one hour for consideration. They were powerless, and were compelled to submit. The merchandise that had been carried from the town and the sunken vessels could not be given up to the invader, so he contented himself by burning one vessel and loading several others, chiefly with flour, cotton, and tobacco. With these in charge, the squadron weighed anchor and sailed down the Potomac.¹

On hearing of the surrender of Alexandria, the government determined to annoy, and, if possible, capture or destroy the British squadron in its descent of the Potomac. The Maryland and District militia could not be rallied in time, so the Secretary of the Navy sent an express to Commodore Rodgers, at Baltimore,² for him to hasten to the Potomac with as large a number of seamen as he could collect. These were placed under the command of Commodores Rodgers, Perry, Porter, and Creighton.³ Armed boats and fire-ships were soon prepared, and the seamen, in conjunction with the Virginia militia, gave the enemy a great deal of trouble. Batteries were erected on the river bank at the "White House," a short distance below Mount Vernon, and on Indian Head, both commanding points on the Virginia side of the stream. Musketeers were stationed on the thickly-wooded shores. Cannon were taken by District Volunteers, and placed in battery with all possible dispatch, and for several days from the

1814. 1st of September they kept the British war and plunder vessels from descending the river. Meanwhile the batteries and the militia were strengthened by accessions of guns sent down from Washington and men from the neighboring country, and at times there was heavy fighting. Finally the war vessels, ten in number, with an aggregate of one hundred and seventy-three guns, brought their concentrated



Then fill the place with hot tallow, so that it will thoroughly enter the pores of the wood, and make it impervious to water. Then bore it out again, and put in powder in flannel cartridges. Over the powder place two balls, and then pour in melted tallow again, so as to completely inclose the powder. Over the balls put a wad of

oakum, also covered at top with tallow. Before putting in the powder, a hole must be made in the log, and a wire inserted so as to penetrate the cartridge, and the hole then made water-tight. This wire was to extend to the shore. It was to be a conductor of an electric spark to the powder. To secure the trees from bursting with the powder explosion, they were to be hooped. The following are the directions for the working of the torpedo, given by the projector:

1, a tree on the shore, serving as a mark by day, and having a lantern hanging upon it by night. 2, position of a sentinel, who views an object on the water between himself and the tree 1 through a fixed tube. 3, another tree, with a lantern at night. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, other sentinels on the shore, who look through fixed tubes upon tree number 3, their vision crossing that of sentinel number 2 at different positions. The circles in the channel of the river show the position of five tree torpedoes. Thus stationed, the different sentinels would all see a vessel, as it crossed their vision between them and tree 3, at different points. When the sentinel at 4, 5, 6, 7, or 8 sees an object on his line of vision, he will immediately pull a cord to convey information of the fact to number 2, and if, at the same time, that object covers the vision of the sentinel on line 1 and 2, the vessel must be over one of the torpedoes. Then number 2, having in charge the electric wire, will communicate the spark to the powder of the torpedo.

¹ The loss sustained by the Alexandrians by the surrender of the city consisted of three ships, three brigs, several small bay and river craft, 16,000 pounds of flour, 1000 hogsheads of tobacco, 150 bales of cotton, and \$5000 worth of wines and segars.

² Commodore Rodgers was at Philadelphia when the British captured Washington. As early as the 26th he had received an order from the Secretary of the Navy to hasten to Washington with all the force under his command. He started with four hundred seamen and fifty marines armed with muskets, and four pieces of artillery (12-pounders), but before he reached Baltimore he heard of the fall of the capital. At Baltimore he awaited farther orders.—Rodgers to Winder—Autograph Letter among the Winder Papers.

³ Perry and Porter were in Baltimore at the time, and accompanied Rodgers to Washington. The former was in command of the frigate *Java*, recently launched at Baltimore.

British Ships pass American Batteries and escape. Visit to the Battle-ground at Bladensburg. Oak Hill Cemetery.

power to bear upon Porter's battery at the "White House" and its supports, and drove all away. Perry's battery at Indian Head received like attention. His guns were skillfully managed by Lieutenant (late Commodore) George C. Read;¹ but Perry, like Porter, overwhelmed by a vastly superior force, was compelled to retire, and allow the enemy, with his plunder, to pass on to Chesapeake Bay.²

Thus ended the invasion which resulted in the capture of Washington City, the destruction of its public buildings and navy yard, the surrender and plunder of Alexandria, and the profound regret and humiliation of the American people.³

I visited the theatre of many of the events described in this chapter, in the years 1860 and 1861. At the close of the former year I was in Washington City, on my way southward to go over the region of the Creek War in Alabama⁴ from the Tennessee River to the Gulf of Mexico, and to view the grounds of conflict in the vicinity of New Orleans. I was met there by a letter from a distinguished South Carolina author, informing me that on a certain day a Convention would declare that state seceded from the Union,⁵ and advising me to defer my visit on account of the excitement and confusion that must inevitably follow such revolutionary action. On the day after receiving this letter,^a and while conversing with the venerable General Cass (who had lately left Mr. Buchanan's Cabinet in disgust) at his own house, a messenger brought to him the startling intelligence of the passage of the Ordinance of Secession by the South Carolina Convention of politicians.^b I shall never forget the extreme sadness of countenance, voice, and words of the eminent statesman after that announcement. "I hoped," he said, "to leave to my children, as an inheritance from patriotic men, a united, prosperous, and happy country; but all is over! This is but the beginning of the end!"

^a December 20, 1860.

^b December 20.

The political firmament was so cloudy that I concluded to defer my visit to the Gulf region until a more propitious time, and so I spent a week among the public records in the Departments at Washington, and in visiting the battle-ground at Bladensburg. I had the good fortune to go over that field of strife with the late John C. Rives, whose residence, we have observed,⁶ was near the place where Barney fought and fell. Being his guest for a day, we spent nearly the whole time in exploring the battle-ground, and making the sketches on preceding pages. Not long afterward the great Civil War broke out, and it was a year after the visit now considered before I was again in the National capital in the prosecution of this work, when it was filled with soldiery and all the paraphernalia of war. Accompanied by a young kinswoman, I then visited localities of interest connected with the War of 1812 in and around Washington City, at Baltimore, North Point, Havre de Grace, and other places.

It was a bright day in November^c when we rode over to Oak Hill Cemetery, near Georgetown, to visit the graves of General Towson and Commodore Morris. It was a beautiful spot. The burial-places were spread over the slopes of a broad ravine that went down to Piney Branch Creek, where the gentle murmur of a small cascade was heard. The ground was covered with stately oaks, and among them stood many commemorative monuments. I sketched those of Towson and Mor-

^c 1861.

¹ Commodore Read died at Philadelphia, where he was Governor of the Naval Asylum, in August, 1868.

² On the 5th of September twenty-six sail passed Point Lookout, and at four o'clock on the afternoon of the 9th twenty-one ships, six brigs, and three smaller vessels were seen beating up the Chesapeake.—Autograph Letters from Thomas Swann, at Point Lookout, among the Winder Papers.

³ The slight resistance offered to the invaders during their operations in the space of twelve days excited great surprise, alarm, and indignation. They had been performed in the midst of a population most interested in the events, and capable of furnishing at least 20,000 able-bodied men for the defense of their homes and the National capital. The national honor required an investigation, and early in the next session of Congress a committee for that purpose was appointed by the House of Representatives. Their report exculpated the President and General Winder, but left Congress and the people to form their own judgment from the facts presented.

⁴ See Chapters XXIII and XXIV.

⁵ The writer was William Gilmore Simms. His letter was dated December 13, 1860. "In ten days more," he wrote, "South Carolina will have certainly seceded; and in reasonable interval after this event, if the forts in our harbor are not surrendered to the state, they will be taken."

⁶ See page 927.

Kalorama.

Barlow's Vault.

The Death of Decatur.

Van Rensselaer's Letter.



THE UNKNOWN.

slope, at the foot of which was a circular plain of ten or twelve acres, then beaten hard by the tread of troops, for it had been made a camp-ground. On the edge of this plain, overlooking a steep slope covered with oaks, was the family vault of Mr. Barlow,² in which the



BARLOW'S VAULT.

ris,¹ and a small uninscribed stone, with a cross upon it, near the latter, and then we rode back, crossed Piney Creek, and, a mile from Georgetown, entered a pleasant lane shaded with oaks, that led to the beautiful mansion of Kalorama, on the brow of a hill, which was once the residence of the eminent Joel Barlow.² At the time of our visit it was used as a hospital for soldiers sick with small-pox and measles. Before it was a gentle wooded



KALORAMA.

body of Commodore Decatur was laid on the 24th of March, 1820, two days after he fell in a duel with Commodore Barron, near Bladensburg.⁴ It was followed to this tomb by a vast concourse of people, and was placed in it with military honors.⁵

We returned to Washington just as the stars were appearing. Early the next day we rode out to the Congressional Burial-ground, which lies partly upon a plain, and

¹ A picture of Towson's appears on page 809, and Morris's on page 901.

² See page 94.

³ On each side of the entrance door to the vault was a white marble slab, suitably inscribed. Commencing on one, and running across to the other, are the words "Sacred to the repose of the dead and the meditation of the living." On the left-hand slab we read: "Joel Barlow, Patriot, Poet, and Philosopher, lies buried at Zarowitch, Poland, where he died, 26th December, 1812, aged fifty-seven years."

⁴ Judith Baldwin Barlow, his wife, died 29th of May, 1818, aged sixty-two."

⁵ Abraham Baldwin, her brother, died a senator in Congress from Georgia, 4th of March, 1807, aged fifty-two years. His memory needs no marble; his country is his monument; the Constitution his greatest work." Mr. Baldwin was a member from Georgia of the Convention that framed the National Constitution in 1787. On the right-hand side are inscriptions commemorative of the Bomford family.

* General Solomon Van Rensselaer, then in Washington City, wrote as follows to Mrs. Van Rensselaer:

"Washington, March 30, 1820.

"DEAR HARRIET,—I have only time, after writing to several, to say that an affair of honor took place this morning between Commodores Decatur and Barron, in which both fell at the first fire. The ball entered Decatur's body two inches above the hip, and lodged against the opposite side. I just came from his house. He yet lives, but will never see another sun. Barron's wound is severe, but not dangerous. The ball struck the upper part of his hip, and turned to the rear. He is ruined in public estimation. The excitement is very great."

On the following day Van Rensselaer wrote of his death, and said: "His poor wife (they have no children) is distressed beyond expression. She would suffer no one to be in her room, and, strange to say, she did not see him until after his death." General Van Rensselaer was misinformed, for she was present when he died. Mrs. Decatur survived her husband about forty years. She died at Georgetown, in the District of Columbia, in 1860.

² Decatur's remains were taken from his late residence in Washington City at four o'clock in the afternoon, and borne to Kalorama by the following officers: Commodores Tingey, Macdonough, Rodgers, and Porter, Captains Cassin, Ballard, and Chauncey, Generals Brown and Jesup, and Lieutenant M'Pherson. The funeral was attended by nearly all the public functionaries in Washington, American and foreign, and a great number of citizens. While the procession was moving, minute-guns were fired at the navy yard.

The Congressional Burying-ground.

A Visit to Fort Washington.

Departure from the National Capital.

partly upon an uneven slope toward the Anacostia, or Eastern Branch of the Potomac. It contains many beautiful monuments, and also monotonous rows of small marble cenotaphs erected to the memory of members of Congress who



GERRY'S MONUMENT.

died while representatives of districts, but who were not buried there. Among the most elaborately wrought of the fine monuments is that of Elbridge Gerry, who died



CENOTAPH.

suddenly while he was Vice-President of the United States.¹ It is of white marble, about thirteen feet in height, with a neat iron railing around it.² After sketching this monument and those of several other distinguished public servants, we returned to the city, and passed the evening pleasantly with Colonel C. S. Todd, one of General Harrison's staff in the War of 1812, already mentioned,³ and the late venerable Elisha Whittlesey, Comptroller of the National Treasury, who was also an active participant in the Second War for Independence.⁴

Having procured a special letter of permission from General M'Clellan, we started for old Fort Washington, twelve miles down the Potomac, on the following morning, accompanied by Mr. Samuel Yorke At Lee, Librarian of the Treasury Department. Beyond the Potomac, from Arlington Heights to Alexandria and below, we saw the white tents of

various military encampments. At Fort Washington, which stands upon the high bank of the Potomac, on the Maryland side, at the mouth of the Piscataway Creek, we were courteously received by Major Haskin, the commander of the garrison; and while making the sketch seen on page 939, we heard the heavy guns of the Confederates, who then blockaded the Potomac. It was twilight when we returned to Washington City. At an early hour the next morning we crossed the Long Bridge into Virginia, made a journey of almost twenty miles among camps and forts in the vicinity of the National capital, and returned to Washington at dusk. On Monday morning we departed for Baltimore, to visit places of historic interest there and in its vicinity.

¹ Mr. Gerry was boarding at the house of Mrs. Wilson, and was on his way from there to the Capitol when the death-announcements came to him in the street. At his funeral his body was taken from Mrs. Wilson's to the hall of the House of Representatives in charge of a committee of arrangements. From there it was conveyed to the Congressional Burying-ground by Messrs. Tallmadge, Macon, Brower, Sevier, Wright, Findley, Nelson, and Brigham, chosen pall-bearers, followed by all the public functionaries in Washington, domestic and foreign.

² Mr. Gerry was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and had ever been conspicuous in public life. The following is a copy of the inscription on his monument: *East Side*—"The tomb of ELBRIDGE GERRY, Vice-President of the United States, who died suddenly in this city, on his way to the Capitol as President of the Senate, November 23d, 1814, aged seventy, thus fulfilling his own memorable injunction, 'It is the duty of every citizen, though he may have but one day to live, to devote that day to the good of his country.'" *West Side*—"Erected by order of the Congress of the United States, 1823."

³ See page 548.

⁴ See page 841.

NOTE.—In the smaller section of the map on page 929 are figures which indicate the position of certain troops, as follows: 5, Second Regiment, of Smith's brigade; 6, Major Peter's battery; 7, Major Waring's battalion; 8, Scott's regulars; 9, companies of Stull and Davidson; 10, Ragan's regiment; 11, Schutz's; 12, Fifth Baltimore Regiment; 13, Barch's artillery; 16, militia and riflemen; 17, Baltimore artillery; 20, the British.

CHAPTER XL.

"The gen'ral gave orders for the troops to march down,
To meet the proud Ross, and to check his ambition;
To inform him we have decreed in our town
That here he can't enter without our permission.
And if life he regards, he will not press too hard,
For Baltimore freemen are ever prepared
To check the presumptuous, whoever they be,
That may rashly attempt to evade our decree."—OLD SONG.



BALTIMORE was menaced while Washington was assailed. Indeed, the whole coast of the Chesapeake Bay, from its mouth to the Patapsco, was continually harassed by the invaders during August and September, 1814. "Whenever a favorable opportunity presented itself," wrote a British officer who participated in the capture of Washington, "parties landed, plundered or destroyed the government stores, and brought off all the shipping which could be reached. In a word," he says, with great candor, "the hostilities carried on in the Chesapeake resembled the expeditions of the ancient Danes against Great Britain rather than a modern war between civilized nations." He added, "But these hasty excursions, though generally successful, were not always performed without loss to the invaders."¹ We will here record two events in proof of the truth of the last observation, in which the courage and spirit of the Maryland militia were very conspicuous.

Among other places on the Chesapeake which received special attention from the British was the little village of St. Michael's, in Talbot County, on the eastern shore of the bay. It was founded by ship-builders, and was famous as the place where most of the swift-sailing privateers, called "Baltimore clippers," were constructed. At the time in question seven of these were on the stocks there. Cockburn, the raider, determined to destroy them, the ship-yards, and the town. Intimation of his intentions had been received at the village, and the veteran General Derry Benson, commander of the militia of Talbot County, prepared to receive them. He constructed two batteries, one at the entrance to the harbor or creek, mounting three 6-pounders and one long 9-pounder, and the other on an eminence in front of the town, armed with two 6-pounders.

Two companies from Easton, and two or three from the adjacent country, were called to the defense of St. Michael's, numbering in the aggregate about three hundred souls. They were in readiness for some time, waiting for the invaders. They appeared early in August,² in a small squadron, that entered Eastern Bay between the Talbot County main and Kent Island. Between midnight and the dawn of the 11th, while the darkness was intensified by thick clouds, they made their way in eleven barges (each armed with a 6-pound field-piece), with oars muffled, so secretly that the booming of their cannon was the first intimation the Americans received of their near presence. The Marylanders were a little surprised, yet they behaved most gallantly. They returned the fire with spirit from the lower battery. The 9-pounder was in charge of Captain William Dodson, of St. Michael's, and did terrible execution. He had literally crammed it with grape and canister shot, and

¹ Campaigns of Washington and New Orleans, by the Rev. G. R. Gleig. See page 937.

The Defense of St. Michael's.

Exploits of Sir Peter Parker.

Infamous Conduct of Admiral Cockburn.

being well acquainted with every foot of the locality, he knew precisely, by sounds, where to fire most effectively in the gloom. The invaders, under cover of their heavy guns, had landed in a compact body for the purpose of storming the batteries, and when Dodson opened his great gun upon them, a wide swathe was cut through their line. Nineteen of the British were killed, and many were wounded. The Americans, finding themselves outnumbered, fled to the upper battery, whose guns, worked by Captains Vickers and Auld, kept up a continuous fire on the foe. The fight continued until daylight, when the British fled to their boats and abandoned the enterprise. They had spiked the guns in the lower battery, and this was the principal loss sustained by the Americans.¹ St. Michael's and its ship-yards were saved by the gallantry of a few spirited militia, and no attempt to enter its harbor was ever afterward made by a British armed vessel. It is yet a flourishing town of about eight hundred people, surrounded by fertile land and deep estuaries of the Chesapeake.

Soon after the expulsion of the invaders from St. Michael's, Sir Peter Parker, of the Royal Navy, appeared in the Upper Chesapeake for the purpose of patrolling its waters and blockading the harbor of Baltimore with two vessels under his command, while Cochrane, and Ross, and Cockburn were penetrating the country to Washington. His flag-ship was the frigate *Menelaus*, 38, and his deportment was so haughty, and his acts, under the direction of his superior, Cockburn, were so cruel,² that the Americans became greatly exasperated. He frequently sent parties ashore to plunder and destroy private as well as public property, and he swept domestic commerce from the bay. He boasted to his superiors that during the month of his blockading service not a single American boat crossed the waters of the Chesapeake.

On the fall of Washington Sir Peter was ordered to proceed down the bay. "I must first have a frolic with the Yankees," he said.³ Accordingly, on the night of the 30th of August,⁴ after a jolly dinner with his officers, and indulgence in drinking and dancing, he proceeded to engage in the sport. He had been informed that a body of Maryland militia were encamped at Moorfields, near the Georgetown Cross Roads, on the eastern shore of Maryland (not far from Chestertown), and he prepared to surprise them. They were less than two hundred in number, under the vigilant Colonel Read, who was fully apprised of the movement.

The *Menelaus* ran into one of the numerous estuaries, and at eleven o'clock at night landed a force of seamen and marines, armed with muskets, pikes, and cutlasses.

¹ Communications to the author by Messrs. Dr. Goldsborough, M. Spencer, and William H. Groome, of Easton, Maryland, in March, 1860.

² A British officer, who served with Cockburn and Parker, published some spicy sketches of his experience in marauding expeditions along the shores of the Chesapeake. He relates one, commanded by Cockburn in person, with Parker and General Ross as "amateurs," as he expresses it. The object was, he says, "to destroy a factory village, which was not only the abode of innocent labor, but likewise the resort of some few militiamen guilty of the unnatural sin of defending their own county." Their approach being known, all but women and children had fled from the town. "We therefore," he says, "most valiantly set fire to the unprotected property, notwithstanding the tears of the women, and, like a parcel of savages, as we were, we danced round the wreck of ruin." The excuse was the necessity of retaliation for the destruction of Newark, in Canada. See pages 634 and 932. "Every house," he continues, "which we could by ingenuity vote into the residence of a military man, was burned." He then gives an account of scenes at a dwelling-house near the beach which they surrounded. "Like midnight murderers," he says, "we cautiously approached the house. The door was open, and we unceremoniously intruded ourselves upon three young ladies sitting quietly at tea. Sir George Cockburn, Sir Peter Parker, and myself entered the room rather suddenly, and a simultaneous scream was our welcome." Sir George, he said, was austere, but Sir Peter "was the handsomest man in the navy," and to the latter the ladies appealed. Cockburn told them that he knew their father to be an American officer—a colonel of militia, and that his duty being to burn their house, he gave them ten minutes for removing what they most desired to save. The young women, on their knees, begged the admiral to spare their house. "The youngest, a girl of sixteen, and lovely beyond the general beauty of those parts, threw herself at Sir Peter's feet, and prayed him to interfere. The tears started from his eyes in a moment, and I was so bewildered at the afflicting scene that I appeared to see through a thick mist." Cockburn was unmoved, with his watch on the table, measuring the fleeting minutes. The other girls were in tears, and asking for mercy. Sir Peter had opened his lips to plead for them, when the brutal Cockburn stopped him, and ordered men to bring the fire-balls. "Never shall I forget the despair of that moment. Poor Sir Peter wept like a child, while the girl clung to his knees and impeded his retreat. The admiral walked out with his usual haughty stride, followed by the two elder girls, who vainly implored him to countermand the order. In a moment the house was in flames. "We retreated from the scene of ruin, leaving the three daughters gazing at the work of destruction, which made the innocent houseless and the affluent beggars. . . . By the light of that house we embarked and returned on board. It was a scene which impressed itself upon my heart, and which my memory and my hand unwillingly recall and publish."

³ Niles's *Weekly Register*, vii., 11.

The moon was shining brightly. Stealthily they moved forward, and fell furiously upon the Marylanders, who were in battle order to receive them. A fierce conflict of an hour ensued, when the invaders, repulsed, fled back to their frigate, leaving thirteen dead and three wounded on the field. Among those mortally hurt was the gallant Sir Peter, a brave and generous Irishman, descended from Archbishop Parker and Admiral Byron, and then only twenty-eight years of age. He was at the head of his men, cheering them on, when a musket-ball cut the main artery in his thigh. "They have hit me, Pearce," he said to his first lieutenant, "but it is nothing; push on, my brave boys, and follow me!" He attempted to cheer, but his voice failed him. He fell in the arms of Pearce, and before he could be conveyed to the frigate or receive surgical aid he bled to death.¹ The invaders fled to their ship, and the *Menelaus* sailed down the bay.



Parker

Sir Peter's body was preserved in spirits and sent to England, and on the 14th of May, 1815, it was deposited in the family vault in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster.²

Let us now observe the movements of the British army and navy, under General Ross and Admiral Cochrane, after the flight of the former from the smoking ruins of Washington City.

We left the invaders re-embarked on their vessels in the Patuxent. They remained there several days to rest, recruit, and make provision for their wounded. These were placed on board vessels, and sent, some to Halifax and others to England, and by the *Iphigenia* dispatches were sent to the home government. Preparations were made in the mean time for other offensive operations. At daybreak on the 6th of September the whole fleet weighed anchor, and stood toward the Chesapeake with a fair wind. Down that bay they sailed, and on the morning of the 7th entered the Potomac. For two days they moved up that stream to assist Gordon in his operations against Fort Washington and Alexandria. Hearing of his success, they turned,³ hastened back to the Chesapeake, and stood for the mouth of the Patapsco,⁴ spreading terror along the entire coasts of the bay. The people fled from their dwellings and the villages with their most valued property that might be carried away, and at every light-house and signal-station alarm guns were fired. On Sunday, the 11th, they entered the Patapsco with fifty

* September 9,
1814.

* September 30.

¹ Dallas's *Biographical Memoirs of Sir Peter Parker, Bart.*

² Sir Peter Parker was a son of Admiral Christopher Parker, and first cousin of the eminent poet, Lord Byron. He inherited from his father a love of the naval service, and from his mother much personal beauty. He was educated at Westminster School, and entered the navy at the age of thirteen years, with his grandfather, Sir Peter Parker, who commanded the British fleet at Charleston in the summer of 1776. He rose rapidly in his profession under Lord Nelson, Earl St. Vincent, and others, and in 1810 he was made commander of the *Menelaus*, a new ship, in which he performed gallant service. He accompanied Admiral Malcolm to Bermuda in the spring of 1814, and with him went with his frigate to the Chesapeake, where, as the text relates, he lost his life. His body was first conveyed to Bermuda, and there received the honors of a public funeral. It was afterward conveyed in the same vessel (the *Rebrue*) to England, and was again buried with a public funeral. Lord Byron wrote a poetic eulogy of Sir Peter. His friend, and one of the chief mourners at his funeral, wrote a touching *Biographical Memoir* of him, dedicated to his wife, from which the above portrait, from a painting by Hoppner, of the Royal Academy, was copied.

Baltimore threatened.

Exasperation against it.

General Samuel Smith.

sail of vessels, bearing at least six thousand fighting men, for the purpose of attacking Baltimore. The victorious Ross, elated by his good fortune, had boasted that he would make that fine city of forty thousand inhabitants (one fifth negroes) his winter quarters.

Baltimore stands on the Patapsco River, ten miles from the Chesapeake. The harbor is entered by a narrow strait, commanded by Fort M'Henry, which stood there at the time we are considering. The growth of the city had been extremely rapid.



S. Smith

In 1814 it was the third in population, and fourth in wealth and commerce, in the United States.

Intelligence of the capture of Washington created intense excitement in Baltimore. It was believed that the victorious Ross would fall upon it immediately, either by land or water; and the veteran soldier of the Revolution, General Samuel Smith,¹ renewed his exertions for the defense of the city, and Annapolis, the political capital of Maryland. That vigilant officer had been active ever since the first appearance of danger in the spring of 1813, when a British squadron appeared in the Chesapeake. It was well known that the enemy felt great exasperation toward the Baltimoreans because they had sent out so many swift "clipper-built" vessels and expert seamen to smite terribly the commerce of Great Britain on the high seas. "It is a doomed town," declared Vice-admiral Warren. "The American navy must be annihilated," said a London paper; his arsenals and dock-yards must be consumed, and

¹ Samuel Smith was born in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, July 27, 1752. His education, commenced at Carlisle, was completed at an academy at Elkton, in Maryland, after his father made Baltimore his place of residence. He was in his father's counting-house five years, and then, in 1772, sailed for Havre in one of his father's vessels as supercargo. Having traveled extensively in Europe, he returned home to aid his countrymen in the midst of the excitement of the opening of the Revolutionary hostilities. The battles of Lexington, Concord, and Bunker Hill had been fought.

Fired with patriotic zeal, he sought to serve his country in the army, and in January, 1776, obtained a captain's commission in Colonel Smallwood's regiment. He was soon afterward promoted to the rank of major, and early in 1777 he received a lieutenant colonel's commission. In that capacity he served with distinction in the battles of Brandywine and Fort Mifflin, suffered at Valley Forge, and participated in the action on the plains of Monmouth. For his gallantry at Fort Mifflin, Congress voted him thanks and a sword. At the close of the war he was appointed a brigadier general of militia, and commanded the Maryland quota of troops in the "Whisky Insurrection" in Pennsylvania. He served as major general in the War of 1812, and commanded the troops assembled for the defense of Baltimore in 1814. At that period he was spending much of his time at his elegant country-seat of *Montebello*, north of Baltimore, which is yet (1867) standing.



MONTABELLO.

During a riot in Baltimore in 1836, when the civil power was inadequate to

the truculent inhabitants of Baltimore must be tamed with the weapons which shook the wooden turrets of Copenhagen."

So early as the 13th of April, 1813, the City Councils of Baltimore appropriated twenty thousand dollars to be used for the defense of the city, under the direction of the mayor, Edward Johnson, and seven other citizens, who were named as a Committee of Supply.¹ The governor of the State (Levin Winder) also called an extraordinary session of the Legislature, to meet at Annapolis on the third Monday in May. Meanwhile a rumor reached the city that the enemy were approaching, and within a few hours at least five thousand armed men were found in their proper places, and several companies of militia from the country came pouring into Baltimore. Several persons were arrested as traitors and spies. These demonstrations of preparation and power undoubtedly saved the city from assault at that time. Very soon afterward, Stricker's brigade, and other military bodies in the city, full five thousand strong, with forty pieces of artillery, were reviewed. At the beginning of June a battery was erected at Fort M'Henry for the marine artillery of Baltimore one hundred and sixty in number, under Captain George Stiles, and composed of masters and master's-mates of vessels there. It was armed with 42-pounders.²

In September^a the British fleet went to sea, and Baltimore enjoyed a season^{* 1813.} of repose. The blockaders, as we have observed, reappeared in the Chesapeake in the spring of 1814, and all the summer and early autumn infested its waters, during which time occurred the destructive invasion recorded in the preceding chapter, when every thing that could be done by vigilant men for the safety of Baltimore was accomplished. A Committee of Vigilance and Safety, of which Mayor Johnson was Chairman, and Theodore Bland was secretary, co-operated unceasingly with General Smith and the military. On the 27th of August, three days after the capture of Washington, that committee called upon the citizens to organize into working parties, and to contribute implements of labor for the purpose of increasing the strength of the city defenses. The city was divided into four sections, and the people of each labored alternately on the fortifications. The exempts from military service and free colored men were required to assemble for labor, with provisions for a day, at Hempstead Hill (equally well known as Loudenslager's Hill), on Sunday, the 28th of September; at Myer Garden on Monday; at Washington Square on Tuesday; and at the intersection of Eutaw and Market Streets on Wednesday. Each portion, comprising a section, was under the command of appointed superintendents. The response of the citizens in men and money was quick, cordial, and ample; and volunteers to work on the fortifications came from Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. By the 10th of September General Winder was in Baltimore, with all the forces of the Tenth Military District at his command.

The principal fortifications constructed by the people consisted of a long line on Hempstead, or Loudenslager's Hill, now the site of Patterson Park. At proper distances several semicircular batteries were constructed, well mounted with cannon and

quell the violence of the mob, the aged general, then eighty-four years old, appeared in the streets with the United States flag, placed himself at the head of peaceful citizens, and very soon restored order and tranquillity. In the autumn of that year he was elected mayor of the city, which office he held until his death on the 22d of April, 1839, at the age of eighty-seven years. General Smith was elected a representative in Congress in 1793, and served until 1803. He was again elected in 1816, and served six years longer. He was also a member of the United States Senate for a period of twenty-three years. The portrait on the preceding page is from a painting in possession of his son, General John Spear Smith, who was his volunteer aid-de-camp during the defense of Baltimore in 1814. It was painted by Gilbert Stuart when the general was about forty-five years of age. He is in the uniform of a major general of that day (1797), and shows the Order of the Cincinnati suspended from a button-hole.

¹ These were James Mosher, Luke Tiernan, Henry Payson, Dr. J. C. White, James A. Buchanan, Samuel Sterett, and Thordike Chase.

² This corps was celebrated for its gallantry. Dr. Martin (see note 1, page 925) says, in his MS. Reminiscences before me, that when he was at Bladensburg, the British officers, who were expecting re-enforcements for Winder from Baltimore, "were particularly anxious about the marine artillery—the material of which it was composed, the weight of metal, number of men, etc. I exaggerated the condition of its ability to do effective service," he said, "and I confidently believe that, had they been part of our force at Bladensburg, we would have succeeded in driving back the enemy, if not in capturing the whole force, for I never saw men so completely exhausted as were the foe."

ably manned, some of them by volunteer artillery companies of Baltimore, but chiefly by men-of-war's men, about twelve hundred in number, under the general command of Commodore Rodgers. The spaces between these batteries were filled with militia. One of the larger of these bastions, known as Rodgers's Bastion, may now (1867)



RODGERS'S BASTION.¹

be seen, well preserved, on the harbor side of Patterson Park, and overlooking Fort M'Henry and the region about it. Four of the smaller batteries on this line were in charge of officers of the *Guerriere* and *Erie*, the former then lying in Baltimore Harbor.²

A brigade of Virginia Volunteers and of regular troops, including a corps of cavalry under Captain Bird, were placed under the command of General Winder; the City Brigade of Baltimore was commanded by General Stricker; and the general management of the entire military force destined for the defense of the city was intrusted to General Smith. Fort M'Henry was garrisoned by about one thousand men, volunteers and regulars, commanded by Major George Armistead. To the right of it, guarding the shores of the Patapsco, on the Ferry Branch, from the landing of troops who might endeavor to assail the city in the rear, were two redoubts, named respectively Fort Covington, and City, or Babcock Battery. The former was manned by a detachment of seamen under Lieutenant Newcomb, and the latter—a 6-gun battery—by another detachment from Barney's flotilla under Sailing-master John A. Webster. In the rear of these, upon high ground, at the end of Light Street, near the present Fort Avenue, was an unfinished circular redoubt for seven guns, in charge of Lieutenant George Budd. On Lazaretto Point, across the entrance channel to Baltimore Harbor, opposite Fort M'Henry, was also a small battery, in charge of Lieutenant Rutter, of the flotilla. To these several batteries, and to Fort M'Henry, the citizens of Baltimore looked most confidently for defense.³

Such were the most important preparations for the reception of the enemy, when, on Sunday evening, the 11th of September, they were seen at the mouth of the Pa-

¹ This view is from one side of the bastion, looking toward the harbor. On the point on the right is seen Fort M'Henry. The point opposite is Lazaretto Point.

² These were Lieutenant Gamble, the first of the *Guerriere*, Midshipman Field, Sailing-master Ramage, and Midshipman Salter, of the same vessel, and Sailing-master De la Roche, of the *Erie*.

³ Letter of Commodore Rodgers to the Secretary of the Navy, September 28, 1814; Letter of Sailing-master (now Captain) John A. Webster to Brantz Mayer, Esq., July 22, 1853.

The British land at North Point. Preparations for advancing on Baltimore. General Stricker sent to oppose them.

tapscot, in strong force, preparing to land at North Point, twelve miles from Baltimore by water, and fifteen miles by land. Off that point the fleet anchored that evening. The night was a delightful one. The air was balmy, and the full moon shone brightly in a cloudless sky. The earth was refreshed by the falling of a heavy dew. The fleet lay two miles from the shore. Brief repose was given to its people,

September 12, 1814, for, at two o'clock in the morning,^a the boats of every ship were lowered, and then the land troops and seamen went to the shore, under cover of several gun-brigs anchored within a cable's length of the beach. The boats went in divisions, and the leading one of each was armed with a carronade ready for action.

At about seven o'clock in the morning, General Ross and Admiral Cockburn were on shore, with a force nine thousand strong, composed of five thousand land troops, two thousand marines, and two thousand seamen, led by Captain E. Crofton. They were furnished with cooked provisions sufficient for three days. Each combatant bore eighty rounds of ammunition, and carried as little baggage as possible, for they were to march rapidly and take Baltimore by surprise, where Ross had boasted that he should eat his Sunday dinner. At the same time, a frigate was sent to try the depth and take the soundings of the channel leading to Baltimore, as the navy, under the immediate command of Captain Nourse, of Cockburn's flag-ship *Severn*, was to co-operate with the army. Intelligence of these movements produced great alarm in Baltimore. A large number of families, with portable articles of value, were sent into the interior of the country, and every inn, for almost a hundred miles northward of the city, was crowded with the refugees.

When it was known that the British fleet was anchored off North Point, General Smith, who had about nine thousand troops under his command, sent General Stricker¹ with three thousand two hundred in that direction to watch the movements of the enemy and act as circumstances might warrant. He left the city toward evening, and just before sunset reached a meeting-house (yet



METHODIST MEETING-HOUSE.



John Stricker

stand- ing) almost seven miles from the town, near the junction of the roads leading respectively to North Point and Bear Creek. Meanwhile Major Randall, of the Maryland militia, had been sent with a light corps from General Stansbury's brigade, and the Pennsylvania Volunteers, to the mouth of Bear Creek, to co-operate with Stricker, and to check the debarkation of the enemy, should it be attempted at that point.

Stricker's little army rested until morning at the meeting-house, not far from what was then called Long Log Lane (now the road to North Point), with the exception of a detachment of one hundred and forty horsemen under Lieutenant Colonel Biays, who were ordered forward, three miles, to Gorsuch's farm, and

¹ The above portrait of General Stricker is from a painting in the possession of the Maryland Historical Society. General Stricker died in Baltimore on the 23d of June, 1825.

Position of the American Troops.

Disposition of the British Troops.

Preliminary Skirmish.

one hundred and fifty riflemen under Captain Dyer, who were directed to take position at a blacksmith's shop one mile in the rear of the cavalry. So they remained until the morning of the 12th, when information was received from the vedettes that the enemy had landed at North Point, when Stricker immediately sent back his baggage under a strong guard, and disposed his troops for battle in three lines, stretching from a branch of Bear Creek on his right, to a swamp on the margin of a branch of Back River on his left. The several corps were posted as follows: the Fifth Baltimore Regiment, Lieutenant Colonel Sterett, five hundred and fifty strong, were placed on the right, extending from Long Log Lane to a branch of Bear Creek; the Twenty-seventh Maryland Regiment, Lieutenant Colonel Long, numbering the same, were on the left of the Fifth, extending from the Lane to the swamp; and the Union Artillerymen of Baltimore, seventy-five in number, with six 4-pounders, under Captain Montgomery, then Attorney General of the State, were in the Lane. The Thirty-ninth Regiment, four hundred and fifty men, under Lieutenant Colonel Fowler, were posted three hundred yards in the rear of the Twenty-seventh and parallel with it; and on the right of the Thirty-ninth, at the same distance in the rear of the Fifth, were the Fifty-first Regiment, under Lieutenant Colonel Amey. These formed the second line. About half a mile in the rear of this line, near the site of the present (1867) Battle-ground House, was a reserve corps, consisting of the Sixth Regiment (six hundred and twenty men), under Lieutenant Colonel M'Donald. Thus judiciously posted, Stricker awaited the approach of Ross.

The British general disposed his troops as at Bladensburg. A corps composed of the light companies of the Fourth, Twenty-first, and Forty-fourth Regiments, the entire Eighty-fifth, a battalion of "disciplined negroes," and a company of marines, numbering in the aggregate about eleven hundred men, under Major Jones, were sent in advance. These were followed by six field-pieces and two howitzers drawn by horses; and the whole formed the first brigade. The second brigade, under Colonel Brooke, was composed of the Fourth and Forty-fourth Regiments, about fourteen hundred strong, and was followed by more than a thousand sailors led by Captain Crofton. The rear, or third brigade, consisted of the Twenty-first Regiment, and a battalion of marines, numbering in all about fourteen hundred and fifty men, under Colonel Patterson. At the same time, the fleet moved toward Baltimore to attack Fort M'Henry.

Feeling confident of success, Ross and Cockburn rode gayly forward at the head of the troops for about an hour, when they halted at Gorsuch's farm, and spent another hour in resting and careless carousing. The American riflemen in the advance had fallen back in the mean time, with the impression that the British were landing on Back River or Bear Creek to cut them off, and they were placed on the right of Stricker's front line. When the general was informed of the exact position of the invaders, he sent forward to attack them the companies of Captains Levering and Howard from Sterett's Fifth, one hundred and fifty in number, under Major Richard K. Heath, and Asquith's and a few other riflemen, numbering about seventy, with a small piece of artillery and some cavalry under Lieutenant Stiles. They met the British advancing, and a skirmish ensued near the house occupied, when the writer visited the spot in 1861, by Samuel C. Cole as a store and dwelling, seven and a half miles from Baltimore, and about seven from the landing-place of the British. Ross was mortally wounded by one of two young men, natives of Maryland, belonging to Asquith's rifle corps, and who had both fought in the battle at Bladensburg. Their names were Daniel Wells and Henry C. M'Comas. They were concealed in a hollow, and fired the fatal shot when Ross appeared upon a little knoll near them. That commander died in the arms of his favorite aid, the now (1867) venerable Sir Duncan M'Dougall, of London,¹ before his bearers reached the boats at North Point. "He

¹ Sir Duncan M'Dougall, K.C.F., son of Patrick M'Dougall, Esq., of Argyleshire, Scotland, was born in 1789. He entered the army in 1804, and served in several regiments, and on the staff in Portugal, Spain, France, America, Cape of

Death of General Ross.

Advance of the British.

A spirited Battle.



J. Knautougal

lived only long enough," says Gleig, "to name his wife, and to commend his family to the protection of his country." In this skirmish Heath's horse was shot under him, and several Americans were killed or wounded. Among the slain were the two young men whose bullets brought Ross to the earth.¹ The advancing British far outnumbered Heath's detachment, and he ordered them to fall back. Finding the companies of Levering and Howard too fatigued to engage efficiently in the impending battle, Stricker ordered them to the rear to attach themselves to the reserve.

On the fall of Ross the command of the British troops devolved on Colonel A. Brooke, of the Forty-fourth Regiment, and under his direction the entire invading force pressed vigorously forward. At about two o'clock in the afternoon they came within cannon-shot of the American line, and

were immediately formed in battle order. Their first brigade, supported by the Forty-fourth Regiment, the seamen and marines, menaced the entire front of the Americans, and commenced the action by opening a brisk discharge of cannon and rockets upon them. The British Twenty-first remained in column as a reserve; and the Fourth made a circuitous march to turn the left flank of the Americans, against which also artillerists and rocketeers directed their missiles, and were replied to by Captain Montgomery's cannon. General Stricker instantly comprehended the meaning of the flank movement and artillery attack, and brought up the Thirty-ninth Regiment, with two field-pieces, to its support in a line with the Twenty-seventh, which was behaving most gallantly. He also ordered the Fifty-first, under Colonel Amey, to form in line at right angles with the first line, with its right resting on the left of the Thirty-ninth. This movement was productive of some confusion, but Stricker's staff soon brought out order. The battle was continued with great spirit on both sides, in the mean time, with Victory coquetting first with one and then with the other, and the armies swaying backward and forward with mutual pressure.

When the contest had been carried on for about two hours the enemy's right column fell upon and endeavored to turn the American left. The Fifty-first were suddenly struck with dismay, and, after firing a volley at random, broke, and fled in wild disorder, producing a like effect in the second battalion of the Thirty-ninth.

Good Hope, and West Indies. He has the distinction of having received into his arms two eminent British generals when they fell in battle, namely, General Ross, killed near Baltimore, and General Pakenham, slain near New Orleans. He commanded the Seventy-ninth Highlanders for several years. His son and heir, Colonel Patrick Leonard M'Dougall, is commandant of the Royal Staff College. The family is descended, in a direct line, from Somerled, the Prince of the western coast of Argyreshire, and famous "Lord of the Isles." The above portrait of the gallant soldier is from a *carte de visite* likeness, sent to me at my request by Sir Duncan in the summer of 1861.

¹ The remains of these young men were reinterred in a vault in Ashland Square on the 12th of September, 1856, with civic and military honors. The mayor of the city, Thomas Swann, made some remarks, and was followed by Hon. John C. Le Grand, who pronounced an oration. A dirge was executed by the East Baltimore band, and before the remains were laid in the vault, over which a monument is to be erected, the Law Guards fired a volley over them.



BATTLE OF NORTH POINT.

The above engraving is a copy of a drawing belonging to the Maryland Historical Society, made by an eye-witness after the *Battle of North Point*, as the conflict described in the text is called. The following are the names and incidents referred to by numerals: 1. General Stricker, 2. Major G. P. Stevenson, *aid.*, 3. Major James Calhoun, 4. Major William B. Beman, 5. Leonard Fealish, *brigade major*, 6. Robert Goodlin Harpur, 7. John Cook, *trumpeter*, 8. Colonel James Biny, 9. Major William Jackson, 10. Archibald Kerr, *paymaster*, 11. Adjutant Leonard Teyne, 12. Sergeant Major James Blair, 13. Captain James Stewart's *Heavies*, 14. Captain Boutin and Lieutenant Kell's *troop*, 15. Captain Horton's *troop*, 16. Captain Hannah's *troop*, 17. Colonel Joseph Stewart's *5th* Regiment, 18. Colonel Kennedy Long's *Twenty-seventh* Regiment, 19. Colonel Benjamin Fowler, *Thirty-sixth* Regiment, 20. Colonel Arny and Major Young, *Fifty-first* Regiment, 21. Riflemen, 22. Lieutenant G. Andrea, *mortally wounded*, 23. Col-

onel R. K. Heath, 24. Major Standish Barry, 25. Adjutant James Chester, 26. Montgomery's *Artillery*, 27. Major Samuel Munn, 28. Adjutant General James Lowrey Donaldson, *mortally wounded*, 29. Major Joseph Robinson, 30. Adjutant Thomas Baltzell, 31. Major Steger, 32. Lieutenant Stiles, *with two pieces of artillery*, 33. Major Howarth, 34. *Blindon and Haystack*, 35. *Home led by Captain Badier's company of Yagers*, 36. Lieutenant John Boers and Aaron McCullough, *wounded*, 37. Captain Spangler's *company of Volunteers from York, Pennsylvania*, 38. Captain Quastrell's *company of Volunteers from Hagerstown*, 39 and 40. Captains Boer and Metzger's *company from Hagerstown, Pennsylvania*, 41. *Head of Deer Creek*, 42. *British Flankers*, 43. *British, commanded by Brooks, wheeling into line*.

Retreat of the Americans.

The British Fleet approaches Baltimore.

Preparations to attack Fort M'Henry.



BATTLE-FLAG OF THE TWENTY-SEVENTH REGIMENT.¹

and the gallant Twenty-seventh (whose tattered battle-flag, now in the possession of its bearer in the fight, Captain Lester, of Baltimore, attests the severity of their conflict) bravely maintained their position. Finally, at about four o'clock, when the superior force of the enemy could no longer be kept in check, General Stricker ordered a retreat upon his reserved corps. This movement was performed in good order. Some of the wounded and two field-pieces were abandoned. Stricker reformed his brigade, and then fell back toward the city as far as Worthington's Mill, about half a mile in advance of the intrenchments cast up by the citizens. There he was joined by General Winder, with

General Douglass's Virginia Brigade and Captain Bird's United States Dragoons, who took post on his left. The British bivouacked on the battle-field that night, after calling in some pursuers and collecting the stragglers.

M. Bird

While these movements were in operation on the land, the British fleet was preparing to perform a conspicuous part in the drama. Frigates, schooners, sloops, and bomb-ketches had entered the Patapsco early in the morning of the 12th, while Ross was moving from North Point, and anchored off Fort M'Henry (then about one half its present dimensions), beyond the reach of its guns, near the present Fort Carroll.



FORT M'HENRY IN 1861.

During the day and evening the bomb and rocket vessels were so posted as to act upon the fortifications on the hill, commanded by Rodgers, as well as on Fort M'Henry, while the frigates were stationed farther onward, the water being so shallow that they could not approach nearer the city than four or five miles, nor the fort within two and a half miles. The Americans had already sunk some vessels, as we have observed, in the narrow channel at Fort M'Henry, which prevented any passage by the ships of the enemy.² During the night of the 12th the fleet made full preparations for an attack on the fort and hill intrenchments on the morning of the 13th, when Brooke was to move on Baltimore with the British land force from the battle-field of the day before. The fleet prepared for action consisted of sixteen heavy vessels, five of them bomb-ships.

Fort M'Henry was commanded by a brave soldier, and defended by gallant com-

¹ This little picture represents the tattered battle-flag of the *Jefferson Blues*, Twenty-seventh Regiment of the Maryland Militia, who fought gallantly on the 12th of September, 1814. It was in the possession of Captain John Lester, of Baltimore, when I made a sketch of it in 1867. He has presented it to the Maryland Historical Society. It is blue silk, with the designs in gold. Its width is four feet six inches. It is quite tattered. The black spots represent the forms of cannon-ball holes made during the battle. On scrolls are the words *Jefferson Blues* and *Non sibi sed patriæ*.

² General Smith, on the recommendation of Commodore Rodgers, caused twenty-four vessels then lying in the harbor to be sunk in the narrow channel between Fort M'Henry and Lazaratto Point. These were afterward raised at the expense of the United States. The aggregate amount of money paid to the owners afterward was about \$100,000.

panions. The latter were composed of one company of United States Artillery, under Captain Evans; two companies of Sea-fencibles, under Captains Bunbury and Addison; two companies of volunteers from the city, named respectively the "Washington Artillery" and the "Baltimore Independent Artillerists," the former commanded by Captain John Berry, and the latter by Lieutenant Commanding Charles Pennington; the "Baltimore Fencibles," a fine company of volunteer artillerists led by Judge Joseph H. Nicholson;

Joseph H. Nicholson

a detachment of Barney's flotilla-men, commanded by Lieutenant Redman; and detachments of regulars, in all six hundred men, furnished by General Winder from the Twelfth, Fourteenth, Thirty-sixth, and Thirty-eighth Regiments, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Stewart and Major Lane. The regular artillerists under Captain Evans, and the volunteers under Captain Nicholson, manned the bastions in the Star Fort. The commands of Bunbury, Addison, Redman, Berry, and Pennington were stationed in the lower works; and the infantry, under Stewart and Lane, were placed in the outer ditch, to meet the enemy at his landing, if he should attempt it.

J Lane

The bomb-vessels opened a heavy fire upon the American works at sunrise on Tuesday morning, the 13th, at about seven o'clock, at a distance of two miles, and kept up a well-directed bombardment until three o'clock in the afternoon. Armistead immediately opened the batteries of Fort M'Henry upon them, and kept up a brisk fire for some time from his guns and mortars, when, to his great chagrin, he found that his missiles fell short, and were harmless. The garrison was exposed to a tremendous shower of shells for several hours without power to inflict injury in turn, or even to check the fury of the assault; yet they kept at their posts, and endured the trial with cool courage and great fortitude.



At length a bomb-shell dismounted one of the 24-pounders in the southwest bastion, under the immediate command of Captain Nicholson, killing his second lieutenant (Claggett), and wounding several of his men. The confusion in the

Ge. Armistead

fort produced by this accident was observed by Cochrane, who commanded the fleet, and, hoping to profit by it, he ordered three of his bomb-vessels to move up nearer the fort in order to increase the effectiveness of their guns. This movement delighted Armistead. His turn for inflicting injury had come, and he quickly took advantage of it. He ordered a general cannonade and bombardment from every part of the fort; and so severe was his punishment of the venturesome intruders, that within

Attempt to seize Fort Covington.

The Invaders driven off.

End of the Bombardment.

half an hour they fell back to their old anchorage. The rocket-vessel *Erebus* was so much injured that they were compelled to send a division of small boats to tow her beyond the range of Armistead's guns to save her from destruction. The garrison gave three cheers, and the firing ceased.

After resuming their former stations the vessels kept up a more furious bombardment than before, with slight intermissions, until past midnight, when it was discovered that the enemy had thrown a considerable force up the Patapsco to the right of the fort, and between it and the city, under cover of the darkness, for the purpose of capturing Fort Covington, commanded by Lieutenant Newcomb, of the United States Navy, and the City Battery, in charge of the gallant sailing-master of Barney's flotilla, and assaulting Fort M'Henry in the rear. For this service twelve hundred and fifty picked men were sent in barges, with scaling-ladders and other implements for storming the fort. For the purpose of examining the shores, when near Covington they threw up some small rockets. These gave the alarm, and Fort M'Henry, as well as the two redoubts on the Patapsco, opened a heavy fire upon the invaders. It was kept up for nearly two hours, when the enemy were driven away. The concussion was tremendous. The houses in the city were shaken to their very foundations. Rodgers's men in Fort Covington worked their guns with great effect, but to the continuous and skillful cannonade kept up by Webster with his six-gun battery, nearer the shore, Major Armistead said he was "persuaded the country was much indebted for the final repulse of the enemy." It is not too much to say, I think, that Captain Webster's gallant conduct on that occasion, which frustrated the plans of the British boat expedition, saved Fort M'Henry and Baltimore. Two of the enemy's vessels were sunk, and a large number of his men were slain. Sailing-master (afterward Captain) Webster yet (1867) lives, at the age of eighty years, to enjoy the respect and gratitude of his countrymen. He was in active service until the year 1852.

The bombardment from the vessels was continued until seven o'clock on the morning of the 14th, when it ceased entirely.¹ The night had been passed in the greatest anxiety by the inhabitants of Baltimore, for in the maintenance of Fort M'Henry was their chief hope for the safety of the city. An incident which occurred at that time gave birth to one of the most popular of our national songs, the *Star-spangled Banner*,² in which that anxiety is graphically expressed. It was written by Francis S. Key, who was a resident of Georgetown, in the District of Columbia, and then a volunteer in the light artillery commanded by Major Peter.³



¹ The bombardment of Fort M'Henry lasted twenty-five hours, with two slight intermissions, and it was estimated by Armistead that during that time from 1500 to 1800 shells were thrown by the enemy. A few of them fell short, but a greater number burst over the fort, throwing their fragments among the garrison. About 400 shells fell within the works, some of them, afterward dug up, weighing 210 and 220 pounds. "Wonderful as it may appear," said the commander in his report, "our loss amounts only to four men killed and twenty-four wounded. The latter will all recover." The wife of a soldier, while conversing with her husband before the tents outside of the fort, was cut in two by a cannon-ball. A shell fell into the magazine, but did not explode.

² The fac-simile of the original manuscript of the first stanza of the "Star-spangled Banner," given on the opposite page, was first published, by permission of its owner (Mrs. Howard), daughter of the author, in "Autograph Leaves of our Country's Authors," a volume edited by John P. Kennedy and Alexander Bliss for the Baltimore Sanitary Fair, 1864.

³ On the return of the British to their vessels after the capture of Washington City, they carried with them Dr. Beanes, an influential citizen and well-known physician of Upper Marlborough. His friends begged for his release, but Cockburn refused to give him up, and sent him on board the flag-ship of Admiral Cochrane. Mr. Key, well known for his affability of manner, was solicited to go to Cochrane as a pleader for the release of the doctor. He consented. The President granted him permission, and, in company with the late General J. S. Skinner, he went in the cart-ship *Minden*, under a flag of truce. They found the British fleet at the mouth of the Potomac, preparing to attack Baltimore. Cochrane agreed to release Beanes, but refused to let him or his friends return then. They were placed on board the *Surprise*, where they were courteously treated. The fleet sailed up to the Patapsco, where they were transferred to their own vessel, but with a guard of marines to prevent their landing and communicating information to their countrymen. The *Minden* was anchored in sight of Fort M'Henry, and from her deck the three friends saw the bombardment of that fortress which soon ensued. It ceased, as we have observed in the text, soon after midnight. Having no communication with the shore, these anxious Americans did not know whether the fort had surrendered or not. They awaited the dawn with the greatest solicitude. In the dim light of the opening morning they saw through their glasses that

The Star-spangled Banner.

The Star-spangled Banner.

O say, when you see by the dawn's early light,
That so many a heavily laden sail,
Whose broad stripes and bright stars,
Through the clouds of the night,
Or the rare-faith we mistake,
Were so gallantly steaming;
And the rocket's red glare -
The bomb bursting in air,
In our prophetic eyes,
As if through the night,
That our flag was still there,
O say, that the Star-spangled Banner yet we see
Of the land of the free -
The home of the brave? -

FACSIMILE OF THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT OF THE FIRST STANZA OF "THE STAR-SPANGLED BANNER."

Simultaneously with the movement of the fleet toward Fort M'Henry, on the morn-

"our flag was still there!" To their great joy, they soon learned that the attack on Baltimore had failed, that Ross was killed, and that the British were re-embarking. When the fleet was ready to sail, Key and his friends were released, and returned to the city.

It was during the excitement of the bombardment, and when pacing the deck of the *Minden* with intense anxiety between midnight and dawn, that Key composed that song—"The Star-spangled Banner"—which immortalized him, and whose first stanza expressed the feelings of thousands of eye-witnesses of the scene:

ing of the 13th, was that of the land forces of the British from their smouldering camp-fires on the battle-field, until they arrived at the brow of the slope on which lay Surrey Farm (now the valuable estate of Mrs. Jane Dungan), then the fine residence of Colonel Sterett,¹ of the Fifth Maryland Regiment, who was busily engaged in casting up intrenchments on Loudenslager's Hill, about two miles distant, between them and Baltimore. There they halted to reconnoitre, and Colonel Brooke made his headquarters at the old farm-house of Mr. Ernest, farther in the rear. They were in sight of the American intrenchments, behind which were the brigades of Stansbury and Foreman; the Pennsylvania Volunteers, under Colonels Cobean and Findlay; the marines, under Rodgers; the Baltimore Artillery, under Colonel Harris; and the Marine Artillery, under Captain Stiles, who had spent the night under arms, expecting a vigorous pursuit and attack by the British.

The enemy manœuvred a good deal in the morning toward the left of the American works, and at one time seemed disposed to move upon them by the York and Harford Roads; but they were baffled by countervailing movements on the part of Generals Winder and Stricker. At noon they concentrated in front, and moved to within a mile of the intrenchments, when they made arrangements for an assault that evening. Perceiving this, General Smith ordered Winder and Stricker to move to the right of the enemy, and, in the event of their making an attack, to fall upon their flank and rear. Brooke was cautious and watchful, and clearly saw the peril of his proposed undertaking. He was also aware that the bombardment of Fort M'Henry from morning until evening had produced very little effect upon that work, and that the vessels could not run by it because of the obstructions in the channel. Instead of opening a battle, he sought and obtained a conference with Admiral Cochrane during the evening. The result of the interview was the conclusion that the effort of

"O say! can you see, by the dawn's early light,
What so proudly we hailed at the twilight's last gleaming,
Whose broad stripes and bright stars, through the perilous fight,
O'er the ramparts we watched were so gallantly streaming?
And the rockets' red glare, the bombs bursting in air,
Gave proof through the night that our flag was still there:
O say! does that star-spangled banner yet wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave?"

The rude substance of the song was written on the back of a letter which Key happened to have in his pocket, and he wrote it out in full on the night after his arrival in Baltimore. On the following morning he read it to his uncle, Judge Nicholson, one of the gallant defenders of the fort, and asked his opinion of it. The judge was so pleased with it that he took it to the printing-office of Captain Benjamin Edes, on the corner of Baltimore and Gay Streets, and directed copies of it to be struck off in hand-bill form. Edes was then on duty with the gallant Twenty-seventh Regiment, and his apprentice, Samuel Sands, who, I believe, is yet living in Baltimore, set up the song in type, printed it, and distributed it among the citizens.* It was first sung in a restaurant in Baltimore, next door to the Holiday Street Theatre, by Charles Durang, to an assemblage of the patriotic defenders of the city, and after that, nightly at the theatre. It created intense enthusiasm, and was every where sung in public and in private.

"The Star-spangled Banner" itself, the old garrison flag that waved over Fort M'Henry during that bombardment, is still in existence. I saw it at the house of Christopher Hughes Armistead (a son of the gallant defender of the fort) in Baltimore during the late Civil War. It had eleven holes in it, made there by the shot of the British during the bombardment.

¹ When the British discovered that they were in actual possession, for a day, of the mansion of one of the officers of the American army then confronting them, they made its contents the object of their special attention. The family had fled that morning, leaving the house in charge of only the colored butler and cook. Some British officers took possession of it. In the cellar was found a large quantity of choice wine. It was freely used, and what was not consumed on the premises was carried away as lawful plunder. Wax-candles, bedding, and other things were also carried away, and all the bureau-drawers were broken open in a search for valuables. Among other things prized by the family which the plunderers seized was the Order of the Cincinnati that had belonged to the deceased father of Mrs. Sterett. Finally, after keeping the cook busy, and faring sumptuously, and when they were about to depart, the following good-natured but impudent note was written and left on the sideboard:

"Captains Brown, Wilcox, and M'Namara, of the Fifty-third Regiment, Royal Marines, have received every thing they could desire at this house, notwithstanding it was received at the hands of the butler, and in the absence of the colonel." I saw the original of this note in 1860, in the possession of a daughter of Colonel Sterett, the wife of J. M. Hollis, then a captain in the United States Navy. It was written on a piece of paper on one side of which an epitaph for the tomb-stone of Mrs. Sterett's father had been prepared.

* The words of the song were inclosed in an elliptical border composed of the common type ornaments of that day. Around that border, and a little distance from it, on a line of the same form, are the words "*Bombardment of Fort M'Henry.*" The letters of these words are wide apart, and each one is surrounded by a circle of stars. Around the four edges of the hand-bill is a heavy border of common type ornaments. Below the song, within the ellipse, are the words "Written by Francis S. Key, of Georgetown, D. C."

The British fall back and return to their Ships.

Effect of the Repulse of the Invaders.

The British Programme.

the combined forces to capture Baltimore was already a failure, and that prudence demanded an immediate relinquishment of the enterprise. Brooke hastened back to camp. The rain, which commenced dropping twenty-four hours before, was yet falling copiously, and the night was very dark. In the midst of the gloom, at three o'clock in the morning of the 14th, while the ships kept up the bombardment to divert the attention of the Americans, the British stole off to North Point, and fled in boats to the fleet. The latter also withdrew at an early hour, and Baltimore was saved.

When, at dawn, the retreat of the British was discovered, General Winder, with the Virginia brigade, Captain Bird's dragoons, Major Randall's light corps, and all the cavalry, were immediately detailed in pursuit. But the troops were so exhausted by continued watching and working after the battle and retreat, having been under arms during three days and three nights, a portion of the time drenched by rain, that it was found impossible to accomplish any thing of moment beyond the picking up of a few stragglers of the enemy. The troops were taken on board the fleet on the evening of the 14th, and on the following morning the entire land and naval armament of the enemy went down the bay, crestfallen and badly punished. In the battle of the 12th they had lost their general, a lieutenant, and thirty-seven men killed, and eleven officers and two hundred and forty men wounded. The Americans lost twenty-four men killed, one hundred and thirty-nine wounded, fifty prisoners, and two field-pieces. In the attack on the forts by the shipping the British lost not a man killed or wounded, while the Americans lost four men killed and twenty-four wounded, as we have before observed, chiefly by the explosion of the shell that dismounted Nicholson's 24-pounder.

The successful defense of Baltimore was hailed with great delight throughout the country, and trembling Philadelphia and New York breathed freer. It was a very humiliating blow to the British, for great confidence of success was felt throughout the realm. After the capture of Washington, that of Baltimore seemed but holiday sport; and so well assured of Ross's success there was the Governor General of Canada, that the proposed public rejoicings at Montreal because of the capture of Washington were postponed, so that they might celebrate that of Baltimore at the same time! In England no one seemed to doubt that an army from Canada would meet that of Ross on the Susquehanna or the Schuylkill as conquerors of the country, and that Baltimore would be their base for future operations. "In the diplomatic circles it is rumored," said a London paper as early as the 17th of June, "that our naval and military commanders on the American station have no power to conclude any armistice or suspension of arms. They carry with them certain terms," the supercilious writer continued, "which will be offered to the American government at the point of the bayonet. There is reason to believe that America will be left in a much worse situation, as a naval and commercial power, than she was at the commencement of the war."

This programme, so delightful to British arrogance and British commercial greed, was not carried out. On the very day when Ross and his army anchored off North Point,^a Sir George Prevost, the Governor General of Canada, and his army, making their way toward the Susquehanna, were so smitten at the very beginning of their march—within the sound of cannon-booming of the Canada line—that they fled back toward the St. Lawrence in wild disorder.¹ Instead of mourning as captives, the Americans were jubilant as victors.

The prowess of Colonel Armistead and his little band in defending Fort M'Henry was a theme for praise upon every lip. The grateful citizens of Baltimore presented him with a costly and appropriate testimonial of their appreciation of his services in the shape of an elegant silver vase, in the form and of the size of the largest bomb-

¹ See page 875.



THE ARMISTEAD VASE.

was the gallant defender of Fort M'Henry during the bombardment of the British fleet, 13th September, 1814. He died, universally esteemed and regretted, on the 25th of April, 1818, aged thirty-nine years."¹

The grateful citizens were not contented with bestowing praises upon their defenders, so they devised a memorial as perpetual and enduring as marble could make it. In the now great city of Baltimore, containing (1867) full two hundred and forty thousand souls, may be seen a noble monument designed by Maximilian Godefroy, and wrought in white marble. It was erected in 1815, at a cost of sixty thousand dollars, in commemoration of those who, on the 13th and 14th of Septem-

shell thrown into the fort by the British; also goblets and salver of the same material.¹ These are in the possession of his son, who, as we have observed, has the old "Star-spangled Banner," and also a sword voted to him by the State of Virginia.² After his death a fine marble monument was erected to his memory, on which the following words were written with a pen of steel: "Colonel GEORGE ARMISTEAD, in honor of whom this monument is erected,



ARMISTEAD'S MONUMENT.

¹ The vase was made to answer the purpose of a punch-bowl. The ladle is in the form of a shrapnel shell. The body rests upon four eagles with outspread wings. Upon one side is an engraving, surrounded by military trophies, representing the bombardment of Fort M'Henry. Upon the other side is the following inscription: "Presented by a number of the citizens of Baltimore to Lieutenant Colonel George Armistead, for his gallant and successful defense of Fort M'Henry during the bombardment by a large British force on the 13th and 14th of September, 1814, when upward of 1900 shells were thrown, 400 of which fell within the area of the fort, and some of them of the diameter of this vase." I am indebted to the kind courtesy of Mr. C. Hughes Armistead for the photograph of the vase and enrouddings from which the above picture was engraved.

² That sword was presented to his son, C. Hughes Armistead, and bears the following inscription: "The State of Virginia to Colonel George Armistead, U. S. A. Honor to the brave. Presented by the State of Virginia to the son of Colonel George Armistead, late of the Army of the United States, as an evidence of the high esteem and admiration entertained by his native state of the courage and soldierlike conduct of Colonel Armistead in the cannonade of Fort George by Niagara, and in the gallant defense of Fort M'Henry, September 14, 1814."

³ George Armistead was born at New Market, Caroline County, Virginia, on the 10th of April, 1780, and was related to several of the most distinguished families in that state. He entered the army as second lieutenant in 1799. He was appointed assistant military agent at Fort Niagara in 1802, and assistant paymaster in 1804. He rose to the rank of major of the Third Artillery in 1813, and was distinguished at the capture of Fort George, in May, 1813, where his brother, William Keith Armistead, as chief engineer on the Niagara, was conspicuous in the bombard-

ment of Fort Niagara in November, 1812. For his gallantry at Fort George, the subject of this notice was breveted lieutenant colonel. He had five brothers in the army during the War of 1812, three in the regular service and two in the militia. Lieutenant Colonel Armistead served much among the Indians previous to his marriage with a sister of the eminent Christopher Hughes, in 1810. While in command of Fort M'Henry, after the war, a number of chiefs visited him, and partook of refreshments out of the silver bomb-shell.

Battle Monument in Baltimore.

A Visit to Baltimore.

Services of a valued Friend.

ber, 1814, fell on the field and in the fort. The engraving depicts it as it appeared, with its surroundings, in the autumn of 1861, when the writer sketched it from the steps of Barnum's Hotel.

I visited the theatre of scenes described in the few preceding pages in November, 1861, on my return homeward from Washington, mentioned on page 948. On arriving at the Eutaw House, Baltimore, in the evening, I had the good fortune to meet an esteemed friend, Brantz Mayer, Esq., a resident of that city, and perfectly familiar with the men, events, and localities we have just been considering. To his kind courtesy I am indebted for much valuable information, and for facilities for



BATTLE MONUMENT.

Armistead was in command of Fort M'Henry when the war broke out, and held it until its close. His gallant defense of that position is made more conspicuous from the fact that he, and he alone, knew that the magazine was not bomb-proof when the foe approached. He dared not reveal the fact, for fear his men might refuse to remain in the fort. With these enormous chances against him, he faithfully sustained that siege, and won a victory and a name. The sense of responsibility, and the tax upon his nervous system during that bombardment, left him with a disease of the heart, and three years and a half afterward, or on the 25th of April, 1818, he expired, at the age of thirty-eight years. Colonel Armistead was buried with military honors. There was an immense funeral procession, civil and military, and during the ceremonies artillerymen fired minute-guns on Federal Hill. It was said to have been the largest procession that had ever been seen in Baltimore. The likeness of Lieutenant Colonel Armistead on page 955 is from a miniature in possession of his daughter, Mrs. Mary Bradford, of Westchester, Pennsylvania, to whom I am indebted for much minute and valuable information.

The monument represents a cenotaph surmounted by a short column, and rests upon a pilth, or terrace, of the same material, forty feet square and four feet high. At each angle is placed a cannon erect, having a ball apparently issuing from its mouth. Between the cannon are continuous rows of spear-shaped railing, and eight heavy supporting faces, all of iron. Outside of all is a chain guard. The lower part of the monument is of Egyptian form and ornamentation, composed of eighteen layers of stone, the then number of the states of the republic. At each of four angles of the surmounting cornice is a massive griffin, wrought of marble. The column represents a huge fasces, symbolical of the Union, the rods of which are bound by a fillet, on which, in bronze letters, are the names of the honored dead, whose brave conduct strengthened the bands of that Union. Wreaths of laurel and cypress, emblems of glory and mourning, bind the top of the great fasces; and between them, in bronze letters, are the names of the following officers who perished on the occasion:

JAMES LOWEY DONALDSON, Adjutant Twenty-seventh Regiment; GEORGE ARMBEE, Lieutenant First Rifle Battalion; LEVI CLAGGETT, Third Lieutenant Nicholson's Artillerists. On the fillet are the following names of the slain non-commissioned officers and privates: John Clemm, T. V. Beaton, S. Haubert, John Jephson, T. Wallace, J. H. Marriot of John, E. Marriot, Wm. Ways, J. Armstrong, J. Richardson, Benj. Pond, Clement Cox, Coelins Belt, John Garrett, H. G. M'Comas, Wm. McClellan, John C. Bird, M. Desk, Daniel Wells, Jun., John R. Cop, Benj. Neal, C. Reynolds, D. Howard, Criah Prosser, A. Randall, R. H. Cooksey, J. Gregg, J. Evans, A. Maas, G. Jenkins, W. Alexander, C. Fallier, T. Burnston, J. Dunn, P. Byard, J. Craig.

On the lower part of the fasces are two basso-relievos, one representing the battle of North Point and the death of General Ross, and the other a battery of Fort M'Henry at the moment of the bombardment. On the east and west fronts are lachrymal urns, emblematic of regret and sorrow. On the south part of the square base of the fasces, below the basso-relievos, is the following inscription in bronze letters: "Battle of North Point, 12th September, A. D. 1814, and the independence of the United States the thirty-ninth." On the north front, corresponding to this, is the following: "Bombardment of Fort M'Henry, 13th September, A. D. 1814, and of the independence of the United States the thirty-ninth." That base and fasces together form a column thirty-nine feet in height, to show that the events commemorated occurred in the thirty-ninth year of the independence of the republic. The whole monument, including the exquisitely wrought female figure, representing the City of Baltimore, that surmounts it, rises to the height of almost fifty-three feet. Upon the head of that figure is a mural crown, the emblem of a city. In one hand she holds an antique rudder,

acquiring more. His introduction was a key to the treasures of the Maryland Historical Society. He accompanied me to many places of interest in the city and its vicinity, among others Patterson Park and Rodgers's Battery. There we met the venerable John McLean, the keeper of the park, who was then seventy-eight years of age. He was a member of Captain Benjamin Ringgold's company in the battle of North Point. After listening with pleasure to his reminiscences, we returned to the city, where I was introduced to General John Spear Smith, a son of the chief commander in the defense of Baltimore, and his volunteer aid on that occasion. General Smith subsequently placed in my hands his father's military papers of that period, which I freely used in the preparation of the foregoing narrative.

We went to the pleasant inclosure of the City Spring, to see the monument erected



THE CITY SPRING AND ARMISTEAD'S MONUMENT.¹

there to the memory of Colonel Armistead (delineated on page 960), but found it removed, and the embattled edifice around it, seen beyond the figures in the above picture, nearly demolished. Nor could we find any clue to it. On leaving that shaded spot, where so many Baltimoreans have promenaded during the heats of summer, I was introduced to Captain John Lester, a veteran soldier, seventy-one years of age, who (then an ensign) was the color-bearer of the gallant Twenty-seventh Maryland Regiment in the battle of North Point. He seemed quite too young to claim the patriarchal honors of threescore and ten years. I found in his possession the tattered flag of the Twenty-seventh (delineated on page 954), whose wounds were received while it was borne in his hands forty-seven years before. Twenty-seven years after-

symbolic of navigation, and in the other a crown of laurel; while, with a graceful inclination of the head, she looks in the direction of the theatre of conflict. At her feet, on her right, is an eagle, and near it a bomb-shell, commemorative of the bombardment. This monument, in its conception and execution, is worthy of the great events commemorated.

A few years ago, a thin volume was published in Baltimore entitled *The Citizen Soldiers at North Point and Fort M'Henry, September 12 and 13, 1814*. It contains the names of all the men, officers and privates, who were on duty at that time, and is dedicated to "Major General Samuel Smith, the Hero of two Wars."

¹ This is a view of the City Spring and its surroundings taken from Saratoga Street a short time before the monument was removed. That monument was placed in a recess of the building with battlements, seen toward the left of the picture, with an iron railing in front. The City Spring is under the temple-shaped pavilion in the foreground, which is yet (1867) standing, I believe, with the same lantern hanging beneath its dome.

The Color-bearer of the Twenty-seventh Regiment.

Visit to North Point Battle-ground.

ward^a he bore the same flag at the head of about thirty survivors of the Twenty-seventh, who were in the funeral procession at the burial of President Harrison, the distinguished soldier of the Second War for Independence.

Captain Lester accompanied my traveling companion and myself to the North Point battle-ground on the ^a November, morning of the 20th.^b The ^{1860.} air was very chilling, but

in a covered carriage, with fleet horses and a good postillion, we made the journey comfortably and quickly to the battle-ground, seven miles from the city. On our way, as we approached Long Log Lane, I sketched the Methodist meeting-house, which was used for a hospital after the battle, and where General Stricker bivouacked on the night of the

^c September, 11th^d. A short distance from it, on the corner, where a road leads to Hancock's Pavilion, on Bear



John Lester

Creek, was a place of refreshment called the Battle-ground House. In a field adjoining it we saw a rough-hewn block of granite, with a square hollow in it, which was pointed out as the corner-stone of a monument which it is proposed to erect on the field of strife. This was on the right of Long Log Lane going out. On the opposite side of the lane (which is now the highway to North Point) was the scene of the heaviest of the battle, which was then an open oak wood, as delineated in the accompanying picture of the battle-ground, drawn a few days after the conflict by Thomas



NORTH POINT BATTLE-GROUND.^e

Ruckle, who was in the fight. The view is from the site of the Battle-ground House. The stately oaks which then shaded the ground have disappeared, and it is covered by a new and smaller growth, and in some places by a tangled undergrowth.

We rode on to the house of Richard Brady (occupied at the time of our visit by

^f In this view, copied from Ruckle's picture in the Maryland Historical Society, Long Log Lane is seen over the equestrian figures toward the right, and on the extreme right the head of Bear Creek. The conflict occurred within the spaces included in the picture.

Samuel Cole), in front of which General Ross received his death-wound, as related on page 951. Near that spot, by the side of the road, the soldiers, commanded by Captain Benjamin C. Howard on that occasion, and known as the First Mechanical Volunteers, erected a monument, about eight feet in height, partly in commemoration



MONUMENT WHERE ROSS FELL.

of the action, but specifically, as the inscription declares,¹ "as a tribute of respect for the memory of their gallant brother" in arms, Aquila Randall, who fell there. The view in the engraving was sketched from Mr. Cole's house, in which is seen, toward the left, the venerable oak-tree under which Ross was laid for a few minutes by Captain M'Dougall, and in the centre, over the horseman, a part of Bear Creek. Ross was shot on the gentle rise of ground in the road a few rods eastward of the monument.

We returned to Baltimore at a little past noon, turning off from the direct road to visit the homestead of Colonel Sterett, mentioned on page 958. The mansion was upon a beautiful terraced slope along the old Philadelphia Road. We did not stop in the city, but riding through it to Fort Avenue, which traverses the length of Fell's Point to Fort M'Henry, we passed along that fine stone road a full mile, to the entrance-gate to the outer grounds of the fort. A pass from General Duryée, then in command at Baltimore, opened the portals. We were kindly received by the courteous Colonel (afterward General) W. Morris, the commandant (since dead), and were allowed to visit every part of the venerated fortification. After making the sketch on page 954, we returned, stopping on the way to make a drawing of the circular seven-gun battery mentioned on page 949, and to find the sites of Fort Covington and the City Battery, which was commanded by the gallant Webster. These were

¹ The following are the inscriptions on the monument: *North Side*: "Sacred to the memory of AQUILA RANDALL, who died in bravely defending his country and his home on the memorable 12th of September, 1814, aged 24 years." *East Side*: "In the skirmish which occurred at this spot between the advanced party under Major Richard K. Heath, of the 5th Regt. M. M., and the front of the British column, Major General Ross, the commander of the British forces, received his mortal wound." *West Side*: "The First Mechanical Volunteers, commanded by Captain Benjamin C. Howard, in the 5th Regt. M. M., have erected this monument as a tribute of their respect for the memory of their gallant brother." *South Side*: "How beautiful is Death when earned by Virtue."



REMAINS OF THE CIRCULAR BATTERY.

situated on the river bank, below the circular battery, and nearly half a mile distant. Webster's battery was on a line with it, in the direction of the river, and Fort Covington was about five hundred yards farther up the stream. The circular battery was at the end of Light Street, that skirts Federal Hill, on which, at the time of my visit, were heavy earth-works, in charge of Duryèe's Zouaves, thrown up as a protection to Fort M'Henry against land attacks by insurgents. The mounds of the old circular battery were six or eight feet high in some places. It was in a commanding position. Our view, taken from within it, comprises the entire theatre of the operations of the British boat expedition on that eventful night. We are looking toward Chesapeake Bay. On the left is seen Fort M'Henry, and in the extreme distance, appearing like a speck near the mouth of the Patapsco, is Fort Carroll.

On the following morning² I made a careful drawing of the Battle Monument, delineated on page 960. We afterward spent several hours in the rooms of the Historical Society, and in the afternoon called on Mr. Armistead, where we were kindly shown the old garrison flag, tattered and faded—the identical *Star-spangled Banner* on which Key and his companions so anxiously gazed “at the twilight's last gleaming.” On the same evening we left Baltimore for Havre de Grace, where, as we have observed on page 943, we passed the night and the following day.

• November 21,
1861.

We have remarked that when the British were driven away from Baltimore, the trembling citizens of Philadelphia and New York breathed freer. Both felt themselves seriously menaced by the heavy British force in the Chesapeake, and both had made such vigorous preparations for attack that the enemy did not deem it prudent to attempt it. Indeed, it was not their intention to do so at that time, and they sailed away to the Bermudas to join in the more important work of invading Louisiana.

When, as we have already observed, the depredations of Cockburn on the shores of the Delaware, in the spring of 1813, were made known at Philadelphia, an intense martial spirit was aroused in that city, and along the shores of the Delaware River and Bay. At the beginning of the war that spirit was almost dormant. The fine corps known as the *M'Pherson Blues*¹ had been disbanded twelve years before the declaration of war, and another, called *Shee's Legion*, was no more. Only three or four volunteer companies of any note then existed in Philadelphia, the oldest of which, a company of cavalry, was called the *First*, or old *City Troop*, Captain Charles Ross, which was formed in the autumn of 1774, and did good service in the Revolution under Captain Morris. They formed a body-guard for General Washington when he traveled from Philadelphia to New York in 1775 to take command of the army at Cambridge. These, with Captain Rush's old *Philadelphia Blues*, and Captain Fottevall's *Independent Volunteers*, both large companies, composed the most of the

¹ See page 111.

uniformed militia of that vicinity. During the summer of 1812 a new uniform company was formed, called the *State Fencibles*, which, like the *City Troop*, is still an organized corps, and until a few years ago was led by Captain James Page, who was elected its commander in June, 1818.¹ The original manuscript, containing the call for the formation of this company, is before me, having been kindly placed in my hands by the veteran Captain Page, of Philadelphia, who was a private in that company during the War of 1812. The first name on the list is that of one of Philadelphia's most honored sons, Hon. Joseph R. Ingersoll, and the third is that of the late Colonel Clement C. Biddle. The latter, who was the originator of the company, was chosen captain, and the former first lieutenant. Captain Page is yet (1867) a vigorous man, nearly eighty years of age, and to him I am indebted for much valuable information concerning military affairs in and around Philadelphia during the war.²



STATE FENCIBLE IN 1814.

When the news of the presence of the British in the Delaware reached Philadelphia, great alarm was felt because of the defenseless state of the city. Fort Mifflin, just below, its only defense on the water, was garrisoned by only eleven recruits, under Captain James N. Barker. Something must be done immediately to strengthen that post. James M. Porter, Secretary of the "Young Men's Democratic Society" of Philadelphia, called a meeting on the 20th of March at Stratton's Tavern. It was fully attended, and about seventy young men who were present formed a volunteer company for artillery service on that very evening. They organized by the election of officers the next day, with the name of *The Junior Artillerists*. They at once tendered their services to General Bloomfield, the commander of the district, to re-enforce the garrison at Fort Mifflin. They were accepted, and within three days after they were organized they marched to Fort Mifflin, under Captain Fidler, each with a cockade in his hat, and wearing a coat with bright buttons, accompanied by Captain Mitchell's volunteer corps of eighty men, dressed in blue and buff, and known as the *Independent Blues*. The latter, with the *Independent Volunteers*, and a newly-organized company called the *Washington Guards*, Captain Raguet—the first *new* company of infantry formed in Philadelphia at that time—left the city for the State of Delaware on the afternoon of the 12th of May, under the command of Colonel Lewis Rush. They proceeded to Staunton, about six miles beyond Wilmington, and near that place formed a camp at a spot selected by General Bloomfield.

At about that time it was rumored that Duponts' powder-mills at Wilmington were about to be attacked. Colonel Rush disposed his troops in that vicinity so as to protect them, and there they remained until the invaders left the neighboring waters. The inhabitants of Delaware, in the mean time, had raised several volunteer companies; and the names of the Duponts, Rodney, Young, Van Dyke, Warren, Wil-

¹ Captain Page was commander of the First Company. When, in April, 1861, the President of the United States called for seventy-five thousand troops to put down the great insurrection of the slaveholders against the government, the Fencibles offered themselves as volunteers, and were mustered into the service of the United States, and formed a part of the Eighteenth Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers. They served the full term of three months, when they were mustered out of the service, and honorably discharged. Many of them afterward entered the service as volunteers in different corps. The Pennsylvania militia law of May, 1864, dissolved the organization, and the *State Fencibles*, after an honorable career of more than half a century, passed into history as an extinct military association. The last captain was John Miller. Among the brave men of the corps who went into the War for the Union, Captain Hesser, made colonel of the Seventy-second Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers, deserves honorable mention. He fell at the head of his regiment, at Orange Court-house, Virginia, in November, 1863.

² In 1859 former members of the State Fencibles presented to Captain Page a sword, on which is the following inscription: "Presented to Captain James Page by retired members of the State Fencibles, as a token of their esteem for him as a citizen and soldier, and of their appreciation of his services as commanding officer of that corps for a period of forty years. Philadelphia, December 29, 1859."

Organization of Troops.

Camp Dupont.

Camp at Marcus's Hook.

son, Leonard, and others, are held in grateful remembrance to this day as prominent actors in the business of state defense.

On the receipt of the requisition for troops from the War Department early in July, 1814, Governor Snyder, of Pennsylvania, caused a general order to be issued for the mustering of the militia and the raising of volunteers, in which several military companies of Philadelphia, and elsewhere in the state, who had offered their services to the government in the summer of 1812, were named as accepted volunteers, and as forming a part of the quota of the state.¹ Recruiting went briskly on, and it was greatly promoted by intelligence of the capture of Washington toward the close of August. Volunteers flocked to the standard of General Bloomfield in great numbers.² Kennet Square, in Chester County, thirty-six miles southwest from Philadelphia, was the designated place of rendezvous, and there, at the close of August, a camp was formed, under the direction of Captain C. W. Hunter, and named Camp Bloomfield. On the 7th of September, Lieutenant Colonel Clemson, of the United States Army, assumed the command, and on the 14th he was succeeded by Brigadier General Thomas Cadwalader. The troops were brigaded, and the corps was called *The Advanced Light Guard*.³ Captain Ross, with his First City Troop, took post on Mount Bull, a height overlooking the Chesapeake, thirteen miles below Elkton, to watch the approach of the enemy, and held communication with the camp and Philadelphia by a line of vedettes.

The brigade changed its position several times, but was continually in the vicinity of Wilmington. The last one that it occupied was called Camp Dupont, about three miles west of Wilmington, where it remained until the 30th of November, when, all danger seeming to be distant, the troops were marched back to Philadelphia, and there disbanded on the 3d of January, 1815.⁴

In the mean time a body of almost ten thousand men was assembled near Marcus's Hook, on the Delaware, twenty miles below Philadelphia, which was at first organized by Adjutant General William Duane, under the command of Major General Isaac Worrall. It was composed of Pennsylvania militia and volunteers. Its rendezvous was called Camp Gaines, in honor of General E. P. Gaines, who succeeded Bloomfield in the command of the Department, in September. This camp was broken up on the 5th of December, 1814. Besides these, several companies were organized in the city and county of Philadelphia who did not take the field.⁵ When Gaines left for New Orleans in December, General Cadwalader⁶ succeeded him as chief of the Fourth Military Department.

While the volunteers were hastening to the camps to be enrolled as soldiers, the inhabitants of Philadelphia were vigorously making preparations for the defense of

¹ These were the *Harrisburg Volunteers*, Captain Thomas Walker; *State Fencibles*, Captain C. C. Biddle; three rifle companies, commanded respectively by Captains Andrew Mitchell, Nicholas Beckwith, and Samuel Dunn; *Benevolent Blues*, Henry Reed; and *Light Dragoons*, James Noble.

² "The very flower of the youth and best hopes of the nation," wrote an eye-witness—"citizens of every rank and profession, and of every political name, were there commingled in the ranks, united in a common cause for the defense of their country, and exhibiting to the monarchs of Europe the glorious spectacle of practical equality."—Author of *A Short Sketch of the Military Operations on the Delaware during the late War*, etc. Philadelphia, 1820.

³ The brigade staff consisted of the following officers: Thomas Cadwalader, brigadier general; John Hare Powell, brigade major, in place of Hunter, promoted; Richard McCall and John G. Biddle, aids-de-camp; Henry Sergeant, assistant quartermaster general; David Correy, assistant deputy quartermaster general. The number of officers and privates may be stated as follows: Brigade staff, 7; one company of flying artillery, Captain Richard Bache, 61; two troops of cavalry, 115; one artillery regiment, 589; one infantry regiment, 1203; riflemen, 1179; one militia battalion, 250. Total, 3504.

⁴ Among the gallant officers at Camp Dupont was Captain John Ross Mifflin, of the Washington Guards. He was a nephew of Captain Ross, and died, unmarried, in Philadelphia in 1825. He wrote a series of interesting letters from Camp Dupont, copies of some of which were kindly placed in my hands by Miss Elizabeth Mifflin, of Philadelphia. These give a lively picture of camp life there.

⁵ *A Short Sketch of Military Operations on the Delaware during the late War*, pages 3 to 29 inclusive.

⁶ Son of General John Cadwalader, of the Continental Army. He was born on the 28th of October, 1779. He was admitted to the bar in Philadelphia in 1801. He studied military science intently, and entered the service as captain in 1812. He rose to the rank of brigadier general in 1814. After the war he became major general of Pennsylvania militia. He assisted in forming a system of cavalry tactics in 1826. He died on the 26th of October, 1841.

Public Meeting in Philadelphia.

Committee of Defense.

Citizens construct Fortifications.

the city. When intelligence of the capture of Washington reached them, a public meeting was held, and a committee of defense was appointed, with ample powers to adopt such measures as the exigency seemed to require.¹ "They determined," says Mr. Wescott,² "that, for the safety of the city, field fortifications should be thrown up in the most eligible situations on the western side of the town, and where an attack might be expected. A fort was planned near Gray's Ferry, on the west side of the Schuylkill River, at the junction of the Gray's Ferry and Darby Roads; also a redoubt opposite Hamilton's Grove, another upon the Lancaster Road, and a third upon the site of an old British redoubt on the southern side of the hill at Fairmount, which would command the bridge at Market Street and the roads leading to it.

"To construct these works required much labor, and, under the circumstances, they could not have been built without the voluntary assistance of the citizens. A hearty enthusiasm was shown in the service. Companies, societies, and the artificers of the different trades organized themselves for the purpose. Day after day these parties assembled, and left the city at from five to six o'clock in the morning, and, with knapsacks or handkerchiefs containing a supply of food, marched out to the fortifications to a day of toilsome labor at an occupation to which but few of them were accustomed. Labor commenced on the 3d of September, and from that time until about the 1st of October, when the field-works were finished, the toil was participated in by parties having the following numbers: House carpenters, 62; victualers, 400; the Tammany Society, 400; painters, 70; hatters and brickmakers, 300; Philadelphia Benevolent Society and Fourth Washington Guard, 160; Rev. Mr. Staughton and the members of his church, 60; printers, 200; crew of the *Wasp*, 140; watchmakers, silversmiths, and jewelers (on Monday, September 11), 400; cabinet-makers and joiners, 300; Washington Association, 70; True Republican Society, 70; teachers, 30; friendly aliens, 500; Freemasons, grand and subordinate lodges, 510; Washington Benevolent Society, 500; Sons of Erin, citizens of the United States, 2200; Tammany Society, second day, 130; friendly aliens, second day, 150; German societies, 540; colored men, 650; citizens of Germantown, 400; Scotchmen, 100; Sons of Erin, second day, 350. The colored people also gave a second day to the work. Small bodies, not enumerated, including beneficial societies and social clubs, participated. The physicians and artists of the city also labored at the works. When the fortifications were completed, it was found that about fifteen thousand persons had labored on them. In lieu of work, many who were unable or unwilling to assist in that manner gave money. The collections from this source amounted to about six thousand dollars.

"Arriving at the fortifications, the citizens, having been previously divided into companies, were put to work. At ten o'clock the drum beat for 'grog,' when liquor sufficient for each company was dealt out by its captain. At twelve o'clock the drum

¹ The public meeting was held in the State House Yard, on the 26th of August, 1814. Thomas M'Kean was chairman, and Joseph Reed was secretary. A committee, of which Jared Ingersoll was chairman, was appointed "to consider and report what measures ought, in their opinion, to be adopted for protection and defense." They reported resolutions, the first of which nominated a number of gentlemen as a committee of defense, for the purpose of organizing the citizens of Philadelphia, and of the northern and southern districts, for defense, with power to appoint committees under them, correspond with the state and general governments, make arrangements for supplies, fix on places of rendezvous, etc. This committee consisted of the following named persons: For the city of Philadelphia—Charles Biddle, Thomas Lelper, Thomas Cadwalader, Gen. John Steel, George Latimer, John Barker, Henry Hawkins, Liberty Browne, Charles Ross, Mannel Eyre, John Connelly, Condy Ragnet, Wm. M'Faden, John Sergeant, John Geyer (Mayor), and Joseph Reed. For the Northern Liberties and Penn Township—Colonel Jonathan Williams, John Goodman, Daniel Groves, John Barclay, John Naglee, Thomas Snyder, J. W. Norris, Michael Lieb, Jacob Huff, and James Whitehead. For the district of Southwark and townships of Moyamensing and Passyunk—James Joslah, R. M'ullen, John Thompson, E. Ferguson, James Ronaldson, P. Miercken, R. Palmer, and P. Pitts.

These citizens met on the day of their appointment, at the State House, where they were organized into a committee of defense, with Charles Biddle as chairman, and John Goodman as secretary. The labors of the committee were very useful and important. The organization was continued until the 16th of August, 1815, when, at the eighty-second meeting, their labors ceased. The minutes of the committee, carefully kept by Mr. Goodman, and giving the details of their proceedings, were published in 1867 as the eighth volume of the *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, accompanied by brief biographical notices of the members of the committee.

² *History of the City of Philadelphia from 1682 to 1854*, by Thompson Wescott, Esq. This history was in manuscript when Mr. Wescott kindly allowed me to copy the matter quoted in the text.

New York stirred up.

Committee of Defense.

Patriotic Action of the Citizens.

beat for dinner, when more 'grog' was furnished. This was also the case at three and at five o'clock in the afternoon. At six the drum beat the retreat, when it was suggested in General Orders, 'For the honor of the cause we are engaged in, freemen to live or die, it is hoped that every man will *retire sober.*'"

So did Philadelphians prepare for the invader. Happily the enemy did not come, and their beautiful city was spared the horrors of war.

New York was likewise fearfully excited by apprehensions of danger during the summer and autumn of 1814. Like Philadelphia and Boston, its defenses were few and weak at that critical moment. The appearance of the powerful British force in the Chesapeake aroused the citizens to a sense of their immediate danger, and they soon put forth mighty efforts in preparations to repel the invader. The mayor of the city, De Witt Clinton, issued, through the medium of the City Council, a stirring address to the people on the 2d of August, in which he set forth the importance of New York to the enemy on account of its wealth and geographical position, which increased its liabilities to attack. He recommended the militia to hold themselves in readiness for duty, and called upon the citizens to offer their personal services and means cheerfully to the United States officers in command there, to aid in the completion of the unfinished fortifications around the city.

In response to the mayor's appeal, a large meeting of citizens was held in the City Hall Park, on Tuesday, the 9th of August,¹ when a Committee of Defense, chosen from the Common Council, was appointed,² clothed with ample powers to direct the efforts of the inhabitants in the business of protection. On the same morning the officers of General Mapes's brigade, to the number of two hundred, gave the first practical response to the mayor's appeal by crossing the East River from Beekman's Slip, and, with Captain Andrew Bremmer's artillery, marching to the lines traced out for the fortifications on the heights around Brooklyn by General Swift, and taking pick-axes, and shovels, and every other appropriate implement at hand, breaking ground at eight o'clock, and working lustily all day. They were followed the next morning by as many carpenters and cabinet-makers; and only four days after the meeting in the Park, the Committee of Defense announced³ that three thousand persons were at work on the fortifications. They also reported the receipt of * August 13. large sums of money; and on the same day it was announced that "two hundred journeymen printers, one thousand Sons of Erin, thirty pilots, seventy men from the Asbury (African) Church, with one hundred and fifty other colored men, two hundred weavers, and many heads of manufacturing establishments," were at work on the lines. Two days afterward the city newspapers were suspended, that all hands might work on the fortifications; and on the 20th of August five hundred men "left on the Jersey steam-boat for Harlem Heights," to work on intrenchments there; and, at the same time, fifteen hundred "patriotic Sons of Erin" crossed the ferry to Brooklyn for the same purpose. Two days afterward nearly one thousand colored people crossed the Catharine Ferry to work on the fortifications between Fort Greene and Gowanus Creek; and on the 25th the Washington Benevolent Society, an organization opposed to the war, inspired with zeal for the common cause, went over in a body, with their banner bearing the portrait of Washington—the largest number belonging to one society that had crossed over at one time. On the same day the butchers went to the lines to labor, bearing the flag, on which was the figure of an ox prepared for slaughter, which had been used by them in the great "Federal Procession" in honor of the ratification of the National Constitution in 1789. Masonic and other societies went in bodies to the patriotic task; and school-teachers and pupils went together to give their aid. Little boys, too small to handle a spade or pickaxe, carried earth on

¹ The call was signed by Henry Rutgers and Oliver Wolcott. The chief organ of the Opposition—the *Evening Post*—denounced it, and asked, "Has it not a squinting toward the charter election?"

² The committee consisted of Nicholas Fish, Gideon Tucker, Peter Mesier, George Buckmaster, and J. Nitchie.

Neighbors assist New York.

Gathering of Troops in and around the City.

"The Patriotic Diggers."

shingles, and so added their mites in rearing the breastworks. It was a scene like that of cairn-building in the olden time. The infection spread, and every day citizens from neighboring towns on Long Island,¹ on the Hudson, and from New Jersey, proffered their services. Nor were the nights undisturbed by the sound of the patriotic toil. On that of the 31st of August it is recorded that full six hundred men went over to Brooklyn, and worked "by the light of the moon."

Intelligence of the capture of Washington City reached New York on the 27th of August, three days after that sad occurrence. The zeal and patriotism of the citizens were increased there-

by. In General Orders, Daniel D. Tompkins, governor of the State of New York, who had been untiring in his exertions for the public good from the beginning of the war, called on the inhabitants to send arms of every description to the State Arsenal, where all fit for service would be paid for. The call was promptly answered. He also ordered the organization of a battalion of Sea Fencibles, to be commanded by Captain James T. Leonard; and expressed a desire to enroll volunteers for one or two months' service. Already nearly four thousand militia had come down the Hudson in sloops; and Commodore Decatur had been assigned to the command of the naval force in the harbor of New York, with orders to co-operate with the military in defense of the city. On the 1st of September the governor issued a proclamation for an extraordinary session of the Legislature of the State, to commence on the 27th of that month.

On the 31st of August there was a grand military review in the city of New York, when about six thousand men were under arms. On the 2d of September the militia were mustered into actual service, when the division of General Ebenezer Stevens was transferred to the command of Major General Morgan Lewis. Cadwallader D. Colden was appointed to the command of all the uniformed militia companies of the city and county, and every thing pertaining to the military was put upon the war footing of actual service. The citizens continued their zealous labors on the military works all through September and in October, and made the lines of fortifications around New York truly formidable.²

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¹ On the 17th of August, the people of Bushwick, Long Island, led by the Rev. Mr. Bassett, repaired to Fort Swift (erected on the old redoubt of the Revolution on Cobble Hill) to labor on that work. The venerable pastor of the flock that followed him opened the operations with prayer, and he remained with them throughout the day, encouraging them and distributing refreshments among them.

² These displays of patriotism inspired Samuel Woodworth, an American poet of considerable eminence, and then the editor and publisher of a weekly record of events entitled *The War*, to write a very popular ballad called *The Patriotic Diggers*, of which the following is a copy:

"Johnny Bull, beware,
Keep at proper distance,
Else we'll make you stare
At our firm resistance;
Let alone the lads
Who are freedom tasting,
Recollect our dads
Gave you once a basting.
Pickaxe, shovel, spade,
Crowbar, hoe, and barrow,
Better not invade,
Yankees have the marrow.
"To protect our rights
'Gainst your flints and triggers,
See on Brooklyn Heights

Our patriotic diggers;
Men of every age,
Color, rank, profession,
Ardently engage,
Labor in succession.
Pickaxe, etc.
"Grandeur leaves her towers,
Poverty her hovel,
Here to join their powers
With the hoe and shovel.
Here the merchant toils
With the patriot sawyer,
There the laborer smiles,
Near him sweats the lawyer.
Pickaxe, etc.

General Swift's Report of the Fortifications around New York.

Earlier than the movements of the public authorities and inhabitants of New York and Philadelphia for the defense of their cities, recorded in the preceding pages, the

"Here the mason builds
Freedom's shrine of glory,
While the painter gilds
The immortal story,
Blacksmiths catch the flame,
Grocers feel the spirit,
Printers share the fame,
And record their merit.
Pickaxe, etc.

"Scholars leave their schools
With their patriot teachers,
Farmers seize their tools,
Headed by their preachers.
How they break the soil!
Brewers, butchers, bakers;
Here the doctors toil,
There the undertakers.
Pickaxe, etc.

"Bright Apollo's sons
Leave their pipe and tabor,
'Mid the roar of guns
Join the martial labor;
Round the embattled plain
In sweet concord rally,

And in freedom's strain
Sing the foe's finale!
Pickaxe, etc.

Plumbers, founders, dyers,
Tanners, turners, shavers,
Sweepers, clerks, and criers,
Jewelers, engravers,
Clothiers, drapers, players,
Cartmen, hatters, tailors,
Gaugers, sealers, weighers,
Carpenters and sailors.
Pickaxe, etc.

"Better not invade;
Recollect the spirit
Which our dads displayed,
And their sons inherit.
If you still advance,
Friendly caution slighting,
You may get, by chance,
A bellyful of fighting.
Pickaxe, shovel, spade,
Crowbar, hoe, and barrow,
Better not invade,
Yaukees have the marrow.

The most authentic account of the fortifications thrown up around New York in the summer and autumn of 1814 may be found in the report of General Joseph Swift, Chief Engineer (see page 638), to the Common Council Committee of Defense, made at the close of the year 1814. I have compiled the following statements from the original manuscript of that report, with its maps, and landscape and topographical drawings, which are now before me.

The city of New York might be approached by an enemy by way of Sandy Hook and the Narrows, Long Island Sound and the East River, and across Long Island. To guard against invasion by either one of these approaches, and to be prepared at all points, old fortifications, built during the Revolution, or when war with France seemed inevitable in 1778 and 1779, were strengthened and new ones were erected. The commanding situations near the dangerous passage in the East River known as Hell Gate, at the mouth of the Harlem River, were occupied by batteries, some of which were covered by towers. The heights overlooking Harlem Plains, and those around Brooklyn, on Long Island, were also covered with military works, within which necessary magazines and barracks were erected. The position of these various works, and those around and in the harbor of New York, may be seen at a glance by reference to the map on the next page.

In the rear of Brooklyn works were erected which completely isolated the town. On the high ground overlooking the Wallabout and the navy yard was Fort Greene, mounting twenty-three heavy cannon, and between it and Gowanus Creek, which ran through a low morass, Redoubts Cummings and Masonic, Washington Battery and Fort Firemen were erected. These were united by lines of intrenchments. In each of these redoubts, as well as at the salient angles of the intrenchments, twelve-pounders were placed. The intervals between them did not exceed half grape-shot distance of guns of that capacity. On a small eminence on the margin of Gowanus



FORT STEVENS AND MILL ROCK.*

Creek, on the right flank of these lines, was a little redoubt, open in the rear, calculated for three heavy guns, to defend the mill-dam and bridge. On a commanding conical hill forming a part of Brooklyn Heights, and nearly on the site of Fort Stirling of the Revolution, was a strong redoubt called Fort Swift; and another, named Fort Lawrence, was constructed at the southwestern extremity of the heights, and overlooking Gowanus Bay and Governor's Island.

On Hallett's Point, Long Island, near Hell Gate, was quite an extensive work called Fort Stevens, in honor of General Ebenezer Stevens, who had been in command of the troops in and around New York. On Lawrence's Hill, in the rear, and commanding an extensive view, was a tower. In front of it, in the middle of the East River, at the mouth of the Harlem River, stood (and yet stands) Mill Rock. On this a very strong block-house and a powerful battery were erected. On the shore of York Island, opposite, at a place known as Rhinelander's Point (Horn's Hook in the Revolution), not far above the present Asto-



TOWER AT HALLETT'S POINT.

* This is a view from the tower on Lawrence's Hill, back of Fort Stevens, and looking up the Harlem River. Directly over the tower is seen the block-house on Mill Rock. Over the island on the left is seen Rhinelander's Point. At the extreme right is Hell Gate.

General Swift's Report.

towns, especially in the fast-growing commercial city of New York. Among the sci-

Pass, now called Mount St. Vincent, in the northeastern part of the Central Park. Connected with Fort Clinton, and extending like a bridge over M'Gowan's Pass, were a block-house and Nutter's Battery (a sketch of which is given on the following page), the whole joined to and commanded by Fort Fish (a view of the interior of which, with Harlem in the distance, will also be found on the following page), on another eminence westward of the pass, on which five heavy cannon were planted. This pass, on the old Kingsbridge Road (between the present Fifth and Sixth Avenues and One Hundred and Fifth and One Hundred and Eighth Streets), was a very important point, and great efforts were used to make it a Thermopylae



MILL ROCK AND ITS FORTIFICATIONS.

to any foe that might attempt to go through.

Immediately west of Fort Fish, and at the foot of the works, was a deep, rough, wooded valley, which is now within the Central Park, and preserved in all its original rodeness. On the opposite side of this valley was a range of wooded and rocky heights, of difficult ascent excepting in one place, and there for only the lightest troops. On these heights, extending to Manhattanville, several block-houses were erected, mostly of stone, within supporting distance from each other. These extended from near M'Gowan's Pass almost to the Bloomingdale Road. The one nearest that road, and overlooking Manhattanville, was called Fort Laight. All of them had heavy guns mounted *en barbette*, that is, on the top, without embrasures.

From Fort Laight ran a line of in-trenchments westwardly across the Bloomingdale Road, which ended on the high, precipitous bank of the Hudson. Here, near the then residence of Viscount Courtenay (after-



FORT CLINTON AT M'GOWAN'S PASS.

ward the Earl of Devon), was a strong stone tower (see picture on page 975) which commanded Manhattanville, and from which was a fine view of the Palisades of the Hudson, and of the river almost to the Highlands. Such were the fortifications described in General Swift's report,* at the conclusion of which he said:

"The works comprehended in the foregoing



FORT CLINTON AND HARLEM CREEK.

* General Swift's aid-de-camp, Lieutenant Gadsden, of the United States Engineers, superintended the erection of the works at Brooklyn, assisted by Messrs. Nicholls and Mercier. Major Horn superintended those in the vicinity of Harlem. The surveys, maps, and small views presented in the report were furnished by Captain (late Professor in Columbia College, New York) Renwick, of General Mapes's brigade, aided by Lieutenants Gadsden, Craig, Turner, De Russy, Kemble, and Oothout. The larger views were drawn by Mr. Holland.

entific men of that day, John Stevens and Robert Fulton appear most conspicuous in proposing plans for that purpose. Earlier than this (in 1807), Abraham Bloodgood, of Albany, suggested the construction of a floating revolving battery, not unlike, in its essential character, the turret of Captain Ericsson's *Monitor* of 1862.¹ In March,



WORKS AT M'GOWAN'S PASS.

Staten Island Shore at the Narrows, and near there a brigade of two thousand militia from the Hudson River counties were stationed from August to December, 1814. On Governor's Island, very near the city, were Forts Jay and Castle Williams. Of all these works only those on Governor's Island remain, excepting one of the block-houses near M'Gowan's Pass, in the upper part of the Central Park, between Seventh and Eighth Avenues, at One Hundred and Fifth Street, overlooking Harlem Plains. Its massive walls are well preserved, as may be seen from the drawing of it given on page 975. The mounds of Forts Fish and Clinton, at M'Gowan's Pass, were also well preserved as late as 1860, when, from the north, they presented the appearance given in the engraving on the opposite page.

description have been chiefly constructed by the labor of the citizens of the city of New York, Long Island, and of the neighboring towns near the North River, and in New Jersey, all classes volunteering daily working-parties of from five to fifteen hundred men. The fortifications are testimonials of patriotic zeal, honorable to the citizens and to the active and assiduous Committee of Defense."

Besides these works there were old Fort George, at the foot of Broadway; the North Battery (given below), at the foot of Hubert Street; and a partly finished work near the foot of the present Twenty-third Street, called Fort Gansevoort. At Princes Bay, Staten Island, a tower was erected to command the only secure anchorage for the shipping and safe landing-place of a foe. Fortifications were commenced on the



NORTH BATTERY.



VIEW FROM FORT FISH, LOOKING TOWARD HARLEM.

¹ In a volume containing the proceedings of the *Society for the Promotion of Useful Arts in the State of New York*, published at Albany in 1807, is the following account of Mr. Bloodgood's plan, reference being had to accompanying drawings: "The model of this battery was exhibited to the society with a verbal description only. The annexed plate shows an exact profile of its body, the shape of which, as seen above, is circular. It is to be connected at the centre of its bottom with a strong keel, in such a manner that, while the keel is held by cables and anchors in one position, the battery is made to turn round on its centre. This motion may be given to it either by the tide acting on float-boards attached to the body of the battery, by sails raised on its exterior parts, or by manual application. In this last way it may

Description of proposed Revolving Battery.

A proposed iron-clad Vessel.

Remains of a Block-house.

1814, Thomas Gregg, of Pennsylvania, obtained a patent for a proposed iron-clad

be effected by men in the hold drawing on a lever fastened to a post fixed to the keel and rising through a well-hole in the centre of the battery. The strength of horses might perhaps be applied to the same purpose. The cables by which the keel is held are to be entirely under water, and thus secure from an enemy's shot. The advantages of such a battery would be—1. Its rotary motion would bring all its cannon to bear successively, as fast as they could be loaded, on objects in any direction. 2. Its circular form would cause every shot that might strike it not near the centre to glance. 3. Its motion, as well as its want of parts on which grappling might be fastened, would render boarding almost impossible. 4. The steadiness with which it would lie on the water would render its fire more certain than that of a ship. 5. The guns would be more easily worked than is common, as they would not require any lateral movement. 6. The



COURTENAY'S AND THE HUDSON TOWER.*



REMAINS OF BLOCK-HOUSE OVERLOOKING HARBOR FLAOR IN 1800.†

men would be completely sheltered from the fire of the elevated parts of an enemy's ship. 7. The battery might be made so strong as to be impenetrable to common shot, etc."

* The house in which Viscount Courtenay, son of the Earl of Devon, lived was built by the elder Doctor Post, of New York, and named Clermont. There Joseph Bonaparte resided for a while. It is now (1867) known as Jones's Claremont Hotel, and is a place of great resort in fine weather for pleasure-seekers who frequent the Bloomingdale and Kingsbridge Roads. The appearance of the mansion has been entirely changed by additions.

† This sketch shows the character of the rocky heights on which the line of block-houses was built. In the distance is seen the "High Bridge," or Croton Aqueduct, over Harlem River. The walls of the block-house are twelve or fifteen feet in height, and four feet in thickness.

‡ The remains of Fort Clinton are seen on the left.



M'GOWAN'S PASS IN 1800.‡

Iron-clad Gun-boat.

A Floating Battery authorized by Congress.

Launch of the Battery.

steam vessel of war, resembling in figure vessels used during our late great Civil War. Drawings of it may be seen in the Patent-office, with full specifications.¹ Our little sketch below was copied from one of these drawings.

At about the same time a committee of citizens examined a plan of a floating battery submitted by Robert Fulton, and approved by such tried naval officers as Captains Decatur, Jones, Evans, Biddle, Perry, Warrington, and Lewis. It was to be in the form of a steam-ship of peculiar construction, that might move at the rate of four miles an hour, and furnished, in addition to its regular armament, with submarine guns. The committee memorialized Congress on the subject, and asked the Secretary of the Navy to give it his official favor. It was objected that a discussion in Congress would reveal the matter to the enemy, and also that the President was not authorized to make an appropriation without the special authority of law. To meet these objections, the committee agreed to have the vessel constructed at their own expense and risk, provided assurances should be given that the government, which alone could employ her, would receive and pay for her when her utility should be demonstrated. It was estimated that she would cost nearly as much as a first-class frigate, or about three hundred and twenty thousand dollars. The liberal offer was

accepted, and Congress authorized the President² to have one or more floating batteries built, under the supervision of the Coast and Harbor Defense

A G N Brown

Committee.³ They appointed Mr. Fulton the engineer, and Adam and Noah Brown the architects. The keel was laid at the ship-yard at Corlear's Hook, in the city of New York, on the 20th of June, 1814, and she was launched at 9 o'clock

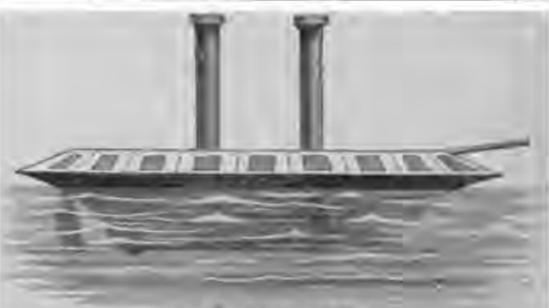
in the morning of the 29th of October following, in the presence of a vast assemblage of people. The scene was described as very exciting. It was a bright autumnal day. Fleets of vessels and crowds of spectators might be seen on every hand; and she went into the water amid the roar of cannon and the shouts of a multitude full twenty thousand in number.³ Her engines were put on board, and her machinery

¹ The following is a portion of the specification :

"The boat is framed on an angle of about eighteen degrees all round the vessel, when the top timbers elevate the hull, and the lower ones direct them under her. The top deck, which glances the ball, may be hung on a mass of hinges near the ports. Said deck is supported by knees and cross-timbers on the lower sides, so that it may be sprung with powder, if required (when boarded by the enemy), to a perpendicular, when the said deck will be checked by stays, while the power of powder will be exhausted in the open air, and then fall or spring to the centre of the deck again. The aforesaid deck will run up and down with the angle, which may be coppered or laid with iron. The gun-deck may be hored at pleasure, to give room, if required, as the men and guns are under said deck. The power is applied between her keels, where there is a concave formed to receive them from the bow to the stern, except a small distance in each end, forming an eddy. The power may be reversed to propel her either way. Said power is connected to upright levers to make horizontal strokes alternately. The elevation of her timbers and gearing will be proportioned by her keel and tonnage."

² That committee consisted of General Dearborn, then commanding the district, Colonel Henry Rutgers, Oliver Wolcott, Samuel L. Mitchell, and Thomas Morris.

³ The New York *Evening Post* published an account of the launching of this vessel, and gave the following as her dimensions and capacity for armament: "She measures one hundred and forty-five feet on deck, and fifty-five feet breadth of beam, draws only eight feet of water, mounts thirty 32-pound carronades, and two columbiads of one hundred pounds each. She is to be commanded by Captain Porter." It may be added that it was a structure resting upon two boats and keels, separated from end to end by a channel fifteen feet wide and sixty-six feet long. One boat cou-



IRON-CLAD VESSEL IN 1814.

Steam-ship or Floating Battery, *Fulton the First*.

Extravagant Stories concerning her.

tested, in the month of May following,⁸ when Fulton was no more, he having died in February.¹ She made a trial trip to the ocean and back, fifty-three miles, on the 4th of July, at the rate of about six miles an hour by her engines alone. In September she made another voyage to the sea, with her whole armament on board, at the rate of five and a half miles an hour against wind and tide. The vessel was named **FULTON THE FIRST**.

At the close of 1814 active war had ceased in the Northern States. Its chief theatre of operations was in Louisiana and on the ocean, to which we will now turn our attention.

tained the boiler for generating steam, which was made of copper. The machinery occupied the other boat. The water-wheel (A) revolved in the space between them. The main or gun-deck supported the armament, and was protected by a parapet four feet ten inches thick, of solid timber, pierced by embrasures. Through twenty-five port-holes were as many 35-pounders, intended to fire red-hot shot, which could be heated with great safety and convenience. Her upper, or spar-deck, upon which many hundred men might parade, was encompassed with a bulwark, for safety. She was rigged with two stout masts, each of which supported a large lateen yard and sails. She had two bowsprits and jibs, and four rudders, one at each extremity of each boat, so that she might be steered with either end foremost. Her machinery was calculated for an additional engine, which might discharge an immense column of water, which it was intended to throw upon the decks and through the port-holes of an enemy, and thereby deluge her armament and ammunition.—See Colden's *Life of Robert Fulton*, page 229.



SECTION OF THE FLOATING BATTERY.

The most extravagant stories concerning this monster of the deep went forth at about the time of her being launched. In a treatise on steam-vessels, published in Scotland soon afterward, the author said: "Her length is 300 feet; breadth, 200 feet; thickness of her sides, 12 feet, of alternate oak plank and corkwood; carries 44 guns, four of which are 100-pounders; can discharge 100 gallons of boiling water in a few minutes, and by mechanics brandishes 300 cutlasses with the utmost regularity over her gunwales; works, also, an equal number of pikes of great length, darting them from her sides with prodigious force, and withdrawing them every quarter of a minute."²

¹ See page 242.

3 Q



FULTON THE FIRST.

CHAPTER XLI.

"We had sailed out a letter of marque,
Fourteen guns and forty-five men,
And a costly freight our gallant barque
Was bearing home again.
We had ranged the seas the whole summer tide,
Crossed the main and returned once more;
And our sails were spread, and from the mast-head
The look-out saw the distant shore.
A sail! a sail on our weather-bow!
Hand over hand ten knots an hour;
Now God defend it ever should end
That we should fall in the foeman's power."¹—CAROLINE F. ORNE.



OUR story of the operations of the American Navy during the year 1813 closed with the cruise of the *President*, under Commodore Rodgers, and her bold dash through the British blockading squadron off Sandy Hook into the harbor of New York, at the middle of February, 1814, when the broad pennant of Commodore Decatur was unfurled over her deck.

The *Guerriere*, 44, the first frigate built by the United States government on the sea-board since 1804, was launched at Philadelphia on the 26th of June, 1814, in the presence of fifty thousand persons, and was placed under the command of Commodore Rodgers. On the 20th of July, the *Independence*, 74, was launched at Charlestown, amid the roar of cannon and the shouts of a great multitude. She was placed in charge of Commodore Bainbridge. The *Independence* was a two-decker, the first that had ever been built for the service of the United States.² The keels of two others were laid, but they were not put afloat until the war had ceased. The *Java*, 44, was launched at Baltimore on the 1st of August, while twenty thousand people were looking on. She was placed under the command of Commodore Perry. Several new sloops of war were made ready for sea during the summer of 1814; and the *Adams*, 28, had been cut down to a sloop and lengthened the previous autumn at Washington, and armed with the same number of guns, but on a single deck.

On the night of the 18th of January, 1814, the *Adams*, Captain Charles Morris, passed the blockading squadron in Lynnhaven Bay, put to sea, and ran off to the northeast to cross the track of the British West India merchantmen. She made a few prizes. On the 25th of March she captured the Indiaman *Woodbridge*, and, while taking possession of her, observed twenty-five merchant vessels, with two ships of war, bearing down upon her with a fair wind. Morris abandoned his prize, and gave the *Adams* wings for flight from danger. She escaped, sailed down the coast, and entered the harbor of Savannah for supplies in the month of April. On the 5th of May she sailed for the Manilla Reef to watch for the Jamaica convoy. The fleet passed her in the night. She gave chase in the morning, gained upon the fugitives, but was kept at bay by two vessels of war.

The *Adams* now stood to the northward, and on the 3d of July was off the Irish coast, where she was chased by British frigates at different times, but always escaped.

¹ From a spirited poem, in manuscript, written by Miss Orne, of Cambridge, Massachusetts, entitled "The Letter of Marque."
² The *America*, of the same class, was presented to the French government while she was yet on the stocks.

Destruction of the *Adams*.

Cruise of the *Wasp*.

She captures the *Reindeer*.

The weather was cold, damp, and foggy for nearly two months, because the ocean was dotted with icebergs floating down from circumpolar waters. Her crew sickened, and Captain Morris determined to go into port. He entered the Penobscot River, in a somewhat disabled condition, on the afternoon of the 17th of August, and made his way with the *Adams* to Hampden, far up the river, where he was soon afterward compelled to destroy his vessel to prevent its falling into the hands of the British, as we have already observed.¹



J. Blakeley

deal of manœuvring until a little past three o'clock in the afternoon, when the foe was within sixty yards of the *Wasp* and on her weather-quarter, the former opened fire with a 12-pound carronade, and gave four heavy discharges of round and grape shot before her antagonist could bring one of her guns to bear. At about half past three the *Wasp* opened fire, and in a few minutes the action became very severe. Several times the men of the stranger attempted to board the *Wasp*, but were repulsed. Her crew finally boarded the stranger, and at the end of twenty-eight minutes after the combat commenced the latter was a prize to the *Wasp*. The vanquished vessel was the British sloop-of-war *Reindeer*, Captain William Manners. She was terribly shattered. Her people had fought bravely, and her captain and purser (Barton), and twenty-three others, were killed, and forty-two were wounded. The *Wasp* was hulled six times, but was not very seriously damaged. Her loss was five men killed and twenty-two wounded. She was every way the superior of the *Reindeer*. She was new, mounted twenty 32-pound carronades and two long guns, and her complement was one hundred and seventy-three men. That of the *Reindeer* was only one hundred and eighteen. Blakeley put some of his wounded prisoners on a neutral vessel, and with the remainder sailed for L'Orient, where he arrived on the 8th of July. He had burned the wrecked *Reindeer*. For his gallant conduct on this occasion Congress voted him a gold medal.²

Blakeley left L'Orient on another cruise in the *Wasp* on the 27th of August. On the evening of the 1st of September he discovered four sail ahead, two on the larboard and two on the starboard bow of the *Wasp*. He bore down upon them, and at almost half past nine in the evening he was so near one of them that he opened

¹ See page 509.

² See page 716.

³ On one side of the medal is a bust of Captain Blakeley in profile, with the words around it "JOHNSTON BLAKELEY BRIG. FED. AM. NAV. WASP DUE." On the other side is represented a naval action, with the legend "SICUT I BIS VICTOR. PATRIA TUA TE LEGIT PLACIDITO." Below, "INTER WASP NAV. AMERIC. ET REINDEER NAV. ANG. DIE XVIII JUNII MDCCCLIV."



BLAKELEY'S MEDAL.

fire upon her with a 12-pound carronade. The shot was promptly returned. The night was intensely dark, the wind was blowing freshly, and the vessels were running at the rate of ten knots an hour. After the exchange of shots, the commanders of both vessels hailed; and soon afterward the *Wasp* opened a broadside upon her antagonist. A severe engagement ensued. Thirty minutes later the fire of the stranger ceased. "Have you surrendered?" inquired Blakeley. He was answered by a few shots, when he gave his foe another broadside, followed by the same question. It was answered in the affirmative, when a boat was lowered from the *Wasp*, with an officer to take possession of the prize. Just then another vessel appeared astern, rapidly approaching; then another, and another. Blakeley felt compelled to abandon his prize, so nearly in his possession. He could not ascertain the name or power of his antagonist, but believed her to be one of the largest brigs in the British Navy. It was afterward ascertained that it was the *Avon*, 18, Captain Arbuthnot, and that the vessel that first came to her aid was the *Castilian*, 18. The *Avon* was so much shattered in the conflict that she sunk almost immediately. The survivors of her people were rescued by their friends in the other vessels.

The *Wasp* continued her cruise, capturing several prizes. Among others, she took the *Atlanta*, near the Azores, on the 21st of September. The prize was so valuable that Blakeley sent her home in command of Midshipman (late Commodore) David Geisinger.¹ She arrived safely at Savannah on the 4th of November. On the 9th of October the *Wasp* was spoken by the Swedish bark *Adonis*, making her way toward the Spanish Main. On that occasion two officers of the *Essex* (Acting Lieutenant McKnight and Master's-mate Lyman), who were passengers in the *Adonis*, left her for the *Wasp*. This was the last that was ever heard of that vessel and of those on board of her at that time. She and all her people perished in some unknown way in the solitudes of the sea.²

In March, 1814, the *Peacock*, 18, Captain Warrington,³ sailed on a cruise from New

¹ Commodore Geisinger died at his residence in Philadelphia on Saturday, the 10th of March, 1860, at the age of about seventy years. He was among the oldest officers of the navy. His commission as captain was dated May 24, 1805. For several years he was stationed at the Naval Asylum in Philadelphia.

² Johnston Blakeley was a native of Ireland, where he was born in the month of October, 1781. His father emigrated to the United States with his family in 1783, and settled in Charleston, South Carolina, and afterward made Wilmington, in North Carolina, his home. He sent Johnston, his only surviving son, to New York to be educated. He finished his education at Chapel Hill, in North Carolina. He entered the navy as a midshipman in the year 1800. He served with faithfulness, and rose to the rank of captain. In 1814 he was appointed to the command of the *Wasp*, in which, as we have observed in the text, he perished toward the close of that year, when he was only thirty-three years of age.

³ Lewis Warrington was born at Williamsburg, in Virginia, on the 2d of November, 1782. He was educated at William and Mary College in that state. He entered the naval service as midshipman in January, 1806, and made his first cruise with Captain Barron in the *Chesapeake*. He was promoted to lieutenant in 1807, and to master-commandant on the 24th of July, 1813. This was the office which he held, by commission, when he started on the cruise in the *Peacock*.

Fight between the *Peacock* and *Epervier*.

Capture of the latter.

Her Escape from Recapture.

York. She went down the coast, and was off the shores of Florida for some time without encountering any conspicuous adventures. Finally, on the 29th of April, Warrington discovered three sail to the windward, under convoy of an armed brig of large dimensions. The merchantmen were an English brig, and a Russian and a Spanish ship. The two war vessels made for each other, and very soon a close and severe battle commenced. The *Peacock* was so badly wounded in the rigging by a broadside from her antagonist, which proved to be the *Epervier*, 18, Captain Wales, that she was compelled to fight "running large," as the phrase is. She could not manœuvre much, and the contest became one of gunnery. The *Peacock* won the game at the end of forty minutes after it began, when the *Epervier* struck her colors. She was extensively injured. No less than forty-five round shot had struck



S. H. Warrington

her hull, and twenty-two of her men were slain or disabled. The hull of the *Peacock* was scarcely bruised, and within an hour after the conclusion of the combat she was in perfect fighting order. Not a round shot had touched her hull, and not a man on board of her was killed. Only two men were wounded.

The *Peacock* was the heavier of the two vessels, fully manned, and in stanch order. The *Epervier* was also fully manned. She was a valuable prize. The vessel sold for fifty-five thousand dollars, and on board of her were found one hundred and eighteen thousand dollars in specie. She was so rich, and the waters of the Southern coast was then so much infested by British cruisers, that Warrington determined to convoy her into Savannah. He placed J. B. Nicholson, his first lieutenant, on board of her, and on the evening of the day of the capture started for port. On the following day, when abreast Amelia Island, on the coast of Florida, they encountered two British frigates. Arrangements were at once made to send the prize into St. Mary's, and to haul to the southward with the *Peacock*. By this means the frigates were separated, and the one in chase of the *Peacock* was led off the coast, and lost sight of her intended victim on the 1st of September. The *Epervier*, while veering along the coast toward Savannah, fell in with the other frigate. The water was shoal in which the prize vessel ran. The boats of the frigate were lowered, filled with armed men, and sent in chase of the *Epervier*, which moved slowly before a very light wind. The boats gained upon her, and her position became critical, for Nicholson had only sixteen officers and men with him. He employed a stratagem successfully. Using the trumpet, as if his vessel was full of men, he summoned them, in a loud voice, to prepare to fire a' broadside. The men in the boats heard the order, and fled. Had they known the real state of affairs, they might have captured the *Epervier* in less than five minutes with little loss. She escaped, and reached Savannah on the 1st of May. The *Peacock* entered the same port on the 4th.

Because of his success, he was promoted to captain in November, 1814. He had served with distinction under Decatur and others. He was a very active and useful officer during the whole of the second War for Independence, and subsequently performed much important service afloat and ashore. For many years he was a member of the Board of Navy Commissioners; and in September, 1842, he was appointed chief of the Bureau of Ordnance and Hydrography, which office he held at the time of his death. That event occurred at Washington City on the 12th of October, 1851.

Barney's Flotilla in Chesapeake Bay.

It is blockaded.

Fight with the Blockaders.

The capture of the *Epervier* produced much exultation throughout the country. The name of Warrington was upon every lip in phrases of honor, and the Congress of the United States ordered a gold medal to be struck and presented to him because of this exploit.¹



WARRINGTON'S MEDAL.

Soon after her return to Savannah the *Peacock* went on another cruise, and entered the Bay of Biscay and the waters on the coast of Portugal. She captured fourteen merchantmen, but had no engagement with a ship of war. She returned to New York at the end of October.

We have alluded to Barney's operations with a flotilla in the Chesapeake in the summer of 1814. The brave and active veteran left the Patuxent on the 1st of June, with the *Scorpion* as his flag-ship, two gun-boats, and several large barges, in chase of two British schooners. By the vigorous use of sweeps he was fast overhauling the fugitives, when a large ship was seen at the southward. The wind commenced blowing freshly, and the great vessel, being to windward, was seen bearing down upon the flotilla. Barney signaled the return of his boats, and all fled back to the Patuxent, followed for a while by the huge enemy, a two-decker, which anchored at the mouth of the river. On the 6th of June this ship was joined by two others, and Barney's flotilla was thoroughly blockaded. On the 8th, the ship of the line, a brig, two schooners, and fifteen barges sailed up the Patuxent with a fair wind, and Barney moved to St. Leonard's Creek, two miles farther up, and there, in battle order, awaited their approach. The heavier British vessels anchored at the mouth of the creek, and the barges advanced, led by a rocket-boat. Barney, with thirteen barges, advanced to meet them, when they retreated. The movement was repeated in the afternoon. Twenty-four hours afterward the enemy sent twenty barges up the creek, which, after a sharp skirmish, fled back to the protection of the large armed vessels. On the 11th, twenty-one barges, and two schooners in tow, renewed the attack, when, after receiving a more severe punishment than at any time before, they were again compelled to fly, with considerable loss.

Barney now caused some small earth-works to be thrown up on the shore to protect his flotilla. These were placed in the command of Captain Miller, of the Marine Corps, and a considerable force of militia, under Colonel Decius Wadsworth, of the Ordnance Corps. The combined force attempted to end the blockade on the 26th. A raking shot ripped a plank from the bottom of the large British ship,² and she was

¹ On one side of the medal is a bust in profile of Captain Warrington, and the words "LUDOVICUS WARRINGTON DUX NAVALIS AMRL." On the other side is a representation of a naval battle, and around it the legend "PRO PATRIA PARATUS SIT VINCERE AUT MORI." Below, "INTER PEACOCK NAV. AMRL ET EPERVIER NAV. ANG. DIE XXIX MARCH MDCCCXIV."

² This was either the *Sesora* or the *Loira*.

Reappearance of the *Constitution*.

She is chased into Marblehead Harbor.

Again puts to Sea.

compelled to run on a sand-bank to avoid sinking. The engagement continued about two hours, during which time Barney lost thirteen men in killed and wounded. The blockade was effectually raised, for the enemy prudently dropped down the Patuxent. Barney and his flotilla remained in that river until about the middle of August, when the British commenced those operations which resulted in the destruction of his vessels by order of its commander,¹ and the capture of Washington City, as recorded in a preceding chapter.

Now the gallant *Constitution*, 44, again appears on the scene of strife. When Bainbridge relinquished the command of her in 1813 she was thoroughly repaired. A greater portion of her crew were sent to the Lakes, and when she was ready for sea a new one was entered, and she was placed under the command of Captain Charles Stewart. She left Boston Harbor for a cruise on the 30th of December, 1813, and for seventeen days did not see a sail. She was on the coast of Surinam at the beginning of February, and on the 14th of that month she captured the British war schooner *Picton*, 16, together with a letter-of-marque which was under her convoy. Returning northward through the West India Islands, she chased^a the British frigate *La Pique*, 36, Captain Maitland, off Porto Rico. Night coming ^{a February 15, 1814.} on, that vessel escaped through the Mona Channel. The *Constitution* continued her way homeward, and early in the morning of Sunday, the 3d of April, when off Cape Anne, discovered two large sail to the southeast standing for her, and nearing her rapidly with a fair breeze. They were two British frigates of great weight, the *Junon* and *La Nymphe*. Boston Harbor was her destination, but she was compelled to seek safety in that of Marblehead. By great exertions, superior skill in management, and lightening her of much of her burden, Stewart succeeded in reaching the harbor of Marblehead in safety. The situation of the *Constitution* was still one of great peril. An express was immediately sent to Commodore Bainbridge, at Boston, who proceeded with all the force at his command to her relief. Several companies of militia, artillery, and infantry hastened to Marblehead. The pursuers kept at a respectful distance, and the *Constitution* was soon afterward safely anchored in the harbor of Salem, from whence she sailed in due time to Boston, where she remained until near the close of the year.

At the close of December,^b the *Constitution*, still commanded by Captain Stewart, put to sea. She went to the Bay of Biscay by way of Bermuda and Madeira, and then cruised some time farther southward off Lisbon. While in sight of the Portuguese capital, Stewart observed a large ship seaward, and immediately gave chase. Stopping to capture and secure a prize, he lost sight of her. She was the *Elizabeth*, 74, on her way to the port of Lisbon. On her arrival there her commander was informed of the presence of the *Constitution* on the coast, and he went out at once in search of her. He was unsuccessful. ^{b 1814.}

Stewart sailed farther southward toward Cape St. Vincent, and on the 20th of February, 1815, he discovered a strange sail and made chase. At about two o'clock in the afternoon a second vessel appeared farther to the leeward. Both were ships, and evidently in company. Toward evening one signaled the other, and they drew together. The *Constitution* still kept up the chase, and crowded all sail to get the nearest of the two under her guns before night should set in. At near sunset she fired a few shots, but they fell short. Stewart found he was slowly gaining on the fugitives, and cleared the *Constitution* for action. At six, being within range, he showed his colors, when the two strangers flung out the British flag.

The position of the three vessels now became very interesting. The *Constitution* shot by, and the three ships were so ranged that they formed the points of an equilateral triangle, Stewart's vessel to windward of the other two. In this advantageous position the *Constitution* commenced the action, the three vessels keeping up an un-

¹ See page 921.

Battle between the *Constitution* and British Vessels *Cyane* and *Levant*.

The *Constitution* captures both.

ceasing and terrific fire for about fifteen minutes, when that of the enemy slackened. An immense volume of heavy smoke hung over the combatants, admitting only an occasional gleam of moonlight. The *Constitution* also became silent; and as the cloud of smoke rolled sullenly away as a very light breeze sprung up, Stewart perceived the leading ship of the enemy to be under the lee-beam of his own vessel, while the sternmost was luffing up as if with the intention of tacking, and crossing the stern of the *Constitution*. The latter delivered a broadside into the ship abreast of her, and then, by a skillful management of the sails, backed swiftly astern, compelling the foe to fill again to avoid being raked.

The leading ship now attempted to tack so as to cross the bow of the *Constitution*. For some time both vessels manœuvred admirably, pouring heavy shot into each other whenever opportunity offered, when, at a quarter before seven, the British vessel fired a gun to leeward and struck her flag. Lieutenant Hoffman was sent to take possession of her. She was the frigate *Cyane*, 36, Captain Falcoln, manned by a crew of one hundred and eighty men.

Stewart now looked after the *Cyane's* consort, which had been forced out of the combat by the crippled condition of her running gear, and to avoid damage from the *Constitution's* heavy cannonading. She was ignorant of the fate of her consort. About an hour after the action had ceased, having repaired damages, she bore up, and met the *Constitution* coming down in search of her. They crossed on opposite tacks, each delivering a broadside as they did so. For a time there was a brisk running fight, the *Constitution* chasing, and her bow guns sending shot that ripped up the planks of her antagonist. The latter was soon overpowered, and at ten o'clock at night she fired a gun to leeward and surrendered. Lieutenant (now Admiral) W. B. Shubrick was sent to take possession of her. She was found to be the *Levant*, 18, Captain Douglass.

The *Constitution* at this time was equipped with fifty-two guns, and her complement of men and boys was about four hundred and seventy. The *Cyane* was a frigate-built ship, mounting twenty 32-pound carronades on her gun-deck, and ten 18-pound carronades, with two chase-guns, on her quarter-deck and fore-castle, making thirty-four in all. Her complement of men was one hundred and eighty-five. The *Levant* was a new ship, mounting eighteen 32-pound carronades, a shifting 18 on her top-gallant fore-castle, and two chase-guns, making twenty-one in all. Her regular complement was one hundred and thirty souls. Both vessels had additional numbers on board, going to the Western Islands to bring away a ship that was being built there. The loss of the *Constitution* in this gallant action was three killed and twelve wounded. That of the enemy, in the two vessels, was estimated at seventy-seven killed and wounded.

The *Constitution* was so little damaged that in three hours after her last conflict she was again ready for action. She had been engaged for three hours with her antagonists, but the actual fighting had not occupied more than forty-five minutes. She had not a single officer hurt. It was a most gallant fight in that moonlit sea by the three vessels; and the commanders of all received, as they deserved to, the highest praise.

Placing Lieutenant Hoffman on the *Cyane*, and Lieutenant Ballard on the *Levant*, as commanders, Captain Stewart proceeded with the *Constitution* and her prizes to Porto Praya, the capital of Santiago, one of the Cape de Verde Islands, where he arrived on the 10th of March, 1815. On the following day, while Lieutenant Shubrick was walking the quarter-deck, he heard one of the prisoners, a midshipman, exclaim, "There's a large ship in the offing!" One of the English captains severely reprimanded him in a low tone. Shubrick's vigilance was aroused. The ocean was covered with a thick fog resting low on the water. Above it, in thick luminous mist, he saw the sails of a large ship, set portward. He immediately reported to Stewart,

The *Constitution* escapes from three British Frigates.

Fate of her Prizes.

Honors to Commodore Stewart.

who was below. That officer coolly replied that it was probably an English frigate, and directed Shubrick to return to the deck, call all hands, and get ready to go out and attack her. Shubrick did so, when he discovered the sails of two other vessels above the fog-bank, and they were evidently those of men-of-war. Again he reported to Captain Stewart, when that officer, perfectly unmoved by what he knew to be imminent peril to his vessel, immediately ordered the cables of the *Constitution* to be cut and signals made for the prizes to follow. He well knew that the English would have no respect for the neutrality of that port, and that he was too feeble to cope with three heavy men of war; and within fifteen minutes after the first ship had been seen, the *Constitution* was making her way out of the roads of Porto Praya, followed by the two prizes. They were chased by the strangers, which were the British frigates *Leander*, 50, Sir George Collier; *Newcastle*, 50, Lord George Stuart; and *Acasta*, 40, Captain Kerr. They pressed hard upon the fugitives. The *Cyane* was falling astern, and must soon become a prey to her pursuers. Stewart signaled for her to tack. Hoffman promptly obeyed, and she was soon lost to view in the fog, under cover of which she escaped, and reached New York on the 10th of April.¹



BILLET-HEAD.

The three ships continued to chase the *Constitution*, and finally the *Newcastle* began to fire her chase-guns, but without effect. Meanwhile the *Levant* had fallen far in the rear, and Stewart signaled for her commander to tack. Ballard obeyed, when the three British ships, abandoning the chase of the *Constitution*, pursued him. He ran the *Levant* back to port, and at four o'clock in the afternoon anchored her within one hundred and fifty yards of the shore, under the shelter of what he supposed to be at least a neutral battery of thirty or forty guns. He was mistaken. The English prisoners, one hundred and twenty in number, whom Stewart had landed there on parole before the British squadron hove in sight, regardless of the neutral character of the port (Portuguese), took possession of the battery and opened it upon the *Levant*. She received the fire of her pursuers at the same time, and was compelled to strike her colors. She was sent to Barbadoes in charge of Lieutenant Jellicoe, formerly of the *Cyane*.

With these exploits, performed after peace had been proclaimed in the United States, ended the career of "Old Ironsides," as the *Constitution* was called, in the War of 1812. Stewart landed many of his prisoners at Maranham, in Brazil; and at Porto Rico he heard of the proclamation of peace. He immediately sailed homeward, and arrived in New York at the middle of May, bringing with him the intelligence of the capture of the *Cyane* and *Levant*. The arrival of the *Constitution* was hailed with delight. The Common Council of New York gave him the freedom of the city in a gold box,² and tendered to him and his officers the hospitalities of the city at a public dinner. The Legislature of Pennsylvania gave him thanks in the name of the state, and voted him a gold-hilted sword; and the Congress of the United States voted him and his brave men the thanks of the nation, and directed a gold medal, commemorative of the capture of the *Cyane* and *Levant*, to be struck and presented to him. His exploits and that of his ship became the theme for oratory and song, and from that day to this the people of the United States have held that vessel in peculiar reverence. She was always fortunate in having skillful commanders, and brave and intelligent men. Her crews were principally men of New England. From the time of the Tripolitan War until she left off cruising and became a school-ship, she always ranked as a "lucky vessel."

¹ The billet-head of the *Cyane*, finely carved, is preserved at the Philadelphia Navy Yard. It is about three feet six inches in height, and has the representation of a dragon carved upon it.

² See note 3, page 841.



STEWART'S MEDAL.¹



COMMODORE STEWART'S RESIDENCE.

The gallant commander of the *Constitution* at the close of the war, who was then a veteran in the service, still (1867) survives, and is often called affectionately by the name given to his vessel — "Old Ironsides." He lives in retirement, with a sufficiency of this world's goods, in an unostentatious dwelling on the banks of the Delaware, at Bordentown, New Jersey, around which are delightful grounds attached to the mansion.²

In the summer of 1814, Commodore Decatur, who had been endur-

¹ The above picture represents the medal, full size. On one side is a bust of Stewart, with the words around it "GABRIELUS STEWART NAVIS AMERIC. CONSTITUTION DEPR." On the other side a representation of the capture of the *Cyane* and *Levant*, and the words "UNA VICTORIAM ERIPUIT RATIBUS MINIS." Below, "INTER CONSTITU. NAV. AMERIC. ET LEVANT ET CYANE NAV. ANG. DIE XX FEBR. MDCCCXV."

² The writer visited Admiral Stewart at his pleasant home, near Bordentown, in the summer of 1863, in company with Dr. Peterson, his neighbor and friend. I was then on my return from the then fresh battle-field at Gettysburg. At that time he was eighty-six years of age, a firm and compactly-knit man, about five feet nine inches in height, and possessed of great bodily and mental vigor. His narrative of adventures on sea and land in the service of his country for more than sixty years were full of romance of the most stirring character. He showed us a plain sword, the blade of which was presented to him by the King of Spain in 1804 because of his services, while in command of the *Experiment*, in the West Indies, in saving from destruction about sixty persons, many of them women, who were flying from insurgent blacks of St. Domingo. He could not constitutionally receive a sword from a foreign potentate, but he might a blade for his defense. He had it plainly mounted, and wore it on the occasion of the combat with the *Cyane* and *Levant*. During that contest the guard was carried away by a cannon-ball that grazed the commander's side. The blacksmith of the *Constitution* constructed a rude guard, and it still remains. He also showed us a dirk, a foot long, with a handle made of a rhinoceros tooth, which was in the hands of the Turk with whom Decatur engaged in mortal struggle on the deck of the *Philadelphia* in the harbor of Tripoli, mentioned on page 122.

Charles Stewart was born in Philadelphia on the 22d of July, 1776. His parents were natives of Ireland. His father, who was a mariner in the merchant service, came to America at an early age. Charles was the youngest of eight children, and lost his father before he was two years of age. He entered the merchant service on the ocean at the age of thirteen years as a cabin-boy, and rose gradually to the office of captain. In March, 1798, he was commissioned a lieutenant in the Navy of the United States, and made his first cruise under Commodore Barney. In 1800 he was appointed to the command of the armed schooner *Experiment*. At the beginning of the autumn of that year he fought and captured the French schooner *Two Friends*, after an action of ten minutes, without incurring loss on his part. From that time the career of Lieutenant Stewart was a most honorable one to himself and the navy of his country. He was conspicuous in the war with Tripoli, and was greatly beloved by the brave Decatur for his



STEWART'S SWORD.

Decatur's Squadron.

He puts to Sea in the *President*.

The *President* chased.

ing inaction for a long time on account of the blockade of his vessels in the Thames above New London, was transferred to the command of the *President*, 44, which Rodgers had left for the new ship *Guerriere*. Captain Biddle, commander of the *Hornet*, which had been long engaged in protecting the *United States* and the *Macedonian* in the Thames, was finally ordered to join Decatur, and, with joyous alacrity, he obeyed. He soon found an opportunity to avoid the blockading squadron, and in November he joined Decatur with his ship at New York, when that commander's squadron, assembled there, consisted of the *President* (the flag-ship); *Peacock*, 18, Captain Warrington; *Hornet*, 18, Captain Biddle; and *Tom Bowline*, store-ship.

Decatur had been engaged all the summer and autumn in the vicinity of New York, watching for the approach of the enemy, who were ravaging the country in the vicinity of the Chesapeake Bay. Ignorant of the real destination of the British when they left those waters, the government detained Decatur so long as there were any apprehensions of an attack on New York. He finally received an order to prepare for a cruise in the East Indies, to spread havoc among the British shipping in that remote quarter of the world. He was ready at the middle of January,^a 1815, and on the night of the 14th^b the *President* dropped down to Sandy Hook,^c January, leaving the other vessels at their anchorage near Staten Island. She grounded on the bar in the darkness of the night, but was floated off by the rising tide in time to clear the coast and the British blockading squadron before morning.

There had been a heavy gale on the 14th, and Decatur, believing that the blockaders had been driven by it to the leeward, kept the *President* close along the Long Island shore for about five hours, when he sailed boldly out to sea in a southeasterly by easterly direction. Two hours after changing his course he discovered by the starlight a strange sail ahead, and within gun-shot distance. Two others soon made their appearance, and at dawn the *President* was chased by four ships of war, two on her quarters and two astern. These were the *Endymion*, 40; *Pomone*, 38; *Tenedos*,

services there, and his generous friendship ever afterward. In the month of May, 1804, he was promoted to the rank of master commandant, and to that of captain in 1806. During that and the following year he was employed in superintending the construction of gun-boats. In 1812 he was appointed to the command of the frigate *Constitution*. He was with her in Hampton Roads in February, 1813, where, by skillful management, he eluded the enemy, and took his ship safely to Norfolk. In June following he was appointed to the command of the *Constitution*, and in her performed the gallant services recorded in the text. After the war he was placed in command (1816) of the *Franklin*, 74, and conveyed the Hon. Richard Rush, American minister, to England. Until very recently he has been employed, afloat or ashore, in the naval service of his country, and on all occasions evincing eminent executive ability and statesmanlike views. The annexed portrait of the venerable admiral is from a photograph taken in 1864.

Admiral Stewart is the only surviving officer in the civil or military service of the United States who holds a commission dated in the last century. He is a most interesting link between the fathers of the Revolution and the patriots and heroes of our day. Our visit with him in his pleasant home was far too short for our own inclination, and we reluctantly parted with one so famous in our annals, and so fluent in speech in the recital of the events of his wonderful experience. We bade the hale old admiral farewell with feelings coincident with those of an anonymous poet, who wrote,

"Oh, oft may you meet with brave Stewart,
The tar with the free and the true heart;
A bright welcome smile, and a soul free from guile,
You'll find in the hero, Charles Stewart.
A commander both generous and brave, too,
Who risked his life others to save, too;
And thousands that roam by his neat Jersey
home
Bless the kind heart of gallant Charles Stewart."



Charles Stewart



Stephen Decatur

38; and *Majestic*, razeed, of the blockading squadron, which had been blown off the coast by the gale, and were now returning to the cruising-ground off Sandy Hook.

The chase continued during the morning, with a light and baffling wind, and the *President*, deeply laden with stores for a long cruise, soon found the *Endymion*, Captain Hope, the nearest vessel, rapidly overtaking her. Decatur at once gave orders for lightening his own ship for the purpose of increasing her speed. It availed but little. At three o'clock in the afternoon the *Endymion* came down with a fresh breeze, which the *President* did not feel, and opened her bow-guns upon the fugitive. The *President* promptly returned the fire in an effort to damage the spars and rigging of her pursuer, but without effect. Her shot moved feebly and fell short, as if propelled by weak powder. On came the *Endymion*, and at five o'clock she gained a position in which she terribly annoyed her antagonist.

The *President* could not bring a gun to bear upon the foe, and was lacerated by every shot of her pursuer. It was evident that the *Endymion* was endeavoring to secure a victory by gradually crippling the *President*, and reducing her to an unmanageable wreck.

Decatur quickly penetrated the design of his enemy, and prepared to frustrate it by boldly running down upon the *Endymion*, carrying her by a hand-to-hand fight, and, abandoning his own vessel, seize his antagonist as a prize, and in her run away from the other pursuers. But the commander of the *Endymion* was as wary as he was skillful, and was not to be caught in that manner. He accommodated the movements of his own ship to those of his antagonist, until at length they were brought abeam of each other, and both opened tremendous broadsides. Every attempt of Decatur to lay the *President* alongside the *Endymion* was foiled by Captain Hope, who adroitly kept his ship a quarter of a mile from his antagonist.

Decatur now determined to dismantle the *Endymion*. The two frigates kept running dead before the wind, head and head, each discharging heavy broadsides upon the other for two hours and a half, when the *Endymion*, having most of her sails cut from the yards, fell astern. The *President*, no doubt, could have compelled her adversary to strike her colors in a few minutes, but just at that moment the other vessels in chase were seen by the dim starlight to be approaching. They had been joined by the *Dispatch*. The *President* therefore kept on her course in efforts to escape. In this she failed. The pursuers closed upon her. At 11 o'clock the *Pomone* got on the weather-bow of the *President*, and gave her a damaging broadside. The *Tenedos* was coming up and closing on her quarter, and the *Majestic* and *Dispatch* were within gun-shot distance astern. They all fell upon her with energy. Farther resistance would have been useless. The *President* struck her colors, and Decatur surrendered his sword to Captain Hayes, of the *Majestic*, which was the first vessel that came alongside of the vanquished frigate.

In the chase and running fight the *President* lost twenty-four men killed and fifty-six wounded. Among the slain were her first, fourth, and fifth lieutenants, Messrs. Babbitt, Hamilton, and Howell. The *Endymion* had eleven killed and fourteen

The rest of Decatur's Squadron puts to Sea.

Biographical Sketch of Decatur.

wounded. It was found that her hull had been struck by many balls which did not penetrate, and this fact confirmed the impressions of Decatur at the beginning of the contest that the powder was inferior.

After the action, the *President*, accompanied by the *Endymion*, sailed for Bermuda. Both vessels were dismantled in a gale before reaching port. Decatur wrote an official account for the Secretary of War on board of the *Endymion* on the 18th. He was soon after paroled, and returned to New York at the beginning of March. A court of inquiry was convened, and he and all of his officers, tried for losing their ship, were honorably acquitted. It was proven, and was admitted by the English, that the *President* was captured by the squadron, and not by a single vessel.¹ And when the details of the combat became known, the heroism of Decatur and his men produced the most profound sensation. Language was too feeble to express the admiration of the American people.²

On the 22d of January³ the *Peacock*, *Hornet*, and *Tom Bowline* followed the *President* to sea. Their commanders were ignorant of her fate. They passed the bar at daylight, regardless of the blockading squadron, and passed out upon the broad ocean unmolested. Each made its way, sometimes alone and sometimes con-sorting with another, for the port of Tristan d'Acunhá, the principal of a group of islands in the South Atlantic, in latitude 37° S., and longitude 12° W. from Wash-ington. That was the place of rendezvous designated by Decatur. The *Peacock* and

¹ The force of the *President* was thirty-two long 24-pounders, one 24-pound howitzer, twenty 32-pound carronades, and five small pieces in her tops. The *Endymion* mounted twenty-six long 24-pounders, twenty-two 32-pounders, one 12-pound carronade, and one long 18. The *Majestic* rated 56 guns; the *Tenidos*, 38; the *Fama*, 35. That of the *Dispatch* is unknown.

² We have noticed on pages 457 and 458 the honors showered upon Decatur on another occasion, when Congress voted him a gold medal. Stephen Decatur was born in Worcester County, Maryland, on the 5th of January, 1779. He entered the navy as a midshipman in the frigate *United States*, Commodore Barry. In 1801 he was promoted to lieutenant, and sailed in the *Essex*, then of Commodore Dale's squadron, to the Mediterranean Sea. On account of an affray with a British officer at Malta, he was suspended, and returned home. An investigation proved him to have been blameless, and he was appointed to the command of the *Argus*, of Preble's squadron, then lying before Tripoli. His services in that field of duty have been noticed in the text. On his return to America he was appointed to superintend the building of gun-boats, and finally succeeded Barron in command of the frigate *Chesapeake*. His services during the Second War for Independence have been recorded in the text. After the peace with England he was sent to the Mediterranean with a squadron to chastise the Algerines, and his vigorous action there caused the discontinuance of the practice of paying tribute to the Barbary powers, not only by the United States, but by the powers of Western Europe. On his return home he was appointed one of the Board of Naval Commissioners, and resided at Kalorama, near Georgetown (see page 942), until his death in March, 1820. He was mortally wounded in a duel with Commodore Barron, fought near Bladensburg (see page 928) on the 20th of that month, and died at Kalorama the same evening. His remains were laid in the family vault of Joel Barlow, where they remained until 1846, when they were reinterred, with appropriate ceremonies, in the burial-ground of St. Peter's Church, Philadelphia, by the side of those of his father and family, and over them a beautiful monument, depicted in the annexed engraving, was erected, bearing the following inscriptions:

North Side: "Stephen Decatur, born January 5, 1779. Entered the navy of the United States as midshipman April 30, 1793. Became lieutenant June 3, 1799. Made captain for distinguished merit, passing over the rank of commander, February 16, 1804. Died March 23, 1820."

East Side: "Devoted to his country by a patriot father, he cherished in his heart, and sustained by his intrepid actions, the inspiring sentiment, 'Our country, right or wrong.' A nation gave him in return its applause and gratitude." *South Side:* "The gallant officer whose prompt and active Valor, always on the watch, was guided by a Wisdom and supported by a Firmness which never tired. Whose exploits in arms reflected the daring features of Romance and Chivalry." *West Side:* "A name brilliant from a series of heroic deeds on the coast of Barbary, and illustrious by achievements against more disciplined enemies; the pride of the Navy, the glory of the Republic."



DECATUR'S MONUMENT.

Tom Bowdoin arrived there together at the middle of March, and were driven away by a storm. The *Hornet*, Captain Biddle, entered the port on the 23d, and was about to cast her anchor, when a strange sail was discovered to the windward. Captain Biddle immediately spread the sails of the *Hornet*, and went seaward to reconnoitre. The stranger soon came running down before the wind, and at a quarter before two o'clock in the afternoon approached the *Hornet* within musket-shot distance, displayed English colors, and fired a gun. The *Hornet* accepted the challenge, and for about fifteen minutes a sharp cannonade was kept up. The fire of the *Hornet* was so severe that her antagonist ran down for the purpose of boarding her. The vessels became entangled, and a good opportunity was offered to the stranger to accomplish her purpose. But her first lieutenant could not induce his men to follow him. Biddle's men, on the contrary, were eager to rush into the British ship for a hand-to-hand fight. His advantage lay with his guns, and he would not allow his people to leave the ship. His broadsides raked the foe terribly, and very soon an officer on board the stranger called out that she had surrendered. Firing ceased, and Captain Biddle sprang upon the taffrail to inquire whether his antagonist had actually surrendered, when two British marines fired at him. One bullet wounded him severely in the neck. The assassins were instantly slain by bullets fired from the *Hornet*. She immediately wore round, after being disentangled from her foe by a lurch given by the sea, and was preparing to fire another broadside, when at least twenty men appeared on her antagonist throwing up their hands and asking for quarter. It was difficult to restrain the indignant Americans, who wanted to avenge the injury done to their commander. It was done, however. The vanquished vessel, after a contest of twenty-three minutes, struck her colors. She was the brig *Penguin*, 18, Captain Dickenson, which had been fitted and manned expressly to encounter the privateer *Young Wasp*, a more powerful vessel than herself. She mounted nineteen carriage-guns, besides guns on her tops, and her size and weight of metal was the same as that of the *Hornet*. Her complement of men was one hundred and thirty-two.



J. Biddle

The *Hornet* lost one man killed and ten wounded. Among the latter were Captain Biddle, Lieutenant (afterward Commodore) Conner, and eight men. Not a round shot marred the hull of the *Hornet*, but her rigging was much cut, while the *Penguin* was terribly riddled. Her foremast and bowsprit were shot away, and her mainmast was so much shattered that it could not be secured for farther use. Among her slain were her commander and boatswain. After taking from her all that was valuable, Captain Biddle scuttled her on the morning of the 25th, and she went to the bottom of the deep South Atlantic Ocean.

The conflict between the *Hornet* and *Penguin* was regarded by naval men as one of the most creditable actions of the war, and the American people testified their appreciation of the services of Captain Biddle by the bestowal of special honors upon him.¹

¹ James Biddle was born in Philadelphia on the 18th of February, 1788. He was educated at the University of Penn-

Honors to Captain Biddle.

Biographical Sketch.

When he arrived in New York a public dinner was given him in that city. Citizens of his native town, Philadelphia, presented to him a beautiful service of silver plate;¹ and the Congress of the United States, in the name of the Republic, gave him thanks, and ordered a gold medal to be struck in commemoration of the victory, and presented to him.



BIDDLE'S MEDAL.²

On the same day,³ and a few hours after the action with the *Penguin*,⁴ Captain Biddle discovered another sail in sight. It proved to be the *Peacock*, having the *Tom Bowline* in company. He converted the latter into a cartel ship, and sent her to Rio de Janeiro with his prisoners. They then continued on their course, after remaining in Tristan d'Acunha the length of time appointed by Decatur (until the 13th of April), and, in the mean time, they had intelligence that the *President* was probably captured.

While sailing onward toward the Indian Seas on the morning of the 27th of April, Captain Warrington, of the *Peacock*, signaled to Captain Biddle that a strange vessel was seen in the distance. Both sloops started in chase with a light wind, and before evening they had rapidly gained on the stranger. She was yet in sight in the morning. The *Peacock* was two leagues ahead of the *Hornet* between two and three o'clock in the afternoon,⁵ and at that time began to show some caution in her movements. It was soon discovered that the stranger was a heavy line-of-battle ship and an enemy, and that she was about to give chase. The *Pea-*

sylvania. He and his brother Edward entered the navy in 1800 as midshipmen in the frigate *President*. James made a cruise in the Mediterranean under Captain Murray, and afterward under Bainbridge. His conduct while in those waters, and especially at Tripoli, was distinguished by great courage and nautical skill. He was a prisoner among the semi-barbarians of that region for nineteen months. On his return in 1805 he was promoted to a lieutenantcy, and was in active service most of the time until the war broke out in 1812, when he sailed in the *Wasp*, Captain Jones, in which he acquired special honor in the fight of that vessel with the *Frolic*. Soon after that affair Lieutenant Biddle was promoted to master commandant, and assigned to the command of the *Hornet*. With her he gained new laurels, as recorded in the text. On his return to the United States in the summer of 1815 he was promoted to post captain. He continued in active service until his death. His special services were important. In 1817 he took possession of Oregon Territory; in 1826 he signed a commercial treaty with Turkey; from 1838 to 1842 he was Governor of the Naval Asylum, Philadelphia; and in 1846, while in command of a squadron in the East Indies, he exchanged the ratifications of the first American treaty with China. He was at Japan, and, crossing the Pacific, he engaged in some of the scenes in the war with Mexico on the coast of California. He returned here in March, 1848, and died at Philadelphia on the 1st of October following. The portrait of Commodore Biddle on the opposite page was copied from one in the possession of the Navy Department at Washington.

¹ He had already received from his townsmen and friends a beautiful testimonial of their esteem the previous year. See page 453.

² The above picture represents the medal, the exact size. On one side is a bust of Captain Biddle, and the words "THE CONGRESS OF THE U.S. TO CAPT. JAMES BIDDLE FOR HIS GALLANTRY, GOOD CONDUCT, AND SERVICES." On the other side is represented a naval action, with the Peak of Tristan d'Acunha in sight beyond the smoke. Around this are the words "CAPTURE OF THE BRITISH SHIP PENGUIN BY THE U.S. SHIP HORNET. Below, "OFF TRISTAN D'ACUNHA, MARCH XXIII. MDCCXV."

cock and the *Hornet* spread their sails for flight. The latter was more particularly in peril, as she was a slower sailer than her consort. The huge Englishman was gaining upon her. Biddle began to lighten her, and the chase became intensely interesting during the entire night of the 28th and early morning of the 29th. At dawn the enemy was within gun-shot distance of the *Hornet* on her lee quarter. At seven o'clock English colors and a rear admiral's flag was displayed by the stranger, and she commenced firing. On sped the *Hornet*, casting overboard shot, anchors, cables, spars, boats, many heavy articles on deck and below, and all of her guns but one. At noon the pursuer was within a mile of her, and again commenced firing, three of the balls striking the *Hornet*. Still on she sped, her gallant commander having resolved to save his ship at all hazards. He did so. By consummate seamanship and prudence, he soon took the *Hornet* out of harm's way, and with her single gun, and without boat or anchor, she made her way to New York, where she arrived on the 9th of June. Biddle's skill in saving his vessel elicited the unbounded praise of his countrymen. It was afterward ascertained that the pursuer of the *Hornet* was the *Cornwallis*, 74, on her way to the East Indies, and bearing the flag of an officer in that service.

Warrington continued his cruise in the *Peacock*, and on the 30th of June,^a when off Anjer, in the Straits of Sunda, between Borneo and Sumatra, he fell in with the East India Company's cruiser *Nautilus*, 14, Lieutenant Charles Boyce. Broadships were exchanged, when the *Nautilus* struck her colors. She had lost six men killed and eight wounded. The *Peacock* lost none. This event occurred a few days after the period set by the treaty of peace for the cessation of hostilities. Warrington was ignorant of any such treaty, but, being informed of its ratification on the next day, he gave up the *Nautilus*, and did every thing in his power to alleviate the sufferings of her wounded people. He then returned home, bearing the honor of having fired the last shot in the Second War for Independence. The combat between the *Hornet* and *Penguin* was the last regular naval battle, the affair between the *Peacock* and *Nautilus* being only a rencounter.

When the *Peacock* reached America, every cruiser, public and private, that had been out against the British had returned to port, and the war was over. "The navy," says Cooper, "came out of this struggle with a vast increase of reputation. The brilliant style in which the ships had been carried into action, the steadiness and rapidity with which they had been handled, and the fatal accuracy of their fire on nearly every occasion, produced a new era in naval warfare. Most of the frigate actions had been as soon decided as circumstances would at all allow; and in no instance was it found necessary to keep up the fire of a sloop of war an hour when singly engaged. Most of the combats of the latter, indeed, were decided in about half that time. The execution done in these short conflicts was often equal to that made by the largest vessels of Europe in general actions, and in some of them the slain and wounded comprised a very large proportion of the crews. It is not easy to say in which nation this unlooked-for result created the most surprise. . . . The ablest and bravest captains of the English fleet were ready to admit that a new power was about to appear on the ocean, and that it was not improbable the battle for the mastery of the seas would have to be fought over again."¹

It now remains for us only to consider the principal exploits of the American privateers, whose services appear in most admirable conspicuousness at every period of the war, from the month after it was proclaimed until some time after peace was assured by solemn treaty. Although privateering is nothing less than legalized piracy, it has ever been sanctioned by the laws of nations since such codes were first established, and the foremost of the American statesmen at the period we are considering advocated it as a just and expedient measure for a nation so feeble as ours in mari-

¹ *Naval History of the United States*, II., 479.

Privateers commissioned.

The first Cruisers of that Class.

Privaterring approved.

time strength when contending with one so powerful as Great Britain.¹ So regarding it, Congress, in the act declaring war, sanctioned it, by authorizing the President to "issue to private-armed vessels of the United States commissions, or letters of marque and reprisal," as they were termed, in such manner as he should think proper.

The President was not tardy in issuing such commissions under a specific act of Congress passed on the 26th of June,² and very

soon swift-sailing brigs and schooners, and armed pilot-boats, were out upon the high seas in search of plunder from the common enemy. Of these the clipper-built schooner represented in the engraving was the favorite. The most noted of these were built at Baltimore. They generally carried from six to ten guns, with a single long gun, called "Long Tom," mounted on a swivel in the centre. They were usually



CLIPPER-BUILT PRIVATEER SCHOONER.

manned with fifty persons, besides officers, all armed with muskets, cutlasses, and boarding-pikes, commanded to "burn, sink, and destroy" the property of an enemy wherever it might be found, either on the high seas or in British ports.

Into the port of Salem, Massachusetts, which became famous as the home of privateers during the contest, the first prize captured on the ocean after the declaration of war was taken. On the 10th of July the private-armed schooner *Fame*, Captain Webb, took into that harbor two British ships, one laden with timber and the other with tar. On the same day the privateer *Dash*, Captain Carroway, of Baltimore, entered Hampton Roads and captured the British government schooner *Whiting*, Lieutenant Maxey, who was bearing dispatches from London to Washington.

On the 14th of July, a staunch privateer of Gloucester, Massachusetts, named the *Madison*, fell in with a British transport ship from Halifax bound to St. John's. She had been under convoy of the *Indian*, a British sloop of war, which had just given chase to the *Polly* and *Dolphin*, two American privateers. The *Madison* pounced on and captured the transport, which, with the cargo, was valued at \$50,000. She was sent into Gloucester. On the following day the *Indian*, after chasing the *Polly* for some time, manned her launch and several boats, and sent them to capture the fugitive. The *Polly* turned, and resisted so gallantly that she caused the launch to strike her colors. By this time the *Indian* was almost within gun-shot, when the *Polly* took to her sweeps and escaped. The *Madison* soon afterward captured a British ship of twelve guns, name not given, and the brig *Eliza*, of six guns.

On the 18th of July the letter of marque schooner *Fulton*, of Baltimore, armed

¹ Immediately after the declaration of war, Thomas Jefferson wrote on the subject (July 4, 1812), and after asking "What is war?" answered, "It is simply a contest between nations of trying which can do the other the most harm." Again he asked and answered as follows: "Who carries on the war? Armies are formed and navies manned by individuals. What produces peace? The distress of individuals. What difference to the sufferer is it that his property is taken by a national or private-armed vessel? Did our merchants, who have lost 917 vessels by British captures, feel any gratification that most of them were taken by his majesty's men-of-war? Were the spoils less rightly enforced by a 24-gun ship than by a privateer of four guns, and were not all equally condemned? . . . In the United States every possible encouragement should be given to privateering in time of war with a commercial nation. We have tens of thousands of seamen that without it would be destitute of the means of support, and useless to their country. Our national ships are too few in number to give employment to one twentieth part of them, or retaliate the acts of the enemy. By licensing private-armed vessels, the whole naval force of the nation is truly brought to bear on the foe; and while the contest lasts, that it may have the speedier termination, let every individual contribute his mite, in the best way he can, to distress and harass the enemy, and compel him to peace." So argued Mr. Jefferson, the founder of the Democratic party, then administering the national government, and which was a unit in favor of war with Great Britain.

with four guns and sixteen men, fought the British cutter *Hero*, five guns and fifty-five men, on the coast of France, for two hours and a half, and drove her off. On the following day the *Falcon* was attacked by a British privateer of six guns and forty men. She resisted for an hour and a half, when, her captain having been killed and several of her crew wounded, she struck her colors, and was taken into a Guernsey port. The first prize that arrived at Baltimore was a British schooner laden with a cargo of sugar, valued at \$18,000. She was captured by the *Dolphin*. This was on the 26th of July. A little more than a month had elapsed since the declaration of war, yet within that time such displays of American valor had been made on the sea that the British began to feel some respect for their new foe on that element. During the month of July more than fifty vessels were taken from the British by American privateers, and taken into the harbors of the United States.

Toward the middle of July seven privateers sailed from Baltimore on a cruise. One of them was the swift clipper-built schooner *Rossie*, fourteen guns and one hundred and twenty men, commanded by the veteran Commodore Barney. His manuscript journal of that and a second cruise lies before me, and bears evidence that it was one of the most exciting voyages on record. He sailed from Baltimore on the 12th of July,^a and cruised along the eastern coast of the United States for forty-five^b days without entering port. He was almost daily capturing English vessels, chasing and being chased, and informing all American vessels that fell in his way of the beginning of war.

Nine days after he left Baltimore^b Barney fell in with the brig *Nymph*,^c of Newburyport, and seized her for violating the Non-importation Act. On the following day the *Rossie* was chased by a British frigate, which hurled twenty-five shots after her, but without effect. The *Rossie* outsailed the frigate, and escaped.^d Six days afterward^e she was chased by another frigate, and again outsailed the pursuer. On the following day Barney took and burned the ship *Princess Royal*, and the day following^d took and manned the ship *Kitty*. On the 2d of August he took and burned the brigs *Flame* and *Devonshire*, and schooner *Squid*; and on the same day he captured the brig *Two Brothers*, put on board of her sixty of his prisoners, and ordered her as a cartel to St. John's, New Brunswick, to effect an exchange for as many American prisoners. Barney sent his compliments to Admiral Sawyer, the British commander on the Halifax station, desired him to treat the prisoners well, and assured him, very coolly, that he should soon send him another shipload of captives for exchange. On

the next day he took and sunk the brig *Henry*, and schooners *Race-horse* and *Halifax*, captured and manned the brig *William*, and added forty prisoners to the number on board the *Two Brothers*. On the 9th of August he captured the ship *Jenny*, of twelve guns, after a brief action; and on the following day he seized the brig *Rebecca*, of Saco, from London, for a breach of the non-importation law. On the 28th he seized the *Euphrates*, of New Bedford, for the same reason; and on the 30th he ran into Narraganset Bay, and anchored off Newport. During his cruise of forty-five days he seized and captured fourteen vessels, nine of which he destroyed. Their aggregate capacity amounted to two thousand nine hundred and fourteen tons, and they were manned by one hundred and sixty-six men. The estimated value of his prizes was \$1,289,000.

Barney remained in Newport until the 7th of September,^g when the *Rossie*^h started on another cruise. On the 9th she was chased by three British ships of war, but by superior speed she soon left them out of sight. On the 12th she was chased by an English frigate for six hours, when she, too, was left so far behind that she gave up the pursuit. Four days afterwardⁱ she fell in

^a July 22.

^c July 30.

^d August 1.

^h 1812.

ⁱ September 16.



Cruise of the *Rossie*.

First Prize in Baltimore.

Cruise of the *Globe*.

with and captured the British armed packet *Princess Amelia*. They had a severe engagement for almost an hour, at pistol-shot distance most of the time. Mr. Long, Barney's first lieutenant, was severely wounded; and six of the crew were injured, but not so badly. The *Princess Amelia* lost her captain, sailing-master, and one seaman killed; and the master's mate and six seamen were wounded. The *Rossie* suffered in her rigging and sails, but not in her hull, while the *Princess Amelia* was terribly cut up in all.

Barney had just secured his prize when he fell in, on the same day,^a with three ships and an armed brig. From the latter the *Rossie* received an eighteen-pound shot through her quarter, which wounded a man and lodged in the pump. She dogged the three vessels for four days in hopes of seeing them separated, and thus affording an opportunity to pounce on one of them. They kept together, and he gave up the game. On the 23d he spoke the privateer *Globe*, Captain Murphy, of Baltimore, and the two went in search of the three ships, but could not find them. On the 8th of October, while they were sailing together, they captured the British schooner *Jubilee*, and sent her into port. On the 22d Barney seized the ship *Merrimack* for a violation of law. She was laden with a valuable cargo. On the 10th of November^b he returned to Baltimore. The result of his two cruises in the *Rossie* since he left that city was 3698 tons of shipping, valued at \$1,500,000, and two hundred and seventeen prisoners.

^a September 12, 1812.

^b 1812.

The *Dolphin*, of Baltimore, Captain Stafford, was a successful privateer. She carried twelve guns and one hundred men. The first prize sent into Baltimore after the declaration of war was hers, as we have observed on the opposite page; and other ports received her captives. She entered Salem, Massachusetts, on the 23d of July, after a cruise of twenty days, during which time she had taken six vessels without receiving the least injury. She was repeatedly chased by British cruisers, but always outsailed them. Captain Stafford was remarkable for kindness of manner toward his prisoners. Such was its power, that on several occasions, when he was compelled to use sweeps to escape from the English men-of-war, they volunteered to man them.

The privateer *Globe*, of Baltimore, Captain Murphy, carrying eight guns and about eighty men, went to sea on the 24th of July in company with the letter of marque *Cora*. On the 31st of that month she chased a vessel about three hours, when she was within gun-shot, and commenced firing. The fugitive hoisted British colors, and returned the shots from her stern-chasers, consisting of two long 9-pounders. The *Globe* could only bring a long nine amidships to bear during an action of about forty minutes, for it was blowing very fresh, and the enemy crowded all sail. The *Globe* finally gained on her, and commenced firing broadsides. Her antagonist returned broadside for broadside, until the *Globe*, getting within musket-shot distance, fired deadly volleys of bullets. After a brisk engagement of an hour and a half at close quarters, the British vessel struck her colors. She proved to be the English letter of marque *Boyd*, from New Providence for Liverpool, mounting ten guns. No person was injured on either ship. The *Boyd's* boats were destroyed, and she suffered much in hull and rigging. The *Globe* suffered in sails and rigging, but was able, after sending her prize to Philadelphia, to proceed on her cruise. On the 14th of August she captured a British schooner of four guns, laden with mahogany; and, a few days afterward, she arrived at Hampton Roads, accompanied by a large British ship carrying twenty-two guns, richly laden, and bound for Glasgow, which she captured not far from the Bermudas. Having secured her prize in port, the *Globe* started immediately on another cruise.¹

¹ While cruising off the coast of Portugal, the *Globe* had a severe engagement with an Algerine sloop of war, which lasted three hours, at half gun-shot distance. The Algerine shot high. The *Globe* received no less than eighty-two shot through her sails, but had not a man killed, and only two wounded. It was a drawn battle.

The *Highflyer*, Captain Gavit, of Baltimore, was another successful cruiser on private account. She was armed with eight guns, and manned by one hundred men. She left Baltimore early in July, and on the 26th captured the British schooner *Harriet*, in ballast, but with \$8000 in specie on board. On the 19th of August, while in the Gulf of Mexico, Captain Gavit discovered the Jamaica fleet of merchantmen, and gave chase. He soon observed that they were convoyed by a British frigate. That vessel gave chase to the *Highflyer*. The latter outsailed her, and on the 21st pounced upon the *Diana*, one of the fleet, and captured her. She was of three hundred and fifty tons burden, and laden with a valuable cargo of rum, sugar, coffee, etc. Gavit took out her crew, and sent her as a prize to the United States. On the following day the *Highflyer* fell in with and engaged two other British vessels at half gun-shot distance, giving them about sixty shot. The breeze was too stiff to allow safety in boarding them, and so he hauled off and left them. These were the *Jamaica*, of Liverpool, and the *Mary Ann*, of London, the former carrying seven guns and twenty-one men, and the latter twelve guns and eighteen men. On the 23d the *Highflyer* fell upon the vessels again, the wind having moderated. Her people, after a severe cannonading and musket firing from both sides, boarded the *Jamaica*, and captured her. The *Mary Ann* struck her colors at the same time. During the action Captain Gavit was shot through his right arm by a musket-ball, and one of his seamen was wounded in the cheek. These were the only casualties, excepting the damage (which was considerable) done to the sails and rigging of the *Highflyer*. Her antagonists were severely bruised. Several of their seamen were wounded. Both ships were richly laden with the products of the West Indies.

On the 1st of August, the privateer *Yankee*, carrying ten guns, while cruising off the coast of Nova Scotia, fell in with the letter of marque *Royal Bounty*, also carrying ten guns. She was a fine vessel of six hundred and fifty-eight tons, and manned by twenty-five men. The *Yankee* had the advantage of wind, and, bearing down upon the weather quarter of the *Royal Bounty*, gave her a division broadside, which made her quake in every fibre. Making a quick movement, she gave her an entire broadside, which was returned with spirit. The mariners of the *Yankee* were mostly sharpshooters, and their execution was terribly galling. At the same time the ship was well managed, and her great guns were making havoc with her enemy's sails and rigging. The *Royal Bounty's* helmsman was killed, and she became so unmanageable that, after fighting an hour, she was compelled to surrender. She was terribly wounded. All her boats were stove, and no less than one hundred and fifty round shot of various kinds went through her rigging and sails, or lodged in her hull and spars.

The schooner *Shadow*, Captain Taylor, of Philadelphia, had a severe encounter with the British letter of marque *May*, Captain Affleck, from Liverpool bound to St. Lucia, carrying fourteen guns and fifty men. At noon on the 4th of August the *Shadow* discovered the *May*, and gave chase. It continued until almost sunset, when an action was fought. At six o'clock, when the vessels were within gun-shot of each other, the *May* commenced firing from her stern guns. The action commenced at seven, and at half past seven the *May* hoisted a light in her mizzen rigging. The *Shadow* then hailed her, and Captain Taylor ordered her to send her papers on board of his vessel that he might examine them. This was only partially complied with. Taylor immediately sent a boat's crew to the *May* with a demand for the instant surrender of all her papers. The British captain refused. He sent a note to this effect to Captain Taylor, stated the character and force of his vessel, and informed him that a change of ministry had taken place in England, and that the Orders in Council had been rescinded. Again Captain Taylor demanded Affleck's papers, and again they were refused. At half past eight o'clock the action was renewed. The night was squally and dark. The vessels kept near each other, occasionally exchanging shots, and in

the morning early they commenced a severe fight. Captain Taylor was shot through the head and instantly killed, and the *Shadow* was so much damaged that she withdrew, and by superior sailing escaped, and returned to Philadelphia.

On the 3d of August, the schooner *Atlas*, Captain David Maffit, attacked two British armed ships at the same time. After an engagement of about an hour the smaller vessel of the foe surrendered, and the fire of the *Atlas* was wholly directed upon the larger one. Suddenly the smaller one, notwithstanding her colors were down, again opened her fire; but the *Atlas* soon silenced her, and in less than an hour and a half from the time of the attack both vessels were captured. They proved to be the ship *Pursuit*, sixteen guns and a complement of thirty-five men, and the ship *Planter*, twelve guns and fifteen men. They were both stored with valuable cargoes from Surinam, and bound to London. They were sent to the United States. The *Atlas* was badly damaged in the contest.

At about this time the privateer *John*, Captain Benjamin Crowninshield, of Salem, returned to that port after a cruise of three weeks, during which time she made eleven captures. All along the coasts of the United States and the West Indies the American privateers were now exceedingly active. None were more so than the *Paul Jones*, Captain Hazard, of New York. Within a very short space of time she captured fourteen vessels near the island of Porto Rico, some of them of considerable value; and she obtained a crowning glory by the capture, early in August, of the British ship *Hassan*, fourteen guns and twenty men, sailing from Gibraltar for Havana with wines and dry goods valued at \$200,000. This was accomplished after a contest of only half an hour.

One of the boldest of the privateersmen was Captain Thomas Boyle, of Baltimore, who sailed the *Comet*, of fourteen guns and one hundred and twenty men. One of his earliest exploits in the *Comet* was the capture, in August, 1812, of the British ship *Hopewell*, carrying fourteen guns and twenty-five men. She was bound from Surinam for London with a cargo valued, with the ship, at \$150,000. The two vessels had an obstinate combat, but the *Comet* was the victor. The prize was sent into Baltimore. Of the *Comet* and her captain we shall have more to say hereafter.

Another active and successful Baltimore privateer was the *Nonsuch*, Captain Leveley, armed with twelve guns, and carrying about one hundred men. She was one of the famous "Baltimore clippers." On the 27th of September, when cruising near the island of Martinique, she fell in with a British ship mounting sixteen guns, with about two hundred troops on board, and a schooner mounting six 4-pounders, and manned with a crew of about fifty or sixty men. The *Nonsuch* ran in between the two vessels, within pistol-shot of each, and commenced a hot contest which lasted three hours and twenty minutes. It was a fierce fight. The guns of the *Nonsuch* (carronades) became much heated by continual firing. Their bolts and breaching were carried away, and they were all dismantled. Captain Leveley now determined to board his antagonists; but the damage done to the rigging of the *Nonsuch* so disabled her that he was not able to bring her alongside for the purpose. In consequence of this disability the two vessels escaped, but not without severe punishment. The larger ship was much damaged in hull and rigging, and lost twenty-three of her men killed and wounded. The schooner was also much damaged.¹ The performance of the *Nonsuch* was called, by the journals of the day, "gallant, but unprofitable conduct." The British spoke of the attack upon them as "exceedingly brave." Several persons of distinction in these ships were injured.

The privateer *Saratoga*, of New York, Captain Riker, armed with eighteen guns and one hundred and forty men, was a successful cruiser. In the autumn of 1812 she captured the ship *Quebec*, sixteen guns, from Jamaica, with a cargo valued at \$300,000. In December following she had a desperate fight off Laguaira, Venezuela. It was on

¹ Log-book of the *Nonsuch*, quoted in *The War*, i., 92; and *Niles's Register*, iii., 172.

the 11th of that month, and she was then in command of Captain Charles W. Wooster. She entered the port of Laguirra the 10th, but was warned off, the authorities being neutrals. Going out of the bay, she captured a vessel with goods worth \$20,000, and at nine in the morning on the following day,^a after the clearing up of the fog, she fell in with the brig *Rachel*, from Greenock, Scotland, which mounted twelve guns and carried sixty men. They were in sight of the town, and almost the entire population, from the beggar to the commander, turned out to see the conflict from the house-tops. The combat was quick and furious. It resulted in victory for the *Saratoga*, whose loss was only one man slightly wounded. The *Rachel* suffered much. The second mate was the only officer alive after the action.¹

Such is a brief record of some of the most prominent events in the history of American privateering, from the declaration of war in June, 1812, until the close of the year. The record is of a small portion of the swarm of private-armed vessels which were out at the beginning of 1813. These were harassing British commerce in all directions, and affording powerful and timely aid to the little navy of the republic. The business was recognized as legitimate, useful, and practically patriotic. Merchants and other citizens of the highest respectability engaged in it,² and Congress passed laws to encourage it by the allowance of liberal privileges, making provisions for pensions for those engaged in the service, and for the families of those who might be lost on board private-armed vessels, etc.

The history of American privateering in 1813 opens with a letter from Captain Shaler,³ of the schooner *Governor Tompkins*, which was armed with fourteen caronades and one "Long Tom," and manned by about a hundred and forty men. She was built in New York, and was first commanded by Captain Skinner. Shaler wrote on the 1st of January that on the 25th of December he chased three British vessels, which appeared to be two ships and a brig. The larger he took to be a transport, and ran down to attack her, when he found himself within a quarter of a mile of a large frigate, which had been completely masked. He boldly opened fire upon her, and received a terrible response. Of course he could not sustain a contest with such overwhelming odds, so he spread his sails to fly. He was successful. "Thanks to her heels," he said, "and the exertions of my brave officers and crew, I still have the command of her." He got out all his sweeps, threw overboard all the lumber on his decks, and about two thousand pounds of shot from the after-hold, and at half past five o'clock in the evening had the pleasure of seeing his pursuer far behind, heaving about. The *Tompkins* lost two men killed and six wounded. One of the former, a black man named Johnson, "ought to be registered on the book of fame," Captain Shaler wrote, "and remembered with reverence as long as bravery is considered a virtue. A 24-pound shot struck him in the hip, and took away all the lower part of his body. In this state the poor brave fellow lay on the deck, and several times exclaimed to his shipmates, "Fire away, boys; neber haul de color down!" The other man killed was also colored, and was wounded in a similar manner. "Several times," says Shaler, "he requested to be thrown overboard, saying he was only in the way of the others. While America has such sailors she has little to fear from the tyrants of the ocean."

We have already spoken of the *Comet*, of Baltimore, and her brave commander, Captain Boyle. She sailed from that port late in December, 1812, passed through the British blockading squadron on a dark night, and went on a cruise toward the

¹ Letter from Laguirra, quoted in Coggeshall's *History of the American Privateers*, etc., page 70.

² Washington and other patriots were speculators in the profits of privateering during the Revolution. In a letter before me, written to John Parke Custis, and dated at Whitemarsh, November 14, 1777, in answer to one from that gentleman on the subject of a sale of a portion of a privateer ship, Washington said: "It is perfectly agreeable, too, that Colonel Baylor should share part of the privateer. I have spoken to him on the subject. I shall therefore consider myself as possessing one fourth of your full share, and that yourself, Baylor, Lund Washington, and I are equally concerned in the share you at first held."—*MS. Letter*.

³ Quoted by Coggeshall in his *History of the American Privateers*, page 140.

coast of Brazil. On the 9th of January, 1813, she was off the harbor of Pernambuco, and Boyle was informed by a coaster that some British vessels were about to sail from that port. The *Comet* watched until the 14th, when, at a little past noon, four sail appeared. Boyle waited until they were well clear of the land, and then gave chase. The *Comet* was a swift clipper, and soon overhauled them; and at seven in the evening, having prepared for action, she hoisted her colors, and made for the larger of the four vessels, which proved to be a Portuguese brig, mounting twenty heavy guns (32-pounders), and manned by one hundred and sixty-five men. She was convoying three English merchant ships laden with wheat, and warned Captain Boyle not to molest them. To this injunction Boyle replied that his commission authorized him to capture them if he could, and that the Portuguese warrior had no right to interfere.

All the vessels were now crowding sail with a stiffening breeze. The *Comet* shot past the others, when Boyle summoned the Englishmen to heave to, with a threat that if they did not he would open a broadside upon them. The Portuguese gave chase to the *Comet*. The latter tacked, came alongside of the merchantmen at half past eight o'clock in the evening, and so distributed a heavy fire that she wounded all three. The Portuguese suffered severely in the contest which followed, for the quick movements of the clipper gave the latter great advantages of position. The combat continued until an hour past midnight, when the moon went down, and the night became dark and squally. In the mean time the merchantmen had surrendered, and one of them was taken possession of by Boyle. At dawn, the Portuguese brig, with the other two English vessels, fled for Pernambuco, while the *Comet* and her prize, the *Bowes*, proceeded homeward. Boyle soon afterward captured the Scotch ship *Adelphi*, and outsailed the famous British frigate *Surprise*, that gave chase.

On the 6th of February the *Comet* captured, first, the brig *Alexis*, of Greenock, and soon afterward an armed brig which formed part of a convoy for nine merchantmen from Demerara. At the same time another man-of-war, called the *Swaggerer*, appeared. Boyle was anxious to get his prizes off, and he amused the brig until that desired end was accomplished. In the mean time he added the *Dominica*, a Liverpool packet, to his list of prizes. When these were fairly on their way he turned his heels upon the *Swaggerer*, and soon outsailed his pursuer. At three o'clock in the afternoon he captured the schooner *Jane*, and before sunset he lost sight of the *Swaggerer* entirely.

Soon after this encounter Boyle turned his face homeward, and on the way met and fought a terrible battle for eight hours with the British ship *Hibernia*, eight hundred tons, twenty-two guns, and a full complement of men. The *Comet* lost three killed and sixteen wounded. The *Hibernia* lost eight killed and thirteen wounded. The *Comet* put into Porto Rico for repairs, and the *Hibernia* into St. Thomas. Both were much injured. The *Comet* arrived at Baltimore on the 17th of March.

Boyle was not long on land. His next cruise was in the beautiful *Chasseur*, a privateer brig, elegant in model, and formidable in men and arms. She was the fleetest of all vessels, and the story of her cruises is a tale of romance of the most exciting kind. She seemed as ubiquitous as the "Phantom Ship." Sometimes she was in the West Indies; then on the coasts of Spain, Portugal, and France; and then in the Irish and British Channels, spreading the wildest alarm among England's commercial marine. So much was she feared in the West Indies and the islands of the Caribbean Sea, that the merchants there implored Admiral Dunham to send them "at least a heavy sloop of war" to protect their property. The admiral immediately sent them the frigate *Barrossa*, which the fleet *Chasseur* delighted to tease.

The *Chasseur* captured eighty vessels, of which thirty-two were of equal force with herself, and eighteen her superior. Many of the prizes were of great value. Three of them alone were valued at \$400,000. She seemed to sweep over the seas with im-

punity, and was as impudent as he was bold. On one occasion, while in the British Channel, he issued a proclamation, as a burlesque on those of Admirals Warren and Cochrane concerning the blockade of the ports of the United States, in which he declared "all the ports, harbors, bays, creeks, rivers, inlets, outlets, islands, and sea-coast of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in a state of rigorous blockade." He assured the world that he possessed a sufficient force (the *Chasseur*) to compel obedience. This proclamation he caused to be sent in a cartel to London, with a request to have it posted up at Lloyd's Coffee-house!

We have already noticed some of the earlier operations of the *Dolphin*, Captain Stafford. On the 25th of January, 1813, she fell in with a large ship and a brig off Cape St. Vincent, and, as was common with the more daring American privateers, engaged them both. After a severe fight they were captured, and sent to the United States. They were richly laden, and were valuable prizes. The wounded Captain Brigham, of the British ship (*Hebe*, 16), thought his capture "extrordinary." He did "not expect to find a damned Yankee privateer in that part of the world!" and when assured by Stafford that they would appear in the Thames by-and-by, his eyes dilated with mute wonder. Stafford's kind good-nature won Brigham's heart; and in a card, published on his arrival in Boston in February, he thanked the commander of the *Dolphin* and his associates for their attentions, saying, "Should the fortune of war ever throw Captain Stafford or any of his crew into the hands of the British, it is sincerely hoped he will meet a similar treatment."¹

We again find the *Saratoga*, Captain Woolsey, on her destructive errand in February, 1813. On the 9th of that month she captured the *Lord Nelson*, of six hundred tons, and one of the finest vessels in the British merchant service. She was sent into New Orleans. At about the same time the *Saratoga* captured the British packet *Morgiana*, eighteen guns. The *Saratoga* had just been chased by a British frigate, and had been compelled, in order to lighten her to increase her speed, to throw overboard twelve of her guns. She had only four to attack the *Morgiana* with. Her armory was replenished with several of the fine brass pieces of the captive, and the prize was sent to Newport with her captain. The kindness of the prize-master was so conspicuous that the captain of the *Morgiana* thanked him in the Newport newspapers.

On the 15th of February² the letter of marque *Lottery*, of Baltimore, armed with six guns and manned by thirty-five men, had a desperate fight in Chesapeake Bay with nine British barges containing two hundred and forty men. She fought them an hour and a half, during which time it was believed that more of the foe were killed than the number of the whole crew of the letter of marque. At length Captain Southeote, commander of the schooner, was severely wounded, and the enemy, in overwhelming numbers, boarded the vessel, hauled down the colors, and made her a prize.

At about this time we find the privateer *Yankee*, whose exploits we have already observed, entering the harbor of Newport after a cruise of one hundred and fifty days, during which time she had scoured the whole western coast of Africa, taken eight prizes, made one hundred and ninety-six prisoners, and secured as trophies sixty-two cannon, five hundred muskets, and property worth almost \$300,000.

The merchants of New York fitted out no less than twenty-six fast-sailing privateers and letters of marque within a hundred and twenty days after the declaration of war, carrying almost two hundred pieces of artillery, and manned by over two thousand seamen. Among the most noted of these privateers was a moderate-sized schooner, mounting a Long Tom 42-pounder, and eighteen carronades.³ Her complement was one hundred and forty men, and her first commander was Captain Barnard.

¹ *History of American Privateers and Letters of Marque*, by George Coggeshall, page 129.

² See table of New York privateers in Niles's *Register*, lii., 129.

Cruises of the *General Armstrong*, *Ned*, and *Scourge*.Valuable Prizes taken by the *Yankee*.

Early in March, 1813, the *General Armstrong* was in command of Guy R. Champlin, and cruising off the Surinam River, on the coast of South America. Early in the morning of the 11th she gave chase to the *Coquette*, a British sloop of war mounting twenty-seven guns, and manned by one hundred and twenty-one men and boys. Between nine and ten o'clock the vessels were within gun-shot, and commenced a brisk engagement. Convinced by observation that his antagonist was a British letter of marque, Champlin and his men agreed to board her, and for this purpose they ran the *Armstrong* down upon her, when, too late to retreat, they discovered her to be a much heavier vessel than they imagined. The two vessels poured heavy shot into each other, and for a while the fight was fierce and obstinate, within pistol-shot distance for almost an hour. The *Armstrong* was severely injured, and her captain received a ball in his shoulder, but continued some time on duty after the wound was dressed, and from the cabin gave orders until his vessel was fairly out of the clutches of the enemy. By the vigorous use of sweeps the *Armstrong* escaped, under a heavy fire from the *Coquette*. For his gallant conduct on this occasion, and his skill in saving his vessel, the stockholders, at a meeting held at Tammany Hall on the 14th of April, presented Captain Champlin an elegant sword, and voted thanks to his companions in the combat. We shall meet the *Armstrong* hereafter.

The *Ned*, Captain Dawson, a New York letter of marque, arrived at that port ten days after the sword-presentation to Champlin, and brought with her the British letter of marque *Malvina*, of Aberdeen, mounting ten guns. The *Ned* captured her after an action of almost an hour. Her captain was killed, and in the combat the *Ned* had seven men badly wounded. The *Malvina* was laden with wine from the Mediterranean, and was a valuable prize.

Another successful privateer, owned in New York, was the *Scourge*, Captain Nicoll. She mounted fifteen guns, and sailed from port in April, 1813, for a long cruise in European waters, and was frequently in consort with the *Rattlesnake*, of Philadelphia, Captain David Maffit. This commander went into the business at the beginning of the war, with the *Atlas*, and continued its pursuit until the close of the contest in 1815. The *Rattlesnake* was a fast-sailing brig of fourteen guns.

Captain Nicoll was often absent from the *Scourge* while on the coast of Norway, because he found it more profitable to remain on shore and attend to the sale of prizes brought or sent in, while his first officer skillfully commanded her in cruises. The *Scourge* made a large number of captures on the coast of Norway, and these were nearly all sent into Drontheim and disposed of there. The aggregate tonnage of prizes then and there disposed of, captured by the *Scourge* and *Rattlesnake*, was 4500. The trophies were sixty guns. On her homeward passage from Norway the *Scourge* made several captures. She arrived at Cape Cod in May, 1814, having been absent little more than a year. During her cruise she had made four hundred and twenty prisoners. Her deeds made her name an appropriate one, for she scourged British commerce most severely.

The *Yankee*, already mentioned, left Newport on a cruise on the 23d of May, 1813. A month afterward, when off the coast of Ireland, she captured the British cutter sloop *Earl Camden*, valued at \$10,000. Eight days afterward^a she captured the brig *Elizabeth*, valued at \$40,000, and the brig *Watson*, laden with cotton, valued at \$70,000. On the 2d of July she took the brig *Mariner*, with a cargo valued at \$70,000. All of these prizes, worth in the aggregate about \$200,000, were sent to French ports for adjudication and sale. The work was accomplished in the space of about six weeks. The *Yankee* returned to Providence, Rhode Island, on the 19th of August, without having lost a man during the cruise either killed or wounded.

The records of privateering during the summer of 1813 present one, dark chapter in the deed of a desperate wretch named Johnson, who commanded the *Teaser*, a lit-

^a June 30.

Destruction of the *Teaser*.Capture of the *Eagle*.Cruise of the *Decatur*.

tle two-gun vessel, that went out from New York with fifty men. When that vessel was captured by one of Admiral Warren's fleet, Johnson was released on his parole. Soon afterward, without waiting to be exchanged, he entered as first lieutenant on board another privateer named the *Young Teaser*, Captain Dawson. In June, 1813, she was closely pursued by an English man-of-war. She was likely to be overtaken, and Johnson knew that death would be his fate should he be caught. Dawson called his officers aft in consultation, and while they were deliberating on the subject one of the sailors called out to the captain that Lieutenant Johnson had just gone into the cabin with a blazing fire-brand. The next instant the *Teaser* was blown into fragments. Only six of all her people escaped destruction. The captain, Johnson, and all the others, had perished in a moment.

Toward midsummer, 1813, an affair occurred off Sandy Hook, New York, which created a great sensation. It properly belongs to the history of privateering. Commodore Lewis was then in command of a flotilla of gun-boats on that station, and the British man-of-war *Poictiers*, 74, was cruising in those waters. She had for tender the sloop *Eagle*, and on the 5th of July Lewis sent out a little fishing-smack named *Yankee*, which he borrowed at Fly Market, in New York, to capture this tender by stratagem. With a calf, a sheep, and a goose secured on deck, and between thirty and forty well-armed men below, the smack stood out for sea with only three men in sight, in fishermen's garb, as if going to the fishing-banks. The *Eagle* gave chase, overhauled her, and, seeing live-stock on board, ordered her to go to the commodore. The watchword "Lawrence" was then given, when the armed men rushed to the deck, and delivered a volley of musketry which sent the crew of the *Eagle* below in dismay. Sailing-master Percival, who commanded the expedition, ordered the firing to cease, when one of the *Eagle's* company came up and struck her colors. The surprise was so complete that her heavy brass howitzer, loaded with canister-shot, remained undischarged. Her crew consisted of her commander, a midshipman, and eleven seamen. The two former and a marine were slain. The *Eagle* and prisoners were taken to the city in view of thousands of the inhabitants, who were on the Battery celebrating the anniversary of the National Independence.¹ They were received with shouts, salvos of artillery, the waving of hats and handkerchiefs, and the ringing of bells.

A month after the capture of the *Eagle*, the privateer schooner *Commodore Decatur*, Captain Diron, of Charleston, South Carolina, carrying seven guns and a little over a hundred men, had a desperate encounter with the British war schooner *Dominica*, Lieutenant Barrette, carrying sixteen guns and eighty-eight men. The *Decatur* was cruising in the track of the West India traders on their return to England, and on the morning of the 5th of August^a gave chase to a ship and a schooner.

^a 1813. At about one o'clock in the afternoon they were so near each other that the schooner fired a shot at the *Decatur*. The latter was immediately prepared for action, not with heavy guns alone, but with implements for boarding. Diron intended to run down near his adversary, discharge all his guns, great and small, and then board her under cover of the smoke. This was not immediately accomplished, for the *Dominica* was on the alert, and manœuvred so as to give the *Decatur* some damaging broadsides. Twice her crew attempted to board her antagonist, but failed, and the contest was kept up with cannon and musketry. Finally, at about half past three o'clock, the *Decatur* forced her bowsprit over the stern of the *Dominica*, and her jib-boom penetrated the Englishman's mainsail. In face of a murderous fire of musketry, the *Decatur's* men, led by First Prize-master Safith and Quartermaster Wasborn, rushed from her bow along the bowsprit, boarded the enemy, and engaged in a most sanguinary fight, hand-to-hand, with swords, pistols, and small-arms. Both parties fought with the greatest courage and determination. The decks were cov-

¹ It fell on Sunday in 1813, and the event was celebrated on Monday, the 5th.

Cruise of the *David Porter*, *Globe*, and *Harpy*.

ered with the dead and wounded. The colors of the *Dominica* were hauled down by the boarders, and she became the *Decatur's* prize. The *Dominica* lost sixty-five killed and wounded. Among the former were the captain, sailing-master, and purser. The *Decatur* lost twenty killed and wounded. Diron started with his prize for Charleston, and on the following day captured the *London Trader*, bound from Surinam to London with a valuable cargo. She reached Charleston in safety with both prizes.¹

In the autumn of 1813, Captain George Coggeshall, whose *History of the American Privateers* has been alluded to, commanded the letter of marque schooner *David Porter*, of New York. Late in October she was lying at Providence, Rhode Island, where the *President*, Commodore Rodgers, was blockaded. In a thick snow-storm on the 14th of November, and under the cover of night, the *Porter* passed the blockading squadron and put to sea. She reached Charleston, her destined port, in safety, where she was freighted for France with Sea Island cotton, and sailed for "Bordeaux, or a port in France," on the 20th of December. In the Bay of Biscay she encountered a terrible and damaging gale, but weathered it, and on the 20th of January entered the port of La Teste. Coggeshall sent his vessel home in charge of his first officer, and remained in France some time. The *Porter* captured several prizes on her way to the United States.

We have noticed the arrival at Hampton Roads, with a large British ship as a prize, the privateer *Globe*, of Baltimore, and her departure on another cruise.² She was successful in the capture of prizes, but did not meet with any fair tests of her sailing qualities, or the valor and skill of her men, until November, 1813. On the 1st of that month, while cruising off the coast of Madeira, she fell in and exchanged shots with a large armed brig, but considered it prudent to keep at a respectful distance from her. She then proceeded to the offing of Funchal, where, on the 2d, she chased two vessels in vain, for night came on dark and squally, and she lost sight of them. On the 3d the *Globe* again chased two vessels, and at eleven o'clock were so near that the larger of the fugitives opened her stern guns on her pursuer. A severe action ensued, when, at noon, the crew of the *Globe* attempted to board her adversary. They failed. Their vessel was much damaged, and while in this condition the other vessel came up and gave the *Globe* a terrible raking fire, which almost disabled her. Yet they fought on at close quarters, and at half past three o'clock the larger vessel was compelled to strike her colors. The other one poured in broadside after broadside within half pistol-shot distance. The *Globe* was reduced to an almost sinking condition, yet she managed to give her second antagonist such blows that she, too, struck her colors. She then hauled to windward to take possession of the first prize, when that vessel hoisted her colors and gave the *Globe* a tremendous broadside. She was compelled to haul off for repairs, and the two vessels, believed to be severely injured, sailed slowly away. They were packet brigs, one mounting eighteen and the other sixteen cannon, mostly brass. The *Globe* lost eight men killed and fifteen wounded in this desperate encounter.

During the first eight or nine months of the year 1814, although the American private-armed ships were active and successful, there seems not to have been any performance by them that deserves the name of a naval action. This monotony of quiet business was broken in September, when the privateer *Harpy* fell in with the British packet *Princess Elizabeth*, and captured her after a short but sharp conflict. The *Elizabeth* was armed with ten guns, and manned by thirty-eight men. She had on board a Turkish ambassador for England, an aid-de-camp to a British general, a lieutenant of a 74 line of battle ship, and \$10,000 in specie. This specie, with several pipes of wine and some of the cannon, were transferred to the *Harpy*. The remainder of her armament was thrown overboard, and the ship was ransomed for \$2000, when she was allowed to proceed on her voyage.

¹ Coggeshall's *History of American Privateers*, page 172.

² See page 995.

The most desperate and famous combat recorded in the history of privateering during the war was that maintained by the *General Armstrong*, of New York, Captain Samuel C. Reid (whose earlier exploits we have already noticed), in the harbor of Fayal, one of the Azores islands of that name belonging to Portugal. It occurred on the 26th of September, 1814. While she lay there at anchor, in a neutral port, she was attacked by a large British squadron under the command of Commodore Lloyd. The attacking vessels consisted of the flag-ship *Plantagenet*, 74; the frigate *Rota*, 44, Captain Somerville; and the brig *Carnation*, 18, Captain Bentham, each with a full complement of men. The *Armstrong* carried only seven guns and ninety men, including her officers.

In flagrant violation of the laws and usages of neutrality, Lloyd sent in, at eight o'clock in the evening,² four large and well-armed launches, manned by about forty men each. At that time Reid, suspecting danger, was warping his vessel under the guns of the castle. The moon was shining brightly. These and the privateer opened fire almost simultaneously, and the launches were driven off with heavy loss. The first lieutenant of the *Armstrong* was wounded, and one man was killed.

Another attack was made at midnight with fourteen launches and about five hundred men. A terrible conflict ensued, which lasted forty minutes. The enemy were repulsed with a loss of one hundred and twenty killed, and one hundred and thirty wounded. At daybreak a third attack was made by the brig of war *Carnation*. She opened heavily, but was very soon so cut up by the rapidly-delivered and well-directed shots of the *Armstrong* that she hastily withdrew. The privateer was also much damaged. It was evident that she could not maintain another assault of equal severity, so Captain Reid, who had coolly given orders from his quarter-deck during the attacks, directed her to be scuttled, to prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy. She was then abandoned, when the British boarded her and set her on fire. It is a curious fact that, while the British lost over three hundred in killed and wounded during ten hours, the Americans lost but two killed and seven wounded.³

In addition to the glory won by the bravery of this resistance to the British squadron, Captain Reid and his gallant men deserve the just credit of having thereby saved the city of New Orleans from capture. This squadron was part of the expedition then gathering at Jamaica for the purpose of seizing New Orleans, and the object of their attack on the *Armstrong* was to capture her, and make her a useful auxiliary in the work. She so crippled her assailants that they did not reach Jamaica until full ten days later than the expedition expected



Sam. Reid

¹ For a detailed account of this affair, see *American State Papers*, xiv., Naval Affairs, page 493, and Coggeshall's *History of the American Privateers*, page 370. The Portuguese government demanded and received from that of England an apology for this violation of neutrality; also restitution for the destruction of Portuguese property at Fayal during the action. That government also demanded satisfaction and indemnification for the destruction of the American vessel in their neutral port. This England refused, and from that day to this the owners of the privateer and their heirs have never been able to procure indemnification for their losses either from England or Portugal, or from their own government.

Honors to Captain Reid.

The American Flag.

Cruise of the *Prince de Neufchâtel*.

to sail from there. That expedition waited for Commodore Lloyd; and when it finally approached New Orleans,^a General Jackson was hastening to make competent arrangements for its defense. Had the fleet arrived ten days sooner, that city would have been an easy prey to the British, for it was utterly defenseless until that general's arrival with his troops. December 6,
1814.

The defense made by the *Armstrong*, and the circumstances of the attack, produced a great sensation throughout the United States. Captain Reid was justly praised as one of the most daring of American naval commanders, and he received various honors in abundance. The State of New York gave him thanks and a sword, and he was every where received with the greatest enthusiasm on his return to the United States.¹

The New Yorkers sent out a splendid vessel of seventeen guns and one hundred and fifty men, called the *Prince de Neufchâtel*, in command of Captain Ordranax. She was a very fortunate privateer. During a single cruise she was chased by no less than seventeen armed British vessels, and escaped them all; and she brought to the United States goods valued at \$300,000, with much specie. On the 11th of October, 1814, she encountered five armed boats from the British frigate *Endymion* off Nantucket. The *Neufchâtel* was then very light handed, having, when the fierce battle that ensued commenced, only thirty-six men at quarters. Early in the forenoon the engagement began. The boats were arranged for the assault one on each side, one on each bow, and one under the stern. Within the space of twenty minutes the assailants cried for quarter. It was granted. One of the boats had gone to the bottom with forty-one out of forty-three of her crew. The whole number of men in the five boats was one hundred and eleven, a larger portion of whom were killed, wounded, or made prisoners. The privateer lost seven killed and twenty-four wounded. She returned to Boston on the 15th of October. The *Neufchâtel* was afterward captured and sent to England.

At this time the terror inspired by the doings of the American privateers was intense. The British began to seriously contemplate the probabilities of the complete destruction of their commerce. Fear magnified the numbers, powers, and exploits of

¹ On his return to the United States Captain Reid landed at Savannah, and made his way north by land. At Richmond he was invited to a public dinner by members of the Virginia Legislature, at which were seated the governor, members of his council, judges of the Supreme Court, and other distinguished men. It was the first opportunity the Virginians had enjoyed of paying their personal respects to a hero of the war, and they did it with enthusiasm. The speaker of the House of Burgesses presided, and William Wirt was vice-president. When Captain Reid retired, the chairman gave as a sentiment, "Captain Reid—his valor has shed a blaze of renown upon the character of our seamen, and won for himself a laurel of eternal bloom."

On the 11th of April, 1815, the Legislature of New York voted the thanks of the state and a sword to Captain Reid. At Tammany Hall, in New York, he was presented, in the name of the citizens, with a handsome service of plate.

Samuel Chester Reid was born at Norwich, Connecticut, on the 25th of August, 1783. He went to sea at the age of eleven years, and was captured by a French privateer and taken to Guadaloupe. He was a midshipman with Commodore Truxton. The occasion in his public life which gave him most fame was this defense of the *General Armstrong* at Fayal. After the War of 1812 Captain Reid was appointed a sailing-master in the United States Navy, and held that office until his death. He was port-warden at New York for some time, and a weigher of customs. He was about being made collector of the customs there, in place of Swartwout, by Secretary Duane, when that officer was removed by President Jackson. He invented and erected the signal telegraphs at the Battery and the Narrows, and is also distinguished as the designer of the present arrangement of the stripes and stars on our national standard.* Captain Reid was simple in his habits and manners, upright in conduct, and honest in all his ways. He was the chosen social companion of many of the best and most distinguished American citizens, and his memory is sweetest to those who knew him best. He died in the city of New York on the 28th of January, 1861. His funeral took place at Trinity Church, and was largely attended. His remains were escorted to their last resting-place in Greenwood Cemetery by the marines of the navy yard at Brooklyn.

* Our flag originally bore thirteen stars and thirteen stripes. As new states came in, the number of the stars and stripes was correspondingly increased, pursuant to an act of Congress passed in 1794. This was found to be impracticable; for, as the states increased, the width of the stripes had to be lessened. Besides, there was nothing in the device to recall the original confederacy of thirteen states. To return to the use of only thirteen stars and stripes would be inappropriate, because the device would give no hint of the growth of the republic. Captain Reid proposed to retain the original thirteen stripes as a memento of the original Union, and to add a new star whenever a new state was admitted, as indicative of the growth of the states. This suggestion was adopted. A flag with this new arrangement was first raised over the Hall of Representatives at Washington on the 4th of April, 1818, at two o'clock in the afternoon. At that time the Senate Chamber and Hall of Representatives of the Capitol were separated, the centre of the building not being completed. Resolutions of thanks to Captain Reid "for having designed and formed the present flag of the United States" were offered in Congress.

the privateers. Meetings of merchants were held to remonstrate against their depredations. It was asserted that one of these "sea-devils" was rarely captured, and that they impudently bid defiance alike to English privateers and stately seventy-fours. Insurance was refused on most vessels, and on some the premium was as high as thirty-three per cent. "Thirteen guineas for one hundred pounds," said a London journal, "was paid to insure vessels across the Irish Channel! Such a thing never happened, we believe, before." The Board of Admiralty and the Prince Regent were petitioned for aid in checking these depredations; and the government was compelled, because of the state of public feeling, to give assurances (which they had no power to support) that ample measures should be taken for the protection of British commerce.

We have referred to the impudence, as well as boldness, of the American privateers. A small one belonging to Charleston, mounting six carriage guns and a Long Tom, appropriately named *Saucy Jack*, affords an illustration. She was every where, and, being clipper-built and skillfully managed, was too fleet for the English cruisers. On one occasion, when cruising off the west end of St. Domingo, she chased two vessels. It was on the 31st of October, 1814, at midnight; and when near enough, at one in the morning, she fired upon them. On coming up, it was ascertained that one of them carried sixteen, and the other eighteen guns. Nothing daunted by this discovery, she boarded one of them at seven in the morning, when it was found that she was full of men, and a war vessel. The boarders fled back to the *Saucy Jack*, and the little privateer made haste to get away. The two ships chased her, pouring grape and musket-balls upon her, but within an hour she was out of reach of even their great guns. She lost eight men killed and fifteen wounded. Her chief antagonist was the British bomb-ship *Volcano*, with the transport *Golden Fleece*. One of the lieutenants and two of the men of the *Volcano* were killed and two were wounded. On Sunday, the 1st of May, the *Saucy Jack* captured the fine English ship *Pelham*, carrying ten guns and thirty-eight men. She was bound from London for a West India port, and had a cargo valued at \$80,000.

The schooner *Kemp*, of Baltimore, was a very successful privateer. She was commanded by Captain Jacobs. At the close of November, 1814, she sailed on a cruise in the West Indies from Wilmington, North Carolina. On the 1st of December she chased a squadron of eight merchant ships in the Gulf Stream under convoy of a frigate. The frigate, in turn, gave chase, but the *Kemp* dodged her in the darkness of the ensuing night, and the next morning again gave chase to the merchantmen. At noon the following day^a she found them drawn up in battle line, and at two o'clock they bore down upon the privateer, each giving her some shots as they passed. She reserved her fire until, by a skillful movement, she broke through the line, and discharged her whole armament into the enemy. This produced the greatest confusion, and within an hour and a half four of the eight vessels were the prizes of the *Kemp*. She would have taken the whole of them, but she had not men enough to man them. The other four proceeded on their voyage. The convoy frigate all this time was absent, vainly looking for the saucy privateer! These prizes, which gave an aggregate of forty-six cannon and one hundred and thirty-four men, were all sent into Charleston. It was a profitable cruise of only six days. The *Monmouth* privateer, of Baltimore, at about the same time was dealing destruction to British commerce off Newfoundland. She had a desperate encounter with an English transport ship with over three hundred troops on board. Her superior speed saved her from capture. Another successful Baltimore privateer was the *Lawrence*, of eighteen guns and one hundred and eleven men. During a single cruise, which terminated at New York on the 25th of January, 1815, a month before the proclamation of peace, she captured thirteen vessels. She took one hundred and six prisoners, and the aggregate amount of tonnage seized by her was over three thousand tons.

^a December 3.

Cruise of the *Macdonough* and *Amelia*.

Close of the War.

The American Privateers and their Doings.

One of the original crew of the *Lawrence* was a colored man named Henry Van Meter, mentioned on page 912.

The *Macdonough*, of Rhode Island, had a severe fight with a British ship, whose name is not recorded, on the 31st of January, 1815. The action commenced at musket-shot distance at half past two o'clock in the afternoon. The tremendous musket-fire of the enemy caused the people of the *Macdonough* to suspect her of being a troop-ship. Such proved to be the case. She had at least three hundred soldiers on board besides her crew. The *Macdonough* suffered terribly in sails, and rigging, and loss of men, for her antagonist, in addition to the overwhelming number of men, carried eighteen 9-pounders. She succeeded in escaping from the British vessel, and reached Savannah on the 7th of March.

The war ended early in 1815, but it was some time after the proclamation of peace had been promulgated before all of the fifty privateers then at sea were apprised of it, and many captures were made after the joyful event had occurred. One of the latest arrivals of successful privateers was that of the *Amelia*, of Baltimore, in April, 1815. She had a full cargo of valuable goods. During her cruise she had captured ten British vessels. Some she destroyed, others she sent into port, and one she gave up as a cartel for her prisoners. She carried only six guns and seventy-five men. The vessels she captured amounted in the aggregate to about two thousand three hundred tons, and her prisoners numbered one hundred and twelve. Her trophies in arms were thirty-two cannon and many muskets. She was frequently chased by English cruisers, but her fleetness allowed her to escape.

In this outline sketch of American privateering¹ during the Second War for Independence, notice has been taken of only the most prominent of the vessels which actually sustained a conflict of arms on the ocean of sufficient importance to entitle the act to the name of a naval engagement. The record shows the wonderful boldness and skill of American seamen, mostly untaught in the art of naval warfare, and the general character of the privateering service. Nothing more has been attempted. The full history of the service as it lies, much of it ungarnished, in the newspapers of the day and the manuscript log-books of the commanders, exhibits marvelous actions and results.

After the first six months of the war the bulk of naval conflicts was carried on upon the ocean, on the part of the Americans, by private-armed vessels, which "took, burned, and destroyed" about *sixteen hundred* British merchantmen, of all classes, in the space of three years and nine months, while the number of American merchant vessels destroyed during the same period did not vary much from *five hundred*. The American merchant marine was much smaller than that of the British, and, owing to embargo acts and apprehensions of war several months before it was actually declared, a large proportion of it was in port. When war was declared many vessels were taken far up navigable rivers for security against British cruisers and marauding soldiers, while others were dismantled in safe places.

The American private-armed vessels which caused such disasters to British commerce numbered two hundred and fifty.² Of these, forty-six were letters of marque, and the remainder were privateers. Of the whole number, one hundred and eighty-four were sent out from the four ports of Baltimore, New York, Salem, and Boston alone. The aggregate number sent out from Philadelphia, Portsmouth (N. H.), and Charleston was thirty-five. Large fortunes were secured by many of the owners, and some of them are enjoyed by their descendants at the present day.

¹ The materials for this sketch have been gathered from official documents, the newspapers of the day, Coggeshall's *History of American Privateers*, and personal and written communications to the author.

² This was 115 less than were commissioned while there were difficulties with France in the years 1798 and 1799. The number of private-armed vessels then commissioned was 365. Their tonnage was 66,991. Number of guns, 2728; and of men, 6847.

CHAPTER XLII.



"Brave sons of the West, the blood in your veins
At danger's approach waited not for persuaders;
You rushed from your mountains, your hills, and your plains,
And followed your streams to repel the invaders."

OLD SONG.

LET us now take a glance at some prominent civil affairs during the year 1814, before proceeding to consider the great and decisive military events in the vicinity of New Orleans with which the war on the land closed.

From the beginning of the contest, as we have seen, there was an active and influential body in the Federal party known as the Peace Faction, many of whom were selfish and unpatriotic politicians, and who, by their endeavors to thwart the government in its efforts to provide means for carrying on the war, brought discredit upon the great and patriotic party to which they belonged, and deeply injured their country. These politicians were chiefly confined to New England, whose commercial interests had been ruined by the war, and Boston was their head-quarters. Embargo acts had closed all American ports against the legal admission of goods from abroad, and these could only be obtained through contraband trade. Such trade was carried on extensively at the New England capital, where, as we have seen, the magistrates were not zealous in the maintenance of the restrictive laws. Smuggling became almost respectable in the eyes of many because of its prevalence,¹ and foreign goods, shut out from other sea-ports, found their way there. Many valuable British prizes were taken into that port, and upon Boston the merchants of other cities became dependent for a supply of foreign goods. For these they paid partly in bills of the banks of the Middle and Southern States, and partly in their own promissory notes. By this means Boston became a financial autocrat, having in its hands despotic power to control the money affairs of the country. This fact suggested to the leaders of the Peace Faction in New England a scheme for crippling the government financially, and thereby compelling it to abandon the struggle with Great Britain with dishonor. They were quick to act upon the suggestion and to put the scheme into operation.

From the beginning of the war the government was compelled to ask for loans, and the Peace Faction made such persistent opposition, for the purpose of embarrassing the administration, that in every case a bonus was paid for all sums borrowed. In January, 1813, a loan of \$16,000,000 was authorized. It was obtained principally from individuals at the rate of \$88 for a certificate of stock for \$100, by which lenders received \$2,100,377 as a bonus on that small loan. In August the same year a further loan of \$7,500,000 was authorized; and in March, 1814, a loan of \$25,000,000 was authorized. This was the darkest hour of the war, and then it was that the Peace Faction at political meetings, through the press, and even from the pulpit, cast every obstacle in the way of the government. That opposition now assumed the form of

¹ One of the most eminent members of the Federal party (Harrison Gray Otis) charged the administration and the war with the authorship of that "monstrous depreciation of morals" and "execrable course of smuggling and fraud," and said that a class of citizens, "encouraged by the just odium against the war, sneer at the restraints of conscience, laugh at perjury, mock at legal restraints, and acquire ill-gotten wealth at the expense of public morals, and of the more sober, conscientious part of the community."

The Weakness of the Government a Reason for rejoicing.

The public Credit assailed.

virtual treason. The government was weak and in great need, and its internal enemies knew it, and in proportion to its wants they became bolder and more outspoken. Their denunciations of the government, and those who dared to lend it a helping hand, were violent and effective. By inflammatory and threatening publications and personal menaces, they intimidated many capitalists.¹ The result was, that only \$11,400,000 of the proposed loan were raised in the spring of 1814, and this by paying a bonus of \$2,852,000, terms so disastrous that only one more attempt was made to borrow money during the war, the deficiency being made up by the issue of treasury notes to the amount of \$18,452,000. Over this failure of the government these unpatriotic men rejoiced. One of them, writing from Boston in February, 1815, said, exultingly, "This day \$20,000 six per cent. stock was put up at auction, \$5000 of which only was sold for want of bidders, and that at forty per cent. under par. As for the former war loan, it would be considered little short of an insult to offer it in the market, it being a very serious question who is to father the child *in case of national difficulties*." The last expression referred to the hopes of the conspirators that a dissolution of the Union would be brought about by the body known in history as the Hartford Convention, which had adjourned, to meet again if necessary—a body of men inspired by motives and actions too lofty to be comprehended by the vulgar politicians who were the leaders of the Peace Faction of that day.

But these machinations failed to produce the full effect desired. Patriotic men in New England of the Opposition party subscribed to the loan; and in the Middle States they did so openly and liberally, to the disgust of the Peace Faction, who now resorted to a more reprehensible scheme for embarrassing the government. We have observed that, for reasons named, Boston became the centre of financial power. These men determined to use that power to embarrass the administration, and they did it in this wise: The banks in the Middle and Southern States were the principal subscribers to the loan, and measures were adopted to drain them of their specie, and thus produce an utter inability to pay their subscriptions. Some of the Boston banks became parties to the scheme. The notes of those in New York and cities farther south held by these banks were transmitted to them, with demands for specie, and at the same time drafts were drawn on the New York banks for the balances due the

¹ "Will Federalists subscribe to the loan? Will they lend money to our national rulers?" a leading Boston paper significantly asked. "It is impossible, first, because of the principle, and, secondly, because of *principal and interest*. If they lend money now, they make themselves parties to the violation of the Constitution, the cruelly oppressive measures in relation to commerce, and to all the crimes which have occurred in the field and in the cabinet. . . . Any Federalist who lends money to the government will be called *infamous!*" The people were then adroitly warned that money loaned to the government would not be safe. "How, where, and when," asked this disloyal newspaper, "are the government to get money to pay interest?" Then, in language almost the same as that of a distinguished leader of a Peace Faction of our day, a threat of future *reputation* was thrown out, to create distrust in the government securities. "Who can tell," said the writer above alluded to, "whether *future rulers may think the debt contracted under such circumstances, and by men who lend money to help out measures which they have loudly and constantly condemned, ought to be paid!*"

Another newspaper said of the Boston merchants: "They will lend the government money to retrace their steps, but none to persevere in their present course. Let every highwayman find his own pistols." And a doctor of divinity shouted from the pulpit at Byfield: "If the rich men continue to furnish money, war will continue till the mountains are melted with blood—till every field in America is white with the bones of the people;" while another said, "Let no man who wishes to continue the war by active means, by vote or lending money, dare to prostrate himself at the altar on the fast-day, for such are actually as much partakers in the war as the soldier who thrusts his bayonet, and the judgment of God will await them."

These extracts give but a faint idea of the violence of the leaders of that faction. Many capitalists were intimidated, and were afraid to negotiate for the loan openly, a fact which brokers at that time have placed on record. Gilbert and Dean advertised that the "names of all subscribers shall be known only to the undersigned." Another made it known that "the name of every applicant shall, at his request, be known only to the subscriber." Another assured the people that he had made arrangements "for perfect secrecy in the transaction of his business."

These advertisements excited the venom of the Peace party exceedingly, and they poured abuse upon the subscribers and the government together. "Money," said one of the most prominent among them, with great bitterness, "is such a drug (the surest signs of the former prosperity and present insecurity of trade), that men, against their consciences, their honor, their duty, their professions and promises, are willing to lend it secretly to support the very measures which are both intended and calculated for their ruin." Another said, "How degraded must our government be, even in her own eyes, when they resort to such tricks to obtain money, which a common Jew broker would be ashamed of. They must be well acquainted with the fabric of the men who are to loan them money when they offer that if they will have the goodness to do it their names shall not be exposed to the world."

Conduct of Boston Bankers.

Effects of the Conspiracy against the public Credit.

Boston corporations, to the amount, in the course of a few months, of about \$8,000,000. The New York bankers were compelled to draw largely on those of Philadelphia, and the latter on those of Baltimore, and so on. A panic was created. No one could predict the result. Confidence was shaken. Wagons were seen, loaded with specie, leaving bank doors with the precious freight, going from city to city, to find its way finally into the vaults of those of Massachusetts.¹ The banks thus drained were compelled to curtail their discounts. Commercial derangement and bankruptcies ensued. Subscribers to the loan were unable to comply with their promises, and, so uncertain was the future to the minds of many who intended to subscribe, that they hesitated. The effect of the conspiracy against the public credit was potent and ruinous, and for a while it was thought impossible for the government to sustain its army and navy. The banks out of New England were compelled to suspend specie payments, and the effect upon the paper currency of the country was most disastrous.²

Nor was this all. To make the blow against the public credit still more effectual, the conspirators made arrangements with agents of the government authorities of Lower Canada whereby a very large amount of British government bills, drawn on Quebec, were transmitted to New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, and offered on such advantageous terms to capitalists as induced them to purchase.³ By this means an immense amount of gold was transmitted to Canada, placed beyond the reach of the government of the United States, and put into the hands of the enemy, to give succor to the war they were waging against the independence of the republic. Had the conspirators fully succeeded, the national armies must have been disbanded, and the country reduced to a dependency of Great Britain.

It was during the despondency incident to the gloomy aspect of financial affairs, the capture of Washington and the destruction of the public buildings and archives, the utter prostration of business, the certainty that a very large British force would be speedily sent to our shores, and the neglect and discourtesy with which the British government had treated the American ministers sent to Europe to negotiate a treaty of peace, that a convention of representatives of the Opposition party in New

¹ When, in deference to public opinion, the Boston bankers attempted to explain their movement in this matter, they made the specious plea of their right to the balances due them from other banks. This was not satisfactory. Matthew Carey, one of the ablest publicists of the day, says that the demand was made at a season of the year when freight on the specie, on account of the bad state of the roads, was from twenty to thirty per cent. more than it would have been had they waited a few weeks. That they could have waited without detriment to any interest is made manifest by the following statement of the condition of the banks in Massachusetts in January, 1814, just before the movement was made:

	Specie.	Notes in Circulation.
Massachusetts Bank	\$2,114,164.	\$682,708
Union.....	657,795.	283,225
Boston.....	1,182,572.	369,908
State.....	659,066.	509,000
New England.....	284,456.	161,170
Mechanics'.....	47,391.	44,595
	\$4,945,444	\$2,000,601

By this statement it appears that they had in their vaults about \$250 in specie for every \$100 of their notes in circulation: "a state of things," says Carey, "probably unparalleled in the history of banking from the days of the Lombards to the present time."

² The injurious effects upon the paper currency of the country may be seen by the following price current, published on the 7th of February, 1815:

	Below Par.		Below Par.
All the banks in New York State,		Philadelphia City Banks.....	24 per cent.
Hudson and Orange excepted... 19 to 20 per cent.		Baltimore Banks.....	30 "
Hudson Bank..... 20 "		Treasury Notes..... 24 to 25 "	
Orange Bank..... 24 "		United States six per cents.....	80 "

³ These transactions with the public were made so boldly that advertisements like the following appeared in the Boston papers:

"1 bill for..... £300 1 do. 250 1 do. 203 £1,253	}	British Government Bills, For sale by CHARLES W. GREEN, No. 14 India Wharf."
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So great was the drain caused by the transmission of gold to Canada, and the demand for specie to pay for smuggled goods brought from Canada and Nova Scotia, that the specie in the Massachusetts banks was reduced in the course of six months nearly \$3,500,000—the amount being \$5,468,604 on the 1st of July, 1814, and only \$1,999,308 on the 1st of January, 1815.

Cabinet Changes.

New financial Measures proposed.

Revival of the public Credit.

England, to consider public affairs, was conceived, not by the factious politicians we have just noticed, but by thoughtful and earnest patriots of the Federal party.

After the invasion of Washington there were some changes in President Madison's Cabinet. Mr. Monroe continued in the office of Secretary of State, and was Acting

J. Armstrong

Secretary of War after the close of September, 1814, when Mr. Armstrong had resigned.¹ George W. Campbell, of Tennessee, the Secretary of the Treasury, was succeeded by Alex-

ander J. Dallas—a man of courage, energy, and decision—early in Octo-^{* October 4, 1814.} ber.^a The new secretary entered upon his duties with a determination to

revive the public credit, if possible, and he did it. The prospect was unpromising. Campbell's report of the condition of the Treasury immediately preceding his resignation was a deplorable picture of the national finances. So great was the general distrust that, when an attempt was made to borrow \$6,000,000,^b there were^{* August, 1814.} not bids for one half the amount; and so great were the government needs, that, in order to procure \$2,500,000, the secretary had been compelled to issue stock to the amount of \$4,265,000. There were \$8,000,000 treasury notes outstand-

ing, one half of which would fall due the next year. The entire amount to be paid within the fiscal year was not less than \$25,000,000, while the new revenues, already provided for, including new taxes, could not be expected to produce above \$8,000,000, owing to the total destruction of commerce. Yet Dallas was not dismayed, nor even discouraged. He proposed methods which startled Congress and the people. The crisis demanded immediate and effective measures, so he proposed new and increased taxes; and, as a means for furnishing a circulating medium and immediate resources in the way of loans, he recommended the establishment of a national bank, the government to be a large and controlling stockholder, and the bank to be compelled to loan to the government \$30,000,000.² Congress considered the propositions favorably; and such was the confidence which the character and



A. J. Dallas

¹ John Armstrong was born at Carlisle, in Pennsylvania, on the 25th of November, 1758. He was a student at Princeton College when the old War for Independence broke out, when he joined the army, and soon became a member of the staff of General Mercer. He was afterward on the staff of General Gates, and was for a while adjutant general of the Southern Army under that leader. He remained with that officer until the close of the war. Young Armstrong was the author of the celebrated *Newburg Addresses* just at the close of hostilities. While their tendency was most dangerous to the public welfare, Washington bore testimony to the patriotic motives of the writer. Armstrong was Secretary of State of Pennsylvania. After marrying the sister of Chancellor Livingston, of New York, he settled on the Hudson, in that State, near Red Hook, where he resided until his death on the 1st of April, 1833. He was United States senator in the year 1800, and in 1804 President Jefferson appointed him minister to France, where he performed his duties with ability. He was appointed brigadier general when the war broke out in 1812, and the following year he was called to the office of Secretary of War, which he reluctantly accepted. When he retired from that post he left public life forever.

² Dallas's proposition contemplated a national bank with a capital of \$20,000,000, one tenth in specie and the remainder in government stocks; the government to subscribe two fifths of the capital, and to have the appointment of the president and a third of the directors, and power also to authorize the suspension of specie payments. A bill chartering a national bank was passed in 1815, but was vetoed by the President of the United States. Finally, in April, 1816, an act incorporating a national bank became a law. This was the famous United States Bank, whose existence terminated in 1836.

Alexander J. Dallas was born in the island of Jamaica in 1759. His father was a Scotchman, and an eminent physician there. This son was educated at Edinburg and Westminster. After the death of his father he settled in Philadel-

immediate acts of Dallas inspired, that the loan vainly attempted to be made in August was favorably negotiated in October; and treasury notes, which then "none but necessitous creditors, or contractors in distress, or commissaries, quartermasters, and navy agents, acting as it were officially, seemed willing to accept," were, early in January following, sold at par, with the interest added.

Mr. Monroe, as acting Secretary of War, proposed vigorous measures for giving strength to the army. Volunteering had ceased, and he proposed to raise, by conscription or draft, sufficient men to make the existing army number nearly sixty-three thousand, and to provide forty thousand men as a regular force, to be locally employed in the defense of the frontiers and the sea-coast. Bills for this purpose were ^{October 27,} introduced in Congress;^{1814.} and this and other war measures were more favorably received than usual, because of the waning prospects of peace with Great Britain excepting on terms humiliating to the United States. Negotiations for peace were then in progress at Ghent, in Belgium; but the unfair demands and denials of Great Britain, through her commissioners, gave very little promise of satisfactory results. That haughty power would not consent to make peace excepting on very humiliating terms for the Americans; and yet there were those who could not value national independence, nor comprehend their duty to posterity, who thought that peace would be cheaply purchased even on such terms. While the Legislature of New York called them "extravagant and disgraceful," and that of Virginia spoke of those terms as "arrogant and insulting," the New England Legislatures had no word of condemnation.

The proposition to raise a large force by conscription brought matters to a crisis in New England. In some of the other states the matter of local defenses had been left almost wholly to the discretion of the respective governors. But the President, made suspicious of the loyalty of New England because of the injurious action of the Peace Faction, insisted upon the exclusive control of all military movements there. Because the Massachusetts militia had not been placed under General Dearborn's orders, the Secretary of State, in an official letter to Governor Strong, refused to pay the expenses of defending Massachusetts from the common enemy. Similar action for similar cause had occurred in the case of Connecticut, and a clamor was instantly raised that New England was abandoned to the enemy by the National Government. A joint committee of the Massachusetts Legislature made a report on the state of public affairs, which contained a covert threat of independent action on the part of the people of that section, saying that, in the position in which that state stood, no choice was left it between submission to the enemy, which was not to be thought of, and the appropriation to her own defense of those revenues derived from the people, but which the General Government had hitherto thought proper to expend elsewhere. The committee recommended a conference of sympathizing states to consider the propriety of adopting "some mode of defense suited to the circumstances and exigencies of those states," and to consult upon a radical reform in the National Constitution.

The administration minority protested against this action, and denounced it as a disguised movement to prepare the way for a dissolution of the Union. Their protest was of no avail. The report of the committee was adopted by a vote of three to one, and the Legislature addressed a circular letter to the governors of the other New England States, inviting the appointment of delegates, to meet in Convention at an early day, it said, "to deliberate upon the dangers to which the states in the eastern section of the Union are exposed by the course of the war, and which there is too much reason to believe will thicken round them in its progress; and to devise, if practicable, means of security and defense which may be consistent with the pres-

phia in 1783, and studied law. He was fond of literary pursuits, and at one time edited the *Columbian Magazine*. In 1801 President Jefferson appointed him United States Attorney for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania. In October, 1814, he was appointed Secretary of the Treasury, and in March, 1815, assumed the additional duties of Secretary of War. In November, 1816, he resigned, and returned to the practice of his profession. He died on the 16th of January, 1817.

A Convention called at Hartford.	Composition of the Convention.	Its proposed Work.
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ervation of their resources from total ruin, and adapted to their local situation, mutual relations and habits, and not repugnant to their obligations as members of the Union." They also proposed a consideration of some amendments to the Constitution on the subject of slave representation, that might secure to the New England States equal advantages with others.

The proposition of the Massachusetts Legislature was acceded to, and on Thursday morning, the 15th of December, 1814, a Convention, composed of twenty-six delegates, representing Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and Vermont, assembled at Hartford, in Connecticut, then a town of four thousand inhabitants, and organized by the appointment of George Cabot, of Boston, as president of that body, and Theodore Dwight as secretary.¹

The sessions of the Convention continued three weeks, and were held with closed doors. The movement had created much alarm at the seat of government, especially because at about that time the Legislature of Massachusetts appropriated a million dollars toward the support of ten thousand men to relieve the militia in service, and to be, like that militia, exclusively under state control. All sorts of wild rumors and suggestions were put afloat, and the government found it convenient to have Major (afterward General) T. S. Jesup at Hartford, with his regiment, at the opening of the Convention, nominally for the purpose of recruiting for the regular army, but really under instructions, no doubt, to watch the movements of the supposed traitorous conclave.



On the second day of the session, a committee, appointed for the purpose, submitted a series of topics proper for the consideration of the Convention, which were as follows: "The powers claimed by the Executive of the United States, to determine conclusively in respect to calling out the militia of the states into the service of the United States; and the dividing of the United States into military districts, with an officer of the army in each thereof, with discretionary authority from the executive of the United States to call for the militia, to be under the command of such officer. The refusal of the executive of the United States to supply or pay the militia of certain states, called out for their defense, on the grounds of their not having been called out under the authority of the United States, or not having been, by the Executive of the state, put under the command of the commander over the military district. The failure of the government of the United States to supply and pay the militia of the states, by them admitted to have been in the United States service. The report of the Secretary of War to Congress on filling the ranks of the army, together with a bill or act on that subject. A bill before Congress providing for classifying and drafting the militia. The expenditure of the revenue of the nation in offensive operations on the neighboring provinces of the enemy. The failure of the government of the United States to provide for the common defense, and the consequent obligations, necessity, and burdens devolved on the separate states to defend themselves, together with the mode, and the ways and means in their power for accomplishing the object." Such was the work which the Convention, at the outset, proposed for itself.

On the 20th of December a committee was appointed to "report a general project of such measures" as might be proper for the Convention to adopt; and, four days afterward, they adopted a report that it would be expedient for the Convention to

¹ The following are the names of the delegates: George Cabot, Nathan Dane, William Prescott, Harrison Gray Otis, Timothy Bigelow, Joshua Thomas, Samuel Sumner Wilde, Joseph Lyman, Stephen Longfellow, Jr., Daniel Waldo, Hodijah Baylies, and George Bliss, from *Massachusetts*; Chauncey Goodrich, John Treadwell, James Hillhouse, Zephaniah Swift, Nathaniel Smith, Calvin Goddard, and Roger Minot Sherman, from *Connecticut*; Daniel Lyman, Samuel Ward, Edward Manton, and Benjamin Hazard, from *Rhode Island*; Benjamin West, and Mills Olcott, from *New Hampshire*; and William Hall, Jr., from *Vermont*.

Signatures of the Members of the Hartford Convention.

Proposed Amendments to the Constitution.

Hartford Jan^y 4th 1815
 Guadalupe Paine
 Nathan Dane
 Ellet Otis
 Wm Prescott
 Amosy Bigelow
 Joshua Thomas
 Saml. S. Wilde
 Joseph Symon
 Stephen Longfellow, Jr
 Daniel Walden
 George B. B. Smith
 Charney Woodrigh
 James Hillhouse
 John Treadwell
 Ephraim Swift
 Nathaniel Smith
 John Goddard
 Roger M. Sherman

Deined by man
 Samuel Ward
 Edward Manton
 B. F. Fessenden
 Benj.ⁿ West
 William Hall
 Mills Elliott
 Hodgeah Bayles

prepare a general statement of the unconstitutional attempts of the executive government of the United States to infringe upon the rights of the individual states in regard to the military, etc.; and to recommend to the Legislatures of the states the adoption of the most effectual and decisive measures to protect the militia and the states from the usurpations contained in those proceedings. Also to prepare a statement concerning the general subject of state defenses, and a recommendation that an application be made to the national government for an arrangement with the states by which they would be allowed to retain a portion of the taxes levied by Congress, to be devoted to the expenses of self-defense, et cetera. They

FAC-SIMILE OF THE SIGNATURES TO THE REPORT OF THE HARTFORD CONVENTION.

also proposed amendments to the Constitution.¹

¹ They proposed, by amendments to the Constitution, to accomplish the following results: 1. The restriction of the power of Congress to declare and make war. 2. A restraint of the exercise of unlimited power by Congress to make new states and admit them into the Union. 3. A restraint of the powers of Congress in laying embargoes and restrictions on commerce. 4. A stipulation that a President of the United States shall not be elected from the same state two consecutive terms. 5. That the same person shall not be elected President a second time. 6. That alterations be made concerning slave representation and taxation.

Adjournment of the Hartford Convention,

Suspensions respecting its Work,

The Substance of that Work.

The labors of the Hartford Convention ended on the 4th of January, 1816, with a report and resolutions, signed by the delegates present, to be laid before the Legislatures of the respective states represented in the Convention. The report and resolutions were adopted as expressions of the sentiments of the Convention.¹ On the following morning,² at nine o'clock, after prayer by the Rev. Dr. Strong, the Convention adjourned, but with the impression on the part of the members that circumstances might compel it to reassemble. For that reason the seal of secrecy was not removed from the proceedings. This gave wide scope for conjecture concerning them, some declaring that they were patriotic, and others that they were treasonable in the extreme. Because the members of that Convention were of the political party to which the Peace Faction belonged, they incurred much odium. They and the party became the target at which the shafts of sharpest wit, as well as bitter denunciations, were hurled; and at the next election in Massachusetts, the ad-

January 5,
1815.

ministration, or Democratic party, issued a hand-bill, with a wood-cut indicative of the character of the opposing parties, a copy of which, on a reduced scale, is given in the annexed cut.

He who will take pains to inquire, without prejudice, will be satisfied that the twenty-six eminent men who composed the Hartford Convention were as wise, as loyal, and as patriotic as the average of the legislators and politicians of that day or since. They represented the conservative sentiment of discontented New England during a season of great trial.²



¹ The report, moderate but firm, able in construction, and forcible though heretical in arguments and conclusions, was immediately published, and extensively circulated throughout the country. It was read with the greatest avidity. It disappointed the expectations of the radical Federalists and the suspicious Democrats. The few disunionists of New England found in it no promise of a separation, and the administration party perceived in it no signs of sedition or treason. It presented a concise view of the current and past policy of the government, and summed up the sentiments of the Convention in the following resolutions, which were recommended for adoption to the state Legislatures:

² Resolved, That it be and hereby is recommended to the Legislatures of the several states represented in this Convention to adopt all such measures as may be necessary effectually to protect the citizens of said states from the operation and effects of all acts which have been or may be passed by the Congress of the United States, which shall contain provisions subjecting the militia or other citizens to forcible drafts, conscriptions, or imprisonments not authorized by the Constitution of the United States.

³ Resolved, That it be and hereby is recommended to the said Legislatures to authorize so immediate and earnest application to be made to the government of the United States, requesting their consent to some arrangement whereby the said states may, separately or in concert, be empowered to assume upon themselves the defense of their territory against the enemy; and a reasonable portion of the taxes collected within said states may be paid into the respective treasuries thereof, and appropriated to the payment of the balance due said states, and to the future defense of the same. The amount so paid into the said treasuries to be credited, and the disbursements made as aforesaid to be charged, to the United States.

⁴ Resolved, That it be and it hereby is recommended to the Legislatures of the aforesaid states to pass laws (where it has not already been done) authorizing the governors or commanders-in-chief of their militia to make detachments of the same, or to form voluntary corps, as shall be most convenient and conformable to their Constitutions, and to cause the same to be well armed, equipped, and disciplined, and held in readiness for service; and, upon the request of the governor of either of the other states, to employ the whole of such detachments or corps, as well as the regular force of the state, or such part thereof as may be required, and can be spared consistently with the safety of the state, in assisting the state making such request, to repel any invasion thereof which shall be made or attempted by the public enemy.

There were other resolutions, but they referred to amendments of the Constitution already alluded to. The most that can be said against the resolutions just quoted is, that they abandon the doctrine of a consolidated nation formed by the ratification of the Constitution by the people, for which the Washingtonian Federalists so strenuously contended, and are deeply tinged with the fatal heresy of state supremacy, or, at least, state independence, which has produced fearful effects in our day.

² The author is indebted to the kindness of Messrs. E. B. and E. C. Kellogg, of Hartford, Connecticut, for a careful copy of the signatures of the members of the Convention, printed on the opposite page, precisely as they are attached

Sketches of the Members of the Hartford Convention.

While the country was agitated by the political events just recorded, and the people were despondent because of the seeming remoteness of peace and the gloomy aspect of public affairs in general, other events of great importance, and having a most powerful influence in the direction of peace, were occurring on the southwestern borders of the republic. Let us consider them.

We have seen how the Creek Indians in Alabama were led into war, and thereby to the ruin of their nation, by white enemies of the republic and the influence of Te-

to the address and resolutions. The following brief notices of those members, compiled from sketches made by Mr. Dwight, the secretary of the Convention, will give the reader some idea of the dignity of that body:

George Cabot, the president of the Convention, was a descendant of one of the discoverers of the American continent of that name. He was a warm Whig during the Revolutionary struggle, and, soon after the adoption of the National Constitution, was chosen a senator in Congress by the Legislature of Massachusetts. He was a pure-hearted, lofty-minded citizen, a sound statesman, and a man beloved by all who knew him.

Nathan Dane was a lawyer of eminence, and was also a Whig in the days of the Revolution. He was a representative of Massachusetts in Congress during the Confederation, and was specially noticed for his services in procuring the insertion of a provision in the famous Ordinance of 1787, establishing territorial governments over the Territories northwest of the Ohio, which forever excluded slavery from those regions. He was universally esteemed for his wisdom and integrity.

William Prescott was a son of the distinguished Colonel Prescott, of the Revolution, who was conspicuous in the battle of Bunker Hill. He was an able lawyer, first in Salem, and then in Boston. He served with distinction in both branches of the Massachusetts Legislature.

Harrison Gray Otis was a native of Boston, and member of the family of that name distinguished in the Revolution. He was a lawyer by profession, and served the public in the Massachusetts Legislature and in the National Congress. He was an eloquent speaker, and as a public man, as well as a private citizen, he was very popular.

Timothy Bigelow was a lawyer, and for several years was speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives.

Joshua Thomas was judge of Probate in Plymouth County, Massachusetts, and was a man of unblemished reputation in public and private life.

Joseph Lyman was a lawyer, and for several years held the office of sheriff of his county.

George Bliss was an eminent lawyer, and distinguished for his learning, industry, and integrity. He was several times a member of the Massachusetts Legislature.

Daniel Waldo was a resident of Worcester, where he established himself in early life as a merchant. He was a state senator, but would seldom consent to an election to office.

Samuel Sumner Wilde was a lawyer, and was raised to a seat on the bench of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts.

Hodijah Baylies was an officer in the Continental Army, in which position he served with reputation. He was for many years judge of Probate in the county in which he lived, and was distinguished for sound understanding, fine talents, and unimpeachable integrity.

Stephen Longfellow, Jr., was a lawyer of eminence in Portland, Maine, where he stood at the head of his profession. He was a representative in Congress.

Chauncey Goodrich was an eminent lawyer, and was for many years a member of the Legislature of Connecticut in both of its branches. He was also a member of both houses of Congress, and lieutenant governor of Connecticut. His reputation was very exalted as a pure statesman and useful citizen.

John Treadwell was in public stations in Connecticut a greater part of his life, where he was a member of both legislative branches of the government, was a long time a judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and was both lieutenant governor and governor of the state. He was a Whig in the Revolution, and a politician of the Washington school.

James Hillhouse was a man of eminent ability, and widely known. He was a lawyer of celebrity, served as a member of the Legislature of Connecticut, and was for more than twenty years either a senator or representative in Congress. He fought bravely for his country in the old War for Independence, and was always active, energetic, and public-spirited.

Zephaniah Swift was a distinguished lawyer. He served as speaker of the Connecticut Assembly, and was a member of Congress, a judge, and for a number of years chief justice of the Supreme Court of Connecticut.

Nathaniel Smith was an extraordinary man. He was a lawyer by profession, and for many years was considered as one of the most distinguished members of his profession in Connecticut. He was a member of Congress, and a judge of the Supreme Court of Connecticut. His whole life was marked by purity of morals and love of country.

Calvin Goddard was a native of Massachusetts, but studied and practiced law in Connecticut, and became a distinguished citizen of that state. He arose to great eminence in his profession, and was in Congress four years. He was repeatedly elected a member of the General Assembly, and was appointed a judge of the Supreme Court of that state.

Roger Minot Sherman was another distinguished lawyer of Connecticut, and was for a long time connected with the government of that state. He was a man of highest reputation as the possessor of the qualities of a good citizen.

Daniel Lyman was a soldier of the Revolution, and rose to the rank of major in the Continental Army. After the peace he settled as a lawyer in Rhode Island, where he became distinguished for talents and integrity. He was chief justice of the Supreme Court of that state.

Samuel Ward was a son of Governor Ward, of Rhode Island, and at the age of eighteen years was a captain in the Continental Army. He was with Arnold in his expedition to Quebec in 1776. At that city he was made a prisoner. Before the close of the war he rose to the rank of colonel. He was elected a member of the Convention held at Annapolis, in Maryland, in 1786, which was the inception of the Convention which framed the National Constitution.

Benjamin Hazard was a native of Rhode Island, and a lawyer, in which profession he was eminent. He served for many years in the Legislature of his state.

Edward Manton was a native of Rhode Island, and rarely mingled in the political discussions of his day. He was a man of sterling worth in every relation in life.

Benjamin West was a native of New Hampshire, and a lawyer by profession, in which he had a good reputation.

Mills Olcott was a native of New Hampshire, and a son of Chief Justice Olcott, of that state. He was a lawyer by profession.

William Hall, Jr., was a native of Vermont. His business was that of a merchant, and he was frequently a member of the State Legislature. He was universally esteemed and respected by all good men.

General Jackson recalled into active Service.

His Vigilance.

Hostile Movements at Pensacola.

cumtha, the Indian ally of the British;¹ and we left General Jack-

son,² who had been the chief instrument in the destruction of that nation, resting at "The Hermitage," his mansion and estate, a few miles from Nashville, in Tennessee. From that pleasant retreat he was soon recalled to active duty, having been appointed a major general in the army of the United

States,³ and



"THE HERMITAGE" IN 1861.²

the Seventh Military District, with his head-quarters at Mobile, which post the Americans had taken possession of as early as April, 1812,³ when the Spaniards retired to Pensacola. Jackson was instructed to stop on his way to Mobile to make a definitive treaty with the remnant of the Creek nation, which he did at Fort Jackson⁴ on the 14th of August.⁵

1814.
Jackson's vigilance was sleepless. It was in marked contrast with the slumbering apathy or indifference at the War Department. He was promptly informed of what was occurring not only in his own department, but in the whole region around him, for he had trusty spies, pale and dusky, every where. He had observed with indignation and alarm that the authorities at Pensacola, with usual Spanish duplicity, while professing neutrality, were in practical alliance with the British and Indians. Of this the government was promptly informed; but Jackson received no responses to his warnings. He continued to receive evidences of gathering danger at Pensacola, and finally, late in August, the mask of Spanish neutrality was removed. Nine British ships of war then lay at anchor in the harbor there. Marines were landed from them and allowed to encamp on the shore. Their commander, Lieutenant Colonel Edward Nichols, was made a welcome guest of the Spanish governor, and the British flag was unfurled over one of the forts. Indian runners were sent on swift errands among the neighboring Creek and Seminole Indians to invite them to Pensacola, there to be enrolled in the service of the British crown. The response to their call was the speedy gathering of almost a thousand savages at that Spanish post, where they received arms and ammunition in abundance from the British officers. Then went forth a general order from Nichols to his soldiers, followed soon afterward by a proclamation to the inhabitants of Louisiana and Kentucky, both of which revealed hostile intentions. To his troops Nichols spoke of their being called upon "to perform long and tedious marches through wildernesses, swamps, and water-courses," and he exhorted them to conciliate their Indian allies, and to "never give them just cause for offense." In his proclamations he addressed the most inflammatory appeals to the prejudices of the French and the discontents of the Kentuckians, which a seeming neglect by their government and the arts of politicians had engendered.⁶ In fact,

¹ See Chapter XXXIII.

² This was the appearance of *The Hermitage* when the writer visited and sketched it in the spring of 1861.

³ See page 742.

⁴ See page 783.

⁵ The British counted largely upon the passive acquiescence, if not actual assistance, of the French and Spanish in-

Nichols, with a strange imprudence, seemed to take particular pains to proclaim that the land and naval forces at Pensacola were only the van of far more formidable ones composing an expedition for the seizure of New Orleans and the subjugation of Louisiana.

There was another revelation of impending danger made to the Americans at this time, and this, with the proceedings at Pensacola, aroused the people of the Southwest, and the civil and military authorities, to the greatest vigilance and speedy preparations to meet an invasion. This was an attempt on the part of the British to obtain the aid of a community of outlaws on the borders of the Gulf. These were privateersmen and smugglers, whose head-quarters were on a low island called Grand Terre, six miles in length and one and a half in breadth, which lies at the entrance to Barataria Lake or Bay, from the Gulf of Mexico, little less than sixty miles southwest from New Orleans in a direct line. From that island there is a water communication for small vessels through lakes and bayous to within a mile of the Mississippi River, just above New Orleans. Toward the Gulf is a fine beach, and to it inhabitants of the "Crescent City" resort during the heats of the summer months. The bay forms a sheltered harbor, in which the privateers of the Baratarians (as the smugglers were called) and those associated with them lay securely from the besom of the "Norther" that sweeps occasionally over the Gulf, and also from the cannon of ships of war, for the bay was inaccessible to such ponderous and bulky craft as were then used. The community of marauders there formed a regularly organized association, at the head of which was Jean Lafitte, a shrewd Frenchman and blacksmith from Bordeaux, and late resident of New Orleans. He had caused a battery of heavy guns to be pointed seaward for the protection of his company; and there might be seen at all times shrewd and cautious men from New Orleans, having "honorable mention" in that community, purchasing at cheap rates for profitable sales the rich booty of the sea-robbers, and thereby laying broadly the foundations of the fortunes of many a wealthy family living in the Southwest when the Civil War broke out in 1861. Lafitte became known in history, romance, and song as the "Pirate of the Gulf," of whom Byron erroneously said he

"Left a corsair's name to other times,
Linked with one virtue and a thousand crimes."

He was not a corsair in the meaning of the law of nations; and his crimes, such as they were, were not against humanity, but were violations of the revenue and neutrality laws of the United States. "I may have evaded the payment of duties at the custom-house, but I have never ceased to be a good citizen," said Lafitte, on one occasion; and then, with the usual plea of a culprit, he added, "All the offenses I have ever committed have been forced upon me by certain vices in the laws."

The fact that the United States government had, by legal proceedings, made the Baratarians outlaws, and, as a natural consequence, it was supposed, the bitter enemies of that government, caused the British to seek an alliance with them, not doubting that it would gladly be afforded. Accordingly, on the 1st of September,^a the British sloop of war *Sophia*, Captain Lockyer, sailed from Pensacola with dispatches for Jean Lafitte, among which was an invitation from Lieutenant Colonel Nichols, already mentioned, inviting that leader and his band to enter the British service, and a letter from Captain W. H. Percy, a son of Lord Beverly, the commander of the British squadron at Pensacola, in which Lafitte's fears were appealed to.¹ Lafitte took the offered documents, and was assured by Lockyer that his vessels and

habitants of Louisiana, who had been opposed to the rule of the United States government, and also upon the aid of the slaves, whose freedom was to be proclaimed when the British should obtain a sure foothold on the borders of the Mississippi River or the Gulf of Mexico.

¹ The package contained, besides these two letters, Nichols's proclamation to the inhabitants of Louisiana, and a copy of Captain Percy's orders to Captain Lockyer, in which the latter was directed, if successful in his mission, to "concert measures for the annoyance of the enemy, having an eye to the juncture of the small armed vessels" of the Baratarians with those of the British "for the capture of Mobile," etc.

A Leader of Smugglers turns Patriot.

Jackson perceives Mischief.

Mobile and its Defense.

men would be received into the honorable service of the Royal Navy. These documents Lafitte sent to William C. C. Claiborne, then governor of Louisiana, with a letter, saying, "Though proscribed in my adopted country, I will never miss an occasion of serving her, or of proving that she has never ceased to be near to me."¹

Before these revelations were made, Jackson's sagacity and forecast, when considering rumors and positive information that reached him from time to time, had made him suspicious that such hostile movements were in preparation; and, while a handful of men were trampling upon the national capital, he was planning a scheme for crushing at one blow the triple alliance of British, Spanish, and Indians at Pensacola, and ending the war in the Southwest. Now, with positive testimony of danger before him (copies of the documents furnished by Lafitte having been sent to him), he resolved to act promptly, without the advice or sanction of his government.² He squarely accused Manriquez, the Spanish governor at Pensacola, with bad faith, when a spicy correspondence ensued. This Jackson ended by saying to the governor, "In future I beg you to withhold your insulting charges against my government for one more inclined to listen to slander than I am; nor consider me any more a diplomatic character unless so proclaimed from the mouth of my cannon." Then he sent his adjutant general, Colonel Robert Butler, into Tennessee to beat up for volunteers, with a determination to give tangible shape to the threat contained in the last clause of his letter. In a very short time no less than two thousand of the sturdy young men of Tennessee were ready for the field.



WILLIAM C. C. CLAIBORNE.

Meanwhile, hostilities had actually commenced in that quarter. When Jackson reached Mobile, late in August, he was satisfied that an attempt would be made to seize that post as soon as the great expedition of which he had rumors should be prepared to move. Mobile was then only a little village of wooden houses, with not a thousand inhabitants, with no defenses against artillery, and scarcely sufficient to withstand an attack from the rifles of Indians. At the entrance to Mobile Bay, thirty miles from the village, was Fort Bowyer (now Fort Morgan), occupying the extremity of a narrow sand cape on the eastern side of that entrance, and commanding the entire channel between it and Dauphin Island. It was a small work, semicircular in form toward the channel, and of redan shape on the land side. It was weak, being without bomb-proofs, and mounting only twenty guns, and all but two of these were 12-pounders and less. And yet this was the chief defense of Mobile; for, the enemy once inside of the bay, there would be no hope for holding the post with the troops then at hand. So, when Jackson perceived, early in September, that a speedy movement against Mobile from Pensacola was probable, he threw into Fort Bowyer one hundred and thirty of the Second regular infantry, under Major William Lawrence,

¹ Lafitte had amassed a large fortune by his lawless pursuits, and perceived the danger that menaced his trade, his possessions, and his liberty. Already his brother, who had been his chief agent in New Orleans, was in prison for his offenses, and the authorities of the United States were preparing to strike a withering blow at Barataria. Lafitte, willing to save himself and his possessions, and preferring to be called a patriot rather than a pirate, asked the British messengers to allow him a few days for consideration. When Lockyer departed Lafitte sent the documents up to New Orleans, as mentioned in the text.

² An order was actually issued from the War Department authorizing Jackson to seize Pensacola, but it did not reach him until six months afterward, when the war had ceased.

one of the most gallant officers in the service. At the same time, he sent orders for Colonel Butler to call out the enrolled Tennessee Volunteers, and have them led immediately to Mobile.

Major Lawrence made vigorous preparations to resist the enemy by strengthening the fort as much as possible, and providing against attacks upon it from cannon that might be planted upon sand-hills near, which commanded it. These preparations were not completed when, on the morning of the 12th of September, Lieutenant Colonel Nichols appeared on the peninsula, in rear of the fort, with one hundred and thirty marines and six hundred Indians, the latter led by Captain Woodbine, who had been attempting to drill them at Pensacola. Toward evening four British vessels of war hove in sight, and anchored within six miles of Mobile Point. These were the *Hermes*, 22; *Sophia*, 18; *Caron*, 20; and *Anaconda*, 18, the whole under Captain Percy, the commander of the squadron of nine vessels in Pensacola Bay, already mentioned, of which these were a part. In the presence of these formidable forces, the little garrison slept upon their arms that night.



ANDREW JACKSON.

On the following morning Nichols reconnoitred the fort from behind the sand-hills in its rear, and, dragging a howitzer to a sheltered position within seven hundred yards of the work, threw some shells and a solid shot upon it without much effect. Responses from Major Lawrence were equally harmless; but when, later in the day, Percy's men attempted to cast up intrenchments, Lawrence's guns quickly dispersed them. Meanwhile several light boats, engaged in sounding the channel nearest the fort, were dispersed in the same way.

The succeeding day^a was similarly employed; but early on the morning of the 15th it was evident to the garrison that an assault was about to be made from land and water. The forenoon wore away, while a stiff breeze was blowing, and when it slackened to a slight one from the southeast, toward noon, the ships stood out to sea. They tacked at two o'clock, and bearing down upon the fort in order of "line ahead," the *Hermes* (Percy's flag-ship) leading, took position for attack. The *Hermes* and *Sophia* lay nearly abreast the northwest face of the fort, while the *Caron* and *Anaconda* were more distant. Lawrence then called a council of officers, when it was determined to resist to the last, and not to surrender, if finally compelled to, unless upon the conditions that officers and privates should retain their arms and private property, be protected from the savages, and be treated as prison-

^a September 14,
1814.

¹ This is from the portrait of General Jackson in the City Hall, New York, which was painted by order of the Common Council for the city by John Vanderlyn, in 1819, when Jackson was fifty-two years of age.

Attack on Fort Bowyer.

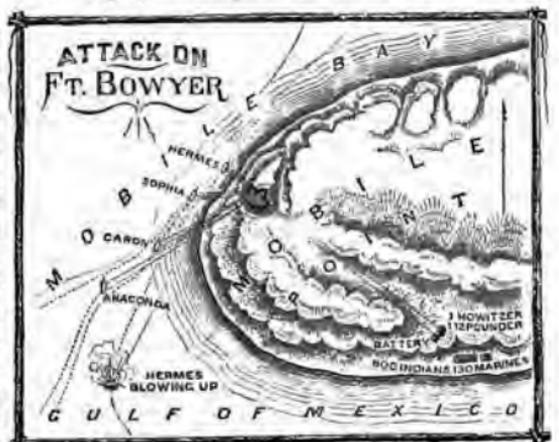
The British repulsed.

Effect of the Repulse.

ers of war. This being their resolution, the words "*Don't give up the fort*" were adopted as the signal for the day.¹

The *Hermes* drew nearer the fort, and when within range of its guns the two 24-pounders were opened upon her without much effect. She made a faint reply, and anchored within musket range of the work, while the other three vessels formed in battle line under a heavy fire. It was now half past four in the afternoon. The four vessels simultaneously opened fire, and the engagement became general and fierce, for broadside after broadside was fired upon the fort by the ships, while the circular battery was working fearfully upon the assailants. Meanwhile Captain Woodbine opened fire from a howitzer and a 12-pounder from behind a sand dune seven hundred yards from the opposite side of the fort. The battle raged until half past five, when the flag of the *Hermes* was shot away, and Lawrence ceased firing to ascertain whether she had surrendered. This humane act was followed by a broadside from the *Caron*, and the fight was renewed with redoubled vigor. Very soon the cable of the *Hermes* was severed by a shot, and she floated away with the current, her head toward the fort, and her decks swept of men and every thing else by a raking fire. Then the flag-staff of the fort was shot away and the ensign fell, when the ships, contrary to the humane example of the garrison, redoubled their fire. At the same time, Woodbine, supposing the garrison had surrendered, approached with his Indians, when they were driven back in great terror by a storm of grape-shot. Both sailors and marines found the garrison in full vigor, and only a few minutes after the flag fell it was seen floating over the fort at the end of a sponge-staff to which Major Lawrence had nailed it.

The attacking vessels, battered and in peril, soon withdrew, excepting the helpless *Hermes*, which grounded upon a sand-bank, when Percy fired and abandoned her. At almost midnight the magazine of the *Hermes* exploded. So ended, in a repulse of the British, the attack on Fort Bowyer, upon which ninety-two pieces of artillery had been brought to bear, and over thirteen hundred men had been arrayed against a garrison of one hundred and thirty. The latter lost only eight men, one half of whom were killed. The assailants lost two hundred and thirty-two men, of whom the unusual proportion of one hundred and sixty-two were killed.



The result of the strife at Mobile Point was very mortifying to the British. It was wholly unexpected. Percy had declared that he should allow the garrison only twenty minutes to capitulate. That garrison—that handful of men—had beaten off his ships and his co-operating land force with ease. The repulse was fatal to the prestige of the British name among the Indians, and a large portion of them deserted their allies and sought safety from the wrath of Jackson, whom they feared, by concealment in the interior of their broad country. The result was most gratifying to the Americans, and gave an impetus to volunteering for the defense of New Or-

¹ Latour says that the officers of the garrison took an oath not to recede from this determination in any case, nor on any pretext, and that in the event of the death of one of them all the others should adhere to it.—*Historical Memoir of the War in West Florida and Louisiana*, by Major A. La Carriere Latour.

Reception of the British at Pensacola.

Jackson marches on that Place.

Violation of a Flag of Truce.

leans. Jackson wrote a commendatory letter to Major Lawrence, and that officer received one also from Edward Livingston, chairman of the Defense Committee of New Orleans, assuring him of the joy and gratitude felt by the inhabitants of that city when they heard of his gallant defense of Fort Bowyer. At the same time it was resolved to present to Major Lawrence an elegant sword in the name of the citizens of New Orleans.¹

When the discomfited British returned to Pensacola they were publicly received as friends and allies. This circumstance, the attack on Fort Bowyer, and the revelations just made concerning an attempt by the British to engage a band of outlaws to assist them in an attempt to capture New Orleans, which we shall consider presently, kindled the hottest indignation in the minds of Jackson and the inhabitants of the Southwest. The general issued^a a fiery proclamation to the inhabitants of Louisiana as a counterblast to that of Nichols, in which he set forth the conduct of the British and the perfidy of the Spaniards, calling them to arouse in defense of their threatened country. He also put forth an address on the same day to the free colored people of Louisiana, inviting them to unite with the rest of their fellow-citizens in defending their common country from invaders. The people were already much excited by the threatening aspect of affairs, and these appeals aroused them to vigorous action.

Jackson had determined to march on Pensacola as soon as the Tennessee Volunteers should arrive, and break up that rendezvous of the enemies of the republic. The time for such movement was looked for with great impatience. It was even weeks remote, for it was the beginning of November before Jackson had his forces on hand for the purpose. These were assembled at Fort Montgomery, due north from Pensacola, four thousand strong,² and marched for the doomed fort on the 3d,^b some Mississippi dragoons in advance. The whole army encamped within two miles of Pensacola on the evening of the 6th, when Jackson sent Major Pierre with a flag of truce to the governor, with an assurance that the expedition was not to make war upon a neutral power, nor to injure the town, but to deprive the enemies of the republic of a place of refuge. He was instructed, also, to demand the surrender of the forts. But when the flag approached it was fired upon by a 12-pounder at Fort St. Michael, which was garrisoned by the British, and over which the Spanish and British flags had been conjointly waving until the day before. When Pierre reported these facts, Jackson sent a Spanish prisoner, whom he had captured on the way, to the governor, with a message demanding an explanation. Manriquez denied all knowledge of the outrage, and gave an assurance that if another flag should be sent it would be respected. Pierre went again at midnight, and submitted to the governor a proposal from Jackson that American garrisons should be admitted into Forts St. Michael and Barancas until the Spanish government could procure a sufficient force to enable it to maintain its neutrality against violations of it by the British, who had possessed themselves of the fortresses, notwithstanding the alleged remonstrances and protests of the Spanish governor; also that the American troops should be withdrawn as soon as such a respectable force should arrive.

Jackson's proposition was rejected by the governor after consultation with his chief officers. The consequence was, that, before dawn, troops were marching upon Pensacola, three thousand in number,³ for Jackson had resolved to have no farther

¹ William Lawrence was a native of Maryland. He entered the service as second lieutenant of infantry in June, 1801. He was adjutant in 1807, captain in 1810, major in April, 1814, and was breveted lieutenant colonel for his gallant services at Fort Bowyer. He was made full lieutenant colonel in 1818, and in 1824 was breveted colonel for ten years' faithful services. He was made full colonel in 1828, and resigned in July, 1831.

² These consisted of about one thousand regulars, composed of the Third, Thirty-ninth, and Forty-fourth Infantry, the Tennessee Volunteers, and a battalion of volunteer dragoons from the Mississippi Territory.

³ The right of the column consisted of Tennessee Volunteers, under General Coffee; the centre, of the Thirty-third and Forty-fourth regulars, under Major Woodruff; and the left, of the Tennessee militia and Choctaw Indians, under Majors Blue and Kennedy, with a battalion of Mississippi dragoons commanded by Major Hinds.

parley with the authorities. They took a direction, under the mask of some mounted men, to avoid the fire of Fort St. Michael and the ships in the harbor. Their course lay along the beach, toward the east part of the town, but the sand was so heavy that they could not drag the cannon through it. Then the centre of the column was ordered to charge into the town. This was gallantly done, and in the principal street they were met by a two-gun battery, which opened upon them with balls and grape-shot, while a shower of musketry was poured upon them from the gardens and houses. Captain Laval and his company charged the battery and captured it, when the frightened governor appeared with a white flag, and made promises to comply with any terms Jackson might propose if he would spare the town. An instant surrender of all the forts was demanded and promised, and after some delay this was done. But Fort Barancas, six miles distant, and commanding the harbor, in which the British ships lay (the most important of all the fortifications), was yet in the hands of the enemy. This Jackson determined to march suddenly upon the next morning, and, seizing it, turn its guns on the British ships, and capture or greatly injure them before they could escape. But before morning the fort was abandoned and blown up, and the British squadron had left the port, bearing away Lieutenant Colonel Nichols, Captain Woodbine, and a considerable number of Indians, with the Spanish commandant of the fort, and its garrison of about four hundred men.

Jackson suspected that the British, who had so suddenly left Pensacola, had returned to make another attempt against Mobile while he was absent, so he immediately withdrew, and hastened with his troops in the same direction by way of Fort Montgomery, leaving Manriquez indignant because of the flight of his British friends, and the Indians deeply impressed with a feeling that it would be very imprudent to again defy the wrath of Andrew Jackson. That leader had, by this expedition, accomplished three important results, namely, the expulsion of the British from Pensacola; the scattering of the Indians through the forests, alarmed and dejected; and the punishment of the Spaniards for much perfidy. He was denounced by the Opposition, and was not fully sustained by his government, in thus invading the territory of a neutral without orders; but the people of the West and South, and the Democratic newspapers, applauded his act, which the circumstances of the case seemed to justify.

Jackson reached Mobile on the 11th of November,^a where he found mes-
sages urging him to hasten to the defense of New Orleans. The revelations
made by Lafitte had not been accepted as true by the government officials; but the
people believed them, and held a large meeting, in consequence, at the St. Louis Ex-
change, in New Orleans, on the 16th of September. They were eloquently addressed
by the late Edward Livingston, then a leading citizen of Louisiana, who urged the
inhabitants to make immediate preparations to repel the contemplated invasion.
They appointed a Committee of Safety,¹ composed of the most distinguished citizens
of New Orleans, with Livingston as chairman, who sent forth a stirring address to
the people. Governor Claiborne, who, like Livingston, believed the statements of
Lafitte, sent copies of the British papers to General Jackson, then at Mobile. Then
it was that the latter issued his vigorous counter-proclamation, and proceeded to the
prosecution of measures for breaking up the nest of enemies at Pensacola, as just re-
corded.

Jackson departed for New Orleans on the 21st of November, and arrived there on
the 2d of December, making his head-quarters at what is now 86 (formerly 104)
Royal Street (see engraving on next page). He found the city utterly defenseless,
and the councils of the people distracted by petty factions. The patriotic Governor
Claiborne had called the Legislature together as early as the 5th of October. The

¹ This committee consisted of Edward Livingston, Pierre Foucher, Dussau de la Croix, Benjamin Morgan, George Ogden, Dominique Boulligny, J. A. Destrehan, John Blaque, and Augustine Macarté.

The Weakness of New Orleans.

Jackson's Arrival hailed with Joy.

Approach of the Invaders.

members were divided into several factions, and there was neither union, nor harmony, nor confidence to be found. The people, alarmed and distrustful, complained of the Legislature; that body, in turn, complained of the governor; and Claiborne complained of both the Legislature and the people. Money and credit were equally wanting, and arms and ammunition were very scarce. There was no effective naval force in the adjacent waters; and only two small militia regiments, and a weak battalion of uniformed volunteers, commanded by Major Plauché, a gallant Creole, constituted the military force of the city.¹ The store-houses were filled with valuable merchandise, and it would be natural



JACKSON'S CITY HEAD-QUARTERS.



MAJOR PLAUCHÉ.

for the owners to prefer the surrender of the city at once to a seemingly invincible foe, to incurring the risk of the destruction of their property by a resistance that should invite a fiery bombardment. In every aspect the situation was most gloomy when Jackson arrived, worn down with sickness, fatigue, and anxiety. His advent was hailed with great joy by the citizens, for he was regarded as a host in himself; and the cry of "Jackson's come! Jackson's come!" went like an electric spark in eager words from lip to lip, giving hope to the desponding, courage

to the timid, and confidence to the patriotic.

Jackson did not rest for a moment. He organized the feeble military force in the city; took measures for obstructing the large bayous, whose waters formed convenient communications between the Mississippi near New Orleans and the Gulf of Mexico, and proceeded to inspect and strengthen the fortifications in the vicinity and to erect new ones. Fort St. Philip, below the city, was the object of his special care, for on that he mainly relied for preventing the passage of the river by the vessels of the invaders.

The expected enemy soon appeared. The army that captured Washington and was repulsed at Baltimore had left the Chesapeake toward the middle of October, three thousand strong, and sailed away for the West Indies in the fleets of Admirals Cochrane and Malcoln. These were soon joined by over four thousand troops under General Keane, a gallant young Irish officer, who had sailed from Plymouth in September. The combined forces were assembled in Negril Bay, Jamaica, and in over fifty vessels of all sizes more than seven thousand land troops were borne across the Gulf of Mexico in the direction of New Orleans. They left Negril Bay on the 26th of November, and first saw the northern shore of the Gulf, off the Chandeleur Islands,

¹ This battalion numbered three hundred and eighty-five men, and was composed of the companies named respectively *Hulans*, or foot dragoons, under Captain St. Geure; *Frans*, Captain Hudry; *Louisiana Blues*, Captain Maunsel White; and *Chasseurs*, Captain Guilbert.

The British deceived. Preparations to receive the Invaders. The British prepare for a Fight on Lake Borgne.

between the mouth of the Mississippi and Lake Borgne, in the midst of a furious storm, on the 9th of December. Music, dancing, theatrical performances, and hilarity of every kind had been indulged in during the passage of the Gulf, for every man felt confident that an easy conquest of Louisiana awaited them. The wives of many officers accompanied them, and were filled with the most delightful anticipations of pleasure in the beautiful New World before them.

The British supposed the Americans to be profoundly ignorant of their expedition. They anchored the fleet in the deep channel between Ship and Cat Islands, near the entrance to Lake Borgne, and prepared small vessels for the transportation of troops over the shallow waters of that region with great expedition, hoping to surprise and capture New Orleans before their presence should be fairly suspected. They were disappointed. The revelations of Lafitte had made officers and people vigilant; and early in December, Commander Daniel T. Patterson,¹ then commanding the naval station at New Orleans, was warned by a letter from Pensacola of the approach of a powerful British land and naval armament. That vigilant officer immediately sent out five gun-boats, a tender, and a dispatch-boat toward the passes of Mariana and Christian, as scouts to watch for the enemy. They were commanded by Lieutenant (late Commodore) Thomas Ap. Catesby Jones, who sent two gun-boats, under the respective commands of Lieutenant M'Keever and Sailing-master Ulrick, to Dauphin Island, at the entrance to Mobile Bay, to catch the first intelligence of the foe. They discovered the great fleet on the 10th of December, and hastened to report the fact to Lieutenant Jones. Patterson had ordered that officer to take such position as would enable him, in the event of the enemy making their way into Lake Borgne, to cut off their barges and prevent the landing of troops. If Jones should be hard pressed, he was to fall back to the mud fort of Petites Coquilles, near the mouth of the Rigolots, between Lakes Borgne and Pontchartrain, and shelter his vessels under its guns.

When, on the afternoon of the 10th, the fog that succeeded the storm had cleared away, and the British fleet were in full view, Jones made for the Pass Christian with his little flotilla, where he anchored, and waited the approach of the invaders. He was discovered by the enemy on the 13th, much to their astonishment. It was evident that the Americans were acquainted with the intentions of the British, and had made preparations to meet them. Cochrane immediately gave orders for a change in the plan of operations. It would not do to attempt the landing of troops while American gun-boats were patrolling the waters of Lake Borgne. So he prepared a flotilla of almost sixty barges, the most of them carrying a carronade in the bow and an ample number of armed volunteers from the fleet, and sent them, in command of Captain Lockyer, to capture or destroy the American vessels. These were observed by Jones at four o'clock in the afternoon, when, in obedience to orders, he proceeded with his flotilla toward the Rigolots. A calm, and adverse water currents would not allow him to pass the channel between Point Clear of the main and Malheureux Island, and there he anchored at two o'clock on the morning of the 14th. Jones's flagship was a little sloop of eighty tons, and the other vessels of his tiny squadron were commanded respectively by Sailing-masters Ferris and Ulrick, and Lieutenants M'Keever and Speddon. The total number of men was one hundred and eighty-two, and of guns twenty-three.

¹ Daniel T. Patterson was born in the State of New York, and entered the navy as a midshipman in 1806, under Commodore Bainbridge, and was with that officer as a captive in Tripoli. He was promoted to lieutenant in 1807, and to master commandant in 1813. After his valuable services near New Orleans he was promoted to captain, in February, 1815. From 1808 to 1812 he served as navy commissioner, and from 1812 to 1835 commanded a squadron in the Mediterranean. He died while in command of the navy yard at Washington on the 16th of August, 1839, and was buried in the Congressional Burial-ground near that city, where a small, neat monument marks his grave.



PATTERSON'S MONUMENT.

Battle of Barges and Gun-boats. Capture of the American Flotilla. Preparations to attack New Orleans.

With a cool morning breeze, the British barges, containing twelve hundred men, bore down upon Jones's flotilla, while the tender, *Alligator*, was in the distance, vainly endeavoring to join the Americans. The barges, with six oars on each side, formed a long, straight line, and in that order swept rapidly forward, while Jones reserved his fire until they were within close range. Then M'Keever hurled a 32-pound ball over the water, and a shower of grape-shot, which broke the British line and made great confusion. But the invaders pushed forward, and at half past eleven o'clock the engagement became general and desperate. At one time Jones's boat was attacked by no less than fifteen barges. The *Alligator* was captured early, and, by the force of



overwhelming numbers, the British, after a combat of almost an hour, gained a complete victory. It was at the cost of several of their barges, that were shattered and sunk, and about three hundred men killed and wounded. The Americans lost only six men killed and thirty-five wounded. Among the latter were Lieutenants Jones, M'Keever, Parker, and Speddon. The British commander (Lockyer) was severely wounded; so also was Lieutenant Pratt, who, under the direction of Cockburn, had fired the national buildings of Washington City a little more than a hundred days before.

The capture of the American gun-boats gave the British complete control of Lake Borgne, and the lighter transports, filled with troops, immediately entered it. Ship after ship got aground, until at length the troops were all placed in small boats and conveyed about thirty miles to the Isle des Pois (or Pea Island), at the mouth of the Pearl River, and that desert spot was made the place of general rendezvous. There they landed between the 16th and 20th of December, and there General Keane organized his army for future operations.

Cochrane had been informed by some former Spanish residents of New Orleans that at the northwestern extremity of Lake Borgne there was a bayou (Bienvenu) navigable for large barges to within a short distance of the Mississippi River, just below New Orleans. He sent a party to explore it. They followed this bayou, and a canal across Villeré's plantation, to a point half a mile from the Mississippi and nine miles below the city, and, hastening back, reported that the transportation of troops through that bayou was feasible. Vigorous measures were immediately adopted for an advance upon New Orleans, where the British troops were assured that wealth and ease awaited them. They were encouraged by ex-officials of the old Spanish government of Louisiana, who went to the British camp from New Orleans and represented Jackson as an ignorant tyrant, detested by the people, and void of any efficient means for defending the city.

Jackson was informed of the capture of the American gun-boats early on the 15th,

when returning from a tour of observation in the direction of the River Chef Menteur, northeastward of the city. He at once perceived the importance of securing the passage of the Chef Menteur Road, that crosses the plain of Gentilly in that direction from the city to the strait between Lakes Borgne and Pontchartrain, and he ordered Major Lacoste, with his militia battalion of colored men and the dragoons of Feliciana, to proceed at once with two pieces of artillery, take post at the confluence of Bayou Sauvage and the River Chef Menteur, guard the road, cast up a redoubt at its terminus, and watch and oppose the enemy. He also proceeded to fortify and strengthen every point of approach to the city; sent messengers to Generals Coffee, Carroll, and Thomas, urging them to hasten to New Orleans with their commands as quickly as possible, and forwarded a dispatch to General Winchester, in command at Mobile, directing him to be on the alert. Then he appointed the 18th of December for a grand review of all the remaining troops in New Orleans, in front of the old Cathedral of St. Louis, in the Place d'Armes (now Jackson Square), one of the yet remaining relics of the Spanish dominion in Louisiana. It was a memorable day in



THE CATHEDRAL OF ST. LOUIS, AND GOVERNMENT HOUSE.

New Orleans. The whole population were out to witness the spectacle. The impending danger was great, while the military force was small and weak. Strength and resolution were communicated to it by stirring sentences from the lips of Jackson, and a thrilling and eloquent appeal which was read by his aid-de-camp, Edward Livingston.² The enthusiasm of the soldiers and citizens was intense; and Jackson, taking advantage of that state of public feeling, silenced the distracting voices of faction by declaring martial law and the suspension of the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus.

When the review was over, Major Plauché was sent with his battalion to the Bayou St. John, northward of the city; and at its mouth, on Lake Pontchartrain, Major Hughes was in command of Fort St. John. The Baratarians, on the urgent solicitation of their chief, Lafitte, were accepted as volunteers, mustered into the

¹ This is from a sketch made by the author in April, 1861, from Jackson Square. The Government House is seen on the right.

² Edward Livingston was born on the Livingston manor, on the Hudson, in 1764. He was graduated at Princeton College in 1781, and was admitted to the bar in 1788. He was elected to a seat in Congress in 1794, to which he was re-elected until 1801, when President Jefferson appointed him United States District Attorney for New York. He made New Orleans his residence. He was the author of the penal code of Louisiana, adopted in 1824. He was again in Congress in 1823, and in the National Senate in 1829. He was appointed American minister to the French Court in 1823. He died at his residence in Dutchess County, New York, on the 23d of May, 1837.

Temper of the People.

The British approach the Mississippi.

They capture a Picket-guard.



FORT ST. JOHN IN 1861.

ranks, and drilled to the performance of important services, under the command of Captains Dominique You, Beluche, Songis, Lagaud, and Colson, at Forts Petites Coquilles, St. Philip, and St. John. The people cheerfully submitted to martial law; and, in the languages of England, France, and Spain, the streets were made to resound with "Yankee Doodle," the "Marseillaise Hymn," and the "Chant du Départ." The women were as enthusiastic as the men, and at windows, on balconies, in the streets,

and public squares, they applauded the passing soldiers by waving of scarfs and handkerchiefs and uttering cheering words. Martial music was continually heard, and New Orleans appeared more like a military camp than a quiet mart of commerce. Business was mostly suspended, and the Legislature passed a law for prolonging the term of payment on all contracts until the first of the ensuing May. Military rule was complete. Able-bodied men of every age, color, and nationality, excepting British, were pressed into the service; suspicious persons were sent out of the city, and no one was allowed to pass the chain of sentinels around it without a proper official permission.

While these preparations for the reception of the invaders were in progress, the British were making unceasing efforts to press forward and take New Orleans by surprise. They had determined to make use of the Bayou Bienvenu and Villeré's Canal for the purpose; but with all their exertions, and after pressing the captured gun-boats into the service, they could not muster vessels enough fitted to navigate that bayou to carry more than one third of the army. Keane felt so confident of success, even with a small part of his force, that he could not brook farther delay; and on the morning of the 22d of December—a rainy, chilly, cheerless morning—a flotilla filled with troops set out, the advance, comprising eighteen hundred men, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Thornton, who had been wounded at Bladensburg. These were accompanied by General Keane and his staff and other important officers, and were followed by the remainder. Admiral Cochrane was in a schooner, at a proper distance to watch and direct the squadron. All day and all night they were out upon the lake in open boats. A clear sky and biting frost came at sunset, and the wet clothing of the soldiers was stiffened into iciness by the cold night air. Their discomforts ended in a measure at dawn, when they reached the Fisherman's Village (inhabited by Spaniards and Portuguese, who were spies and traitors), at the mouth of the Bayou Bienvenu. They were only twelve miles from New Orleans, and not a soul in that city suspected their approach.

Yet there were vigilant eyes, wide open, watching the invaders. At the head of the Bayou Bienvenu was the plantation of General Villeré, the commander of the first division of Louisiana militia. Jackson had instructed his son, Major Gabriel Villeré, to watch that bayou with a competent picket-guard. He did so, faithfully; but when the British landed at Fisherman's Village they captured the most of them. It proved to be a fortunate circumstance, for these men so magnified the number of Jackson's troops, and the strength of the defenses around New Orleans, that they

The British at Villeré's.

Jackson warned of Danger.

The Response to his Call for Troops.

moved cautiously, and failed to surprise the vigilant hero in the city. They moved slowly up the bayou; but when they reached Villeré's Canal the active Thornton pushed forward with a detachment, surrounded the mansion of the plantation, which is in sight of the Mississippi, and succeeded in capturing Major Villeré. He soon es-



VILLERÉ'S MANSION.¹

caped, fled to the house of his neighbor, the gallant Colonel De la Ronde, and in a boat they hastened across the Mississippi. There, at the stables of M. De la Croix, one of the Committee of Public Safety of New Orleans, they procured fleet horses, and with that gentleman rode swiftly up the levee on the right bank of the river, and crossed again at New Orleans to warn Jackson of the approach of the foe. Augustus Rousseau, an active young Creole, who had been sent by Captain Ducros, was already there. He had reached Jackson's head-quarters in Royal Street with the startling intelligence at about one o'clock, and a few minutes afterward Major Villeré and his party entered. "Gentlemen," said Jackson to the officers and citizens around him, "the British are below; we must fight them to-night!" He then ordered three discharges of cannon to give the alarm, and sent marching orders to several of the military commanders.

Jackson's call upon Coffee, Carroll, and others had been quickly responded to. Coffee came speedily over the long and tedious route from Fort Jackson, on the Alabama River, to Baton Rouge, and was now encamped, with his brigade of mounted riflemen, on Avart's plantation, five miles above New Orleans. The active young Carroll, who had left Nashville in November with Tennessee militia, arrived in flat-boats and barges at about the same time, and brought into camp a regiment of young, brave, well-armed, but inexperienced soldiers, expert in the use of the rifle, and eager for battle. They landed on the 22d of December, and were hailed by Jackson with great joy. A troop of horse, under the dashing young Hinds, raised in Louisiana, came at about the same time.

When, in the afternoon of the 23d, Jackson issued his marching orders, Coffee's brigade was five miles above the city; Plauché's battalion was at Bayou St. John, two miles distant; the Louisiana militia and half of Lacoste's colored battalion were three miles off, on the Gentilly Road; and the regulars (Forty-fourth) under Colonel Ross,

¹ This is from a sketch made by the author in April, 1861. The buildings seen in the distance, beyond the avenue of trees, were the sugar-works of the plantation.

Jackson moves against the invaders. Their Camp broken up by the *Carolina*. American Troops hasten to the Scene.

with Colonel M'Rea's artillery, a little more than eight hundred strong, were at Fort St. Charles, on the site of the present United States Branch Mint in New Orleans, and in the city barracks. Within an hour after Jackson was informed that the invaders were on the direct road to the city, along the river, and only nine miles distant, these troops were all in motion under special orders. Carroll and his Tennesseans were dispatched to the upper branch of the Bayou Bienvenu; farther up the Gentilly Road Governor Claiborne was stationed with the Louisiana militia; and Coffee's brigade, Plauché's and D'Aquin's battalions, Hinds's dragoons, the New Orleans Rifles, under Captain Beale, and a few Choctaw Indians, commanded by Captain Jugeat, were ordered to rendezvous at Montreuil's plantation, and hasten to Canal Rodriguez, six miles below the city, and there prepare to advance upon the foe. Commodore Patterson was directed to proceed down the Mississippi to the flank of the British at Villeré's with such armed vessels as might be in readiness. Such was the scanty force with which Jackson proceeded to fight a foe of unknown numbers and strength.

While Jackson was assembling his troops, the invaders were making ready to march on New Orleans that night and take it by surprise. They sent forward a negro to distribute a proclamation, signed by General Keane and Admiral Cochrane, printed in French and Spanish, which read thus:

"*Louisianians!* remain quietly in your homes; your slaves shall be preserved to you, and your property respected. We make war only against Americans."

The British were bivouacked on the highest part of Villeré's plantation, at the side of the levee and on the plain; and in the court between Villeré's house (in which Keane and some of his officers made their head-quarters) and his sugar-works! they had mounted several cannon. They were in fine spirits. Full one half of the invading troops had been brought to the banks of the Mississippi, only nine miles from New Orleans, without firing a gun after capturing Jones's flotilla, and they believed their near approach to be wholly unknown, and not even suspected, in the city. They were soon undeceived.

At seven o'clock in the evening, the schooner *Carolina*, the only vessel in readiness at New Orleans, commanded by Captain Henley, dropped down the river, and anchored off Villeré's, within musket-shot distance of the centre of the British camp. At half past seven she opened a tremendous fire from her batteries, and in the course of ten minutes killed or wounded at least a hundred men. The British extinguished their camp-fires, and poured upon the *Carolina* a shower of bullets and Congreve rockets, but with no serious effect. In less than half an hour the schooner drove the enemy from their camp, and produced great confusion among them. The American troops in the mean time, startled by the concerted signal of the *Carolina's* cannonade, were moving on, guided by Colonel De la Ronde, who was a volunteer with Beale's riflemen, and Major Villeré, who accompanied the commander-in-chief. The right, under Jackson, was composed of the



DENNIS DE LA RONDE.

1 See note and picture on page 1029.

The British Alarmed and Confused.

A Night Battle.

regulars, Plauché's and D'Aquin's brigades, M'Ren's artillery, and some marines, and moved down the road along the levee; while the left, under Coffee, composed of his brigade, Hinds's dragoons, and Beale's rifles, skirted the edge of a cypress swamp for the purpose of endeavoring to cut off the communications of the invaders with Lake Borgne. Such was the simple plan of the battle, on the part of the Americans, on the night of the 23d of December, 1814.

The alarm and confusion in the British camp, caused by the attack of the *Carolina*, had scarcely been checked when they were startled by the crack of musketry in the direction of their outposts. Keane now gave full credence to the tales of his prisoners about the large number of troops—"more than twelve thousand"—in New Orleans, and gave the dashing Thornton full liberty to do as he liked. Thornton at once led a detachment, composed of the Eighty-fifth and Ninety-fifth Regiments, to the support of the pickets, and directed the Fourth, five hundred strong, to take post on Villeré's Canal, near head-quarters, to keep open the communication with Lake Borgne. Thornton and his detachment were soon met by a resolute column under the immediate command of Jackson. He had made the Canal Rodriguez, which connected the Mississippi with the cypress swamp, his base of operations. He advanced with about fifteen hundred men and two pieces of artillery, perfectly covered with the gloom of night. Lieutenant McClelland, at the head of a company of the Seventh, filing through De la Ronde's gate, advanced to the boundary of Lacoste's plantation, where, under the direction of Colonel Piatt, the quartermaster general, he encountered and attacked the British pickets, who were posted in a ditch behind a fence, and drove them back. These were speedily re-enforced, and a brisk engagement ensued, in which Piatt received a wound, and McClelland and a sergeant were killed.

In the mean time the artillerists advanced up the Levee Road with the marines, when the British made a desperate attempt to seize their guns. There was a fierce struggle. Jackson saw it, and hastening to the spot, in the midst of a shower of bullets, he shouted, "Save the guns, my boys, at any sacrifice!" They did so, when the Seventh Regiment, commanded by Major Pierre, advanced, and, being joined by the Forty-fourth, the engagement became general between them and Thornton's detachment. Plauché and D'Aquin soon joined their comrades, and the tide of success turned in favor of the Americans. The British, hard pressed, fell sullenly back to their original line unmolested, for the prudent Ross, commanding the regulars, would not allow a pursuit. Had it been permitted, it would have resulted, as was afterward discovered, most disastrously for the invaders. This conflict occurred not far from De la Ronde's garden.

General Coffee in the mean time had advanced to the back of De la Ronde's plantation, where his riflemen were dismounted, and their horses placed in charge of a hundred men at the canal that separated De la Ronde's from Lacoste's farm, the latter now the property of D. and E. Villeré. The ground was too much cut up with ditches to allow successful cavalry movements, and Major Hinds and his men remained at one of them, near the middle of Lacoste's. Coffee's division extended its front as much as possible, and moved in silence, while Beale and his riflemen stole around the enemy's extreme left, on Villeré's plantation, and by a sudden movement penetrated almost to the very heart of the British camp, killing several, and



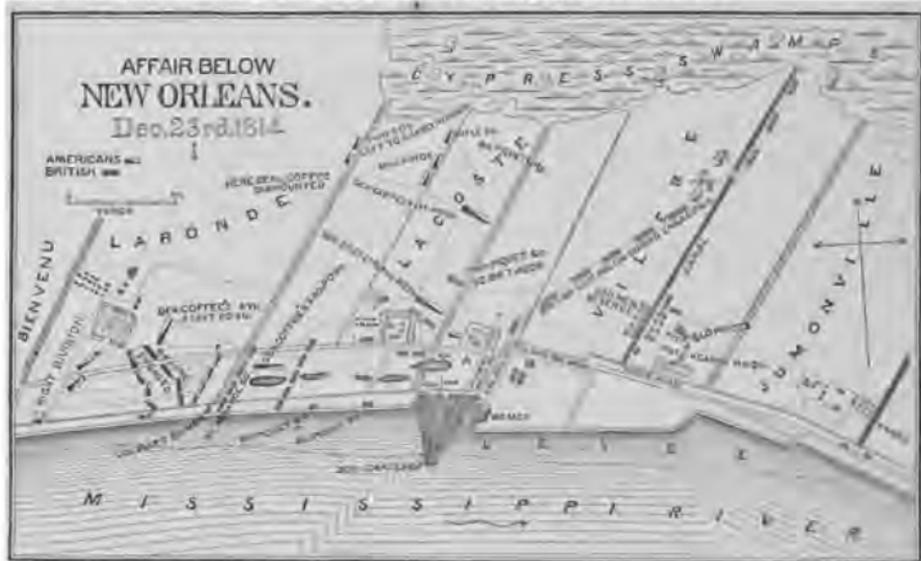
LACOSTE'S MANSION.

The British fall back to shelter.

Strength of the Combatants.

Sir De Lacy Evans.

making others prisoners. By a blunder, made in consequence of the darkness, a number of Beale's men were captured. In the mean time, Thornton, with the Eighty-fifth, fell heavily on Coffee's line, and for some time a battle raged fiercely, not in regular order, but in detachments, squads, and often duels. In the darkness friends fought each other, supposing each to be a foe. The Tennesseans and British riflemen were almost equally expert as sharpshooters; but the short weapons of the English were not so efficient as the long ones of the American backwoodsmen. The Tennesseans also used long knives and tomahawks vigorously. At last the British fell back, and took shelter behind the levee, more willing to incur the danger of shots from the *Carolina* than bullets from the rifles of the Tennesseans.¹



¹ The loss of the Americans in the affair on the night of the 23d of December was twenty-four killed, one hundred and fifteen wounded, and seventy-four prisoners; in all, two hundred and thirteen. Among the killed was the brave Lieutenant Colonel Lauderdale, of Coffee's brigade of mounted riflemen. The British loss was about four hundred men. According to the most careful estimates, the number of Americans engaged in the battle was about eighteen hundred, while that of the invaders, including the re-enforcements that came during the engagement, was about twenty-five hundred. The *Carolina* gave the Americans a great advantage, and made the effective power about equal to that of the foe.

One of the distinguished British officers wounded in this engagement, and who yet (1867) survives, was Sir De Lacy Evans. He was also wounded in the battle nearer New Orleans, which occurred a little more than a fortnight later. Sir De Lacy was born in Ireland in 1787. He entered the British Army in the East Indies as ensign, and served there from 1807 to 1810 in the war against Ameer Khan. He also served with distinction in Spain. In 1814 he became brevet lieutenant colonel of a West India regiment, and was with General Ross in the battle of Bladensburg, where he had two horses shot under him. He led the column into Washington City. He was active also in the movement on Baltimore. After his second wound before New Orleans he was sent home, and was afterward with Wellington at Quatre Bras. When the Crimean War broke out he was appointed lieutenant general, and commanded the second division of the British Army. He greatly distinguished himself in that war. For his services there he received the Grand Cross of the Bath, and Louis Napoleon made him grand officer of the Legion of Honor.



SIR DE LACY EVANS.

The Americans Withdraw.

A Skirmish on Jumonville's Plantation.

A Memento of the Battle.

During the engagement the second division of the British arrived from Bayou Bienvenu, and were in the thickest of the fight with Coffee for a while; but the fear of being cut off from communication with the lake and their ships made the enemy too cautious and timid to achieve what their superior numbers qualified them to perform. They kept within the lines of their camp, and by concentration presented a strong front. Jackson perceived that in the darkness, intensified by a fog that suddenly appeared, he could not follow up his victory with safety, so he led the right division back to the main entrance to De la Ronde's plantation, while Coffee encamped near De la Ronde's garden.¹

It was about half past nine when the conflict ceased, and at half past eleven, when all was becoming quiet in the respective camps, musket-firing was heard in the direction of Jumonville's plantation, below Villeré's. It was caused by the advance of some Louisiana drafted militia, stationed at a sharp bend of the Mississippi called the English Turn, under General David Morgan, who had insisted upon being led against the enemy when they heard the guns of the *Carolina* early in the evening. They met some British pickets at Jumonville's, exchanged shots with them, encamped there for the night, and at dawn returned to their post at the English Turn.

¹ In the room of the Historical Society of Tennessee, in the Capitol at Nashville, may be seen an interesting memento of the battle on the night of the 23d of December, 1814. It is a tattered flag that was borne through that battle by a company from Shelbyville, Tennessee, commanded by Captain James Moore. It was presented to that company by the women of Bedford County. It is of silk, of the pattern of the national flag, on which was painted a gray eagle bearing a national shield, and a ribbon inscribed LIBERTY AND INDEPENDENCE. Its appearance when the writer made a sketch of it in the spring of 1861 is indicated in the picture below.



CHAPTER XLIII.

"America's glory, which dazzled the world
When the toils of our sires had achieved independence,
Was brightened when Jackson her banners unfurled
To protect the dear boon for their grateful descendants—
When the conquerors of Spain
Crossed the bolisterons male,
Boldly threat'ning to rivet our fetters again;
But a happy new year for Columbia begun
When our Jackson secured what our Washington won."

SAMUEL WOODWORTH.

"White-winged Peace, the dove from heaven's portal,
Brought with its olive-branch a song immortal,
That filled all hearts with melody supernal,
While yet was heard the battle din infernal."



PROMPTNESS and vigor marked the whole conduct of General Jackson at the critical moment we are considering. By his advance to meet the invaders he had saved New Orleans from capture, and Louisiana and the Mississippi Valley from conquest. The whole country blessed him for the act. But his full task was not accomplished, and he knew it. A host of veteran soldiers, fresh from the battle-fields of Continental Europe, were before him, and they were not likely to relinquish the footing they

had gained on American soil without a desperate struggle, so he' prepared for it. Leaving the regulars and some dragoons at De la Ronde's to watch the enemy, he fell back with the remainder of his army to Rodriguez's Canal, and set his soldiers to work casting up intrenchments along its line from the river to the cypress swamp. All day they plied the implements of labor with the greatest vigor. At sunset a breast-



DE LA RONDE'S MANSION.¹

work three feet in height appeared along the entire line of Jackson's army; and the soldiers spent that Christmas eve in much hilarity, for the events of the previous evening had given them the confidence of veterans. In the mean time, Latour, the chief engineer, had cut the levee in front of Chalmette's plantation, so as to flood the plain between the two armies, and two 6-pounders were placed in battery at the

¹ This is from a sketch made by the author in April, 1861.

Effect of cutting the Levee.	A gloomy Day.	Arrival of General Pakenham.	Destruction of the <i>Carolina</i> .
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levee to command the road. The river was so low that the overflow was of little account. Behind these intrenchments, of which each worker was proud, Jackson's little army spent the Christmas day of 1814 in preparations for a determined defense of New Orleans and their common country.¹ On the same day General Morgan received orders to evacuate the post at English Turn, place his cannon and a hundred men in Fort St. Leon, and take position with the remainder on Flood's plantation, opposite Jackson's camp, on the right bank of the Mississippi. The cutting of the levee at Chalmette's and Jumonville's helped the enemy more than it did the Americans, for it caused the almost dry canals and bayous to be filled with sufficient water to allow the British to bring up their heavy artillery. Had the Mississippi been full, the invaders would have been placed on an island.

That Christmas day dawned gloomily for the invaders. The events of the 23d^d had greatly depressed their spirits, and the soldiers had lost confidence in Keane, their commander. The sky was clouded, the ground was wet, and the atmosphere was chilly, and shadowing disappointment was seen in every face. The gloom was suddenly dispelled by an event which gave great joy to the whole army. It was the arrival at camp on that gloomy morning of Lieutenant General Sir Edward Pakenham, the "Hero of Salamanca," then only thirty-eight years of age, who came to assume the chief command of the invading army. He was a true soldier and an honorable man; and the charge (which might be justly brought against some of the subordinate commanders in that army) that he offered his soldiers, as a reward for their services, in the event of their capturing New Orleans, "the beauty and booty" of the city, is doubtless wholly untrue, for his character was the very opposite of the infamous Cockburn's. There is proof on record that some of the officers made calculations of personal profit from the spoils that New Orleans would afford. Pakenham came fresh from Europe, with the prestige of eminent success as a commander, and his advent at Villere's mansion² was hailed with delight by officers and soldiers. He, too, was delighted when he perused the list of the regiments which he was to command, for those troops, excepting the Ninety-third and the colored regiments, had fought all through the war on the Spanish Peninsula.

While Jackson was intrenching, the British were not idle. They were employed, day and night, in preparing a heavy battery that should command the *Carolina*. It was completed on the morning of the 27th, and at seven o'clock a heavy fire was opened from it upon the little schooner from several twelve and eighteen pounders, and a howitzer. They hurled hot shot, which fired the *Carolina*, when her crew abandoned her, and she blew up with a tremendous explosion. The schooner *Louisiana*, commanded by Lieutenant Thompson, had come down to aid her, and was in great peril. She was the only armed vessel in the river remaining to the Americans. By great exertions she was towed beyond the sphere of danger, and was saved to play a gallant part in events the following day. She was on the opposite side of the river, anchored nearly abreast of the American camp.

The destruction of the *Carolina* gave fresh confidence to the invaders, and Pakenham issued orders for his whole army, then eight thousand strong, to move forward and carry the American intrenchments by storm. He had arranged that army into two columns. One was commanded by General Keane, and the other by General Gibbs, a good and experienced soldier, who came with Pakenham as his second in command. Toward evening the entire force moved forward, driving in the American pickets and outposts, and at twilight they halted on the plantations of Bienvenu and Chalmette, within a few hundred yards of the American lines. There a part sought repose, while others commenced the construction of batteries near the river. Sleep was denied them, for all night long Hinds's troopers and other active Americans an-

¹ The common impression that Jackson's breastworks were constructed chiefly of cotton bales is an erroneous one. A few were used at the end next the river, but they were not useful, and were rejected.

² See page 1029.

Seat of War in Louisiana and Florida.



noyed their flanks and rear with quick, sharp attacks, which the British denounced as "barbarian warfare."

Jackson prepared to receive the British.

They advance to an Attack.

A severe Battle.

Jackson, in the mean time, had been preparing to receive them. He was aware of the arrival of Pakenham, and expected vigorous warfare from him. His head-quarters were at the spacious chateau of M. Macarté, a wealthy Creole, and from its wide gallery and a dormer window, seen in the accompanying picture, aided by a telescope, he had a full view of the whole field of operations. From that chateau, which is yet standing, he sent forth his orders. They were numerous and prompt; for that night



MACARTÉ'S, JACKSON'S HEAD-QUARTERS.¹

of the 27th of December, when a flushed foe in his immediate front was ready to pounce with tiger-like fierceness upon him at dawn, was an exceedingly busy one for the commander-in-chief. He had caused Chalmette's buildings to be blown up when the enemy advanced, that the sweep of his artillery might not be obstructed, and he had called to the line some Louisiana militia from the rear. He also planted heavy guns; and by the time that the couchant foe was ready for his murderous leap, Jackson had four thousand men and twenty pieces of artillery to receive him, while the *Louisiana* was in position to use her cannon with signal effect in co-operation with the great guns on land.

The 28th dawned brightly, and as soon as the light fog of early morning had passed away a battle began. The enemy approached in two columns. Gibbs led the right, which kept near the great swamp, throwing out a skirmish line to meet those of the left column, commanded by Keane, who kept close to the river, with artillery in his front. There was also a party of skirmishers and light infantry detailed from Gibbs's command, under Colonel Robert Rennie, a very active officer, who was ordered to turn the American left flank and gain the rear of their camp. Pakenham and his staff rode nearly in the centre of the line. At this moment Jackson saw, with great satisfaction, a band of rough-looking armed men coming down the road from the direction of the city. They were Baratarians, under You and Beluche, who had run all the way from Fort St. John. They were immediately placed in charge of one of the 24-pounders, and performed excellent service. They were followed by the escaped crew of the *Carolina*, under Lientenants Norris and Crawley, who were placed in the line as managers of a howitzer on the right.

The British under Keane advanced in solid column, in the face of a galling fire of musketry, when they were suddenly checked by the opening of some of Jackson's heavy guns and the batteries of the *Louisiana*, which swept their line obliquely with terrible effect. More than eight hundred shots were hurled from her guns with deadly power. One of them killed and wounded fifteen men. At the same time the British rocketeers were busy, but their missiles did very little damage, and the Americans soon became too familiar with their harmless noise to be much affected by them.

For a short time Keane's men endured the terrible storm that was thinning their

¹ This is from a sketch made by the author in April, 1861.

The British vanquished and repulsed.

They hold a Council of War.

The American Lines of Defense.

ranks, when the maintenance of their position became mere fool-hardiness, and they were ordered to seek shelter in the little canals. Away they ran, pell-mell, to these places of refuge, and in mud and water almost waist-deep they "leaned forward," as one of their companions wrote, "concealing themselves in the rushes which grew on the banks of the canal." It was a humiliating position for "Wellington's veterans" in the face of a few rough backwoodsmen, as they regarded Jackson's troops. Their batteries were half destroyed, and were abandoned, and the shattered column, thoroughly repulsed, fell back to a shelter behind the ruins of Chalmette's buildings and the perfect ones of Bienvenu.

Gibbs in the mean time was actively engaged on the British right. The gallant Rennie dashed into the edge of the swamp to flank the American left, and, driving in the pickets, approached within a hundred yards of the line behind which lay Carroll and his Tennesseans. The movement was observed by Carroll, who sent Colonel Henderson, with two hundred Tennesseans, to gain Rennie's rear and cut him off from the main body. Advancing too far, Henderson encountered a large British force, and he and five of his men were killed, and several were wounded. The remainder retraced their steps. Rennie was then pressing Carroll's left very severely, when Gibbs, observing the fierceness of the fight on the part of Keane's column, ordered the dashing colonel to fall back on the main line. Rennie reluctantly obeyed, and was compelled to be an idle spectator of Keane's disaster. At length Pakenham ordered a general retrograde movement, and he retired to his head-quarters at Villeré's deeply mortified by the failure of his plans, of whose success he had not allowed himself to doubt. In this repulse the *Louisiana*, which was stationed near the right bank of the Mississippi, played the most efficient part, and lost but one man killed. The loss of the Americans was nine killed and eight wounded. The British loss was about one hundred and fifty.

Pakenham called a council of war, when it was resolved to bring forward heavy siege-guns from the navy before making another serious attempt to carry Jackson's lines. The British established their hospital on Jumonville's plantation, next below Villeré's, and prepared for heavy work. The experience of the 28th had given Pakenham a test of the spirit of his opposers, and he was convinced that the task before him was not only difficult, but dangerous, and that the very salvation of his army depended upon cautious movements, courage, and perseverance.

Jackson was busy at the same time strengthening his position at Rodriguez's Canal, over which not a single British soldier had passed except as a prisoner. He placed two 12-pounders on his extreme left, near the swamp, in charge of General Garrigue Flauzac, a veteran French soldier who had volunteered; and also a six and an eighteen pounder under Colonel Perry. His line of intrenchments was extended into the swamp, so as to prevent a flank movement. He ordered a line of similar structure to be established on the opposite side of the Mississippi; and Commander Patterson, pleased with the effects of the guns of the *Louisiana* from the same side, established a battery behind the levee on Jourdan's plantation, which he armed with heavy guns from the schooner, and manned with sailors enlisted or pressed into the service in New Orleans. It commanded the front of Jackson's lines, and soon compelled the British to abandon Chalmette's plantation and fall back to the line between Bienvenu's and De la Ronde's. A brick-kiln on the bank opposite New Orleans was converted into a square battery, which was armed with two heavy guns that commanded the city and the river road, and placed in charge of Captain Henley, of the *Carolina*. At Jackson's head-quarters, at Macarté's, was a company of young men from the best families in the city, under Captain Ogden, who constituted his body-guard, and were subservient to his immediate orders alone. These were posted in Macarté's garden. There was incessant activity every where among all his troops, for his own spirit was infused into them. The Tennessee riflemen, in particular, de-

Redoubts secretly constructed by the British. A heavy fire from them. Jackson driven from his Head-quarters.



CHALMETTE'S PLANTATION.¹

lighted in going on "hunts," as they called them—that is to say, expeditions alone, to pick off sentinels and annoy the enemy. This was carried to such an extent on Jackson's extreme left that the British dared not post sentinels very near the swamp. They contented themselves with throwing up a strong redoubt in that direction, which Captain You and Lieutenant Crawley continually battered with heavy shot from their cannon. The enemy persevered, and at the close of the month had several great guns mounted on the redoubt.

On the 31st the guns of the new redoubt opened vigorously on Jackson's left; and that night the whole British army moved rapidly forward, took position within a few hundred yards of the American lines, and in the gloom commenced vigorous work with pickaxe and spade. They had brought up heavy siege-guns from the lake, and all night long that army labored in the construction of redoubts for them, under the superintendence of Colonel Sir John Burgoyne, with the intention of making an immediate effort to break the American line. Before dawn they had completed three solid demi-lunettes, or half-moon batteries, right, centre, and left, six hundred yards from the American lines, at nearly equal distances apart. They were constructed of earth, hogsheads of sugar, and every thing that might produce resistance; and upon them were placed thirty pieces of heavy ordnance, manned by picked gunners of the fleet, who had served under Nelson, Collingwood, and St. Vincent.

These works were hidden by a heavy fog on the morning of the 1st of January, which hung thickly over the belligerent armies until after eight o'clock. When it was lifted by a gentle breeze the British opened a brisk fire, not doubting that in a few minutes the contemptible intrenchments of the Americans would be scattered to the winds, and that the army, placed in battle order for the purpose, would find it an easy matter to rush forward and take them. Every moment their cannonade and bombardment became heavier, and the rocketeers sent an incessant shower of their fiery missiles into the American lines. Jackson's head-quarters at Macarté's was a special target. In the course of ten minutes more than a hundred balls, shells, and rockets struck the building, and compelled the commander-in-chief and his staff to evacuate it. The marks of that furious assault may be seen in all parts of the house to this day.²

• 1867.

¹ This is from a sketch made by the author in April, 1860, from the foot of the shaft of the unfinished monument, near Jackson's head-quarters and line of intrenchments. This shows the principal field on which the battles in December and January, 1815, were fought. The plain is a dead level. In the distance is seen the line of the swamp which flanked both armies.

The British again vanquished and repulsed.

New Arrangements for Attack.

The British re-enforced.

opposite side; and in them were kept in readiness red-hot shot for the destruction of the *Louisiana*, if she should come within range of the guns. Pakenham also sent a detachment of infantry to attempt the turning of the American left, in the swamp; but they were driven back in terror by Coffee's Tennesseans; so only the battle of the batteries went on.

Toward noon the fire of the British visibly slackened, while that of the Americans was unceasing. The demi-lunes of the foe were crushed and broken. The sugar hogsheads had been converted into splinters, and their contents, mingling with the moist earth, soon lost their volume. The guns not dismantled were careened, and were worked with great difficulty; and by the time their voices ceased altogether the batteries on the Levee were nearly demolished. The invaders abandoned their works at meridian, and fled in inglorious haste, helter-skelter, to the ditches, in search of safety; and, under cover of the ensuing night, they crawled sullenly back to their camp, dragging with them over the spongy ground a part of their heavy cannon, and leaving five of them a spoil for the Americans. Their disappointment and chagrin were intense, and it was equally shared by officers and men. Their New-Year's Day was a far gloomier one than that of Christmas. They had been without food or sleep for nearly sixty hours. They all cast themselves down on the damp ground, too wearied for thought, and their troubles were soon ended for the time by deep slumber. Pakenham was in his old quarters at Villeré's, which he had left in the morning with the confident expectation of sleeping in New Orleans that night as a conqueror.¹ In the American camp there was great joy that night. It was intensified in the morning by the arrival of Brigadier General John Adair with intelligence of the near approach of more than two thousand drafted militia from Kentucky, under Major General John Thomas. They arrived in the city on the 4th of January, and seven hundred of them were sent to the front under Adair.

Pakenham was disheartened, but he by no means despaired of success. He conceived the bold and hazardous plan of carrying Jackson's lines on both sides of the river by storm. Those on the right bank had been strengthened, but were feebly manned, and were under the chief command of General Morgan. Pakenham resolved to send over fifteen hundred infantry, with some artillery, and, under the cover of night, attack Morgan, carry the works, occupy them, and, from batteries there, enfilade Jackson's line, while the main army should be engaged in storming it. The transportation of these men to the other side of the river was confided to Admiral Cochrane, who, in opposition to the opinions and wishes of the army officers, set the wearied soldiers and sailors to work widening, and deepening, and prolonging to the Mississippi, Villeré's Canal, for the purpose of bringing over boats from the Bayou Bienvenu, instead of dragging them on rollers as they had heavier cannon. The labor was completed on the 7th, when the army was in fine spirits because of the arrival, the day before, of a considerable body of re-enforcements under Major General John Lambert, a young officer of Wellington's army, who had sailed from England toward the close of October. Pakenham's own regiment (Seventh Fusileers) was among them; and the army that confronted Jackson now consisted of ten thousand of the finest soldiers in the world. These were divided into three brigades, and placed under the respective commands of Generals Lambert, Gibbs, and Keane.

Pakenham's plan of operations for the new attack was simple. Colonel Thornton was to cross the Mississippi on the night of the 7th with the Eighty-fifth and one

¹ The forlorn condition of these troops, as a body, was such that Jackson was at a loss to determine whether their presence should be considered fortunate or unfortunate for the cause. They had come with the erroneous belief that an ample supply of arms and clothing would be furnished them at New Orleans, and a large number of them were sadly deficient in these. Of the seven hundred sent to the front, only five hundred had weapons of any kind. The commiseration of the citizens was excited, and by an appropriation by the Legislature and the liberal gifts of the citizens the sum of sixteen thousand dollars was speedily raised, with which goods were purchased and placed in the willing hands of the women of New Orleans. Within a week these were converted by them into blankets, garments, and bedding. The men constituted excellent raw material for soldiers, and they were very soon prepared for efficient service.

The British Plan of Attack.

The American Line of Intrenchments.

Disposition of Forces on it.

West India regiment, marines and sailors, and a corps of rocketeers, and fall upon the Americans before the dawn. The sound of his guns was to be the signal for General Gibbs, with the Forty-fourth, Twenty-first, and Fourth regiments, to storm the American left; while General Keane, with the Ninety-third, Ninety-fifth, and two light companies of the Seventh and Forty-third, with some West India troops, should threaten the American right sufficient to draw their fire, and then rush upon them with the bayonet. Meanwhile the two British batteries near the Levee, which the Americans destroyed on the 1st, were to be rebuilt, well mounted, and employed in assailing the American right during Keane's operations. Keane's advance corps were furnished with fascines to fill the ditches, and scaling ladders to mount the embankments. Such was the substance of Pakenham's General Order issued on the 7th of January, 1815.

Jackson penetrated Pakenham's design on the 8th, and prepared to meet and frustrate it. His line of defense, extending, as we have observed, from the Mississippi to an impassable cypress swamp, a mile and a half in length, along the line of the half-choked Rodriguez's Canal, was very irregular. In some places it was thin, in others thick; in some places the banks were high, in others very low. They had been cast up, not by the soldiery alone, nor by the slaves, but by the hands of civilians



REMAINS OF RODRIGUEZ'S CANAL.¹

from the city, including merchants and their clerks, lawyers and physicians and their students, and many young men who never before had turned a spadeful of earth. Along this line artillery was judiciously placed. On the edge of the river a redoubt was thrown up and mounted with cannon, so as to enfilade the ditch in front of the American lines. Besides this there were eight batteries, placed at proper distances from each other, composed of thirteen guns carrying from six to thirty-two pound balls, a howitzer, and a carronade. Across the river was Patterson's marine battery for auxiliary service in the defense of this line, mounting nine guns; and the *Louisiana* was prepared to perform a part, if possible, in the drama about to open.

Jackson's infantry were disposed as follows: Lieutenant Ross, with a company of Pierre's Seventh Regiment, guarded the redoubt on the extreme right, in which tents were pitched. Between Humphrey's battery and the river, on the right, Beale's New Orleans riflemen were stationed. From their left the Seventh Regiment extended so as to cover another battery, and connected with a part of Plauché's² battalion and the colored corps under Colonel Lacoste, which filled the interval between

¹ This is a view of the choked canal at the wood that skirts the levee, sketched by the author in April, 1861. There is a lane, near the end of which stands the unfinished monument to be erected in commemoration of the battles here fought and the victory won by the Americans. The partly-finished shaft is seen on the left. It is made entirely of marble from Westchester County, New York, and is to be one hundred and fifty feet in height. It is erected by the State of Louisiana.

² Jean B. Plauché was a native of New Orleans, and was born there when it was a Spanish colony. He was a French Creole, and through life bore the character of one of the most esteemed citizens of New Orleans. After the war he re-

Character of the American Troops.

Interior Lines of Defense.

The Tombs of Plauché and You.

Batteries Nos. 3 and 4 (see map on page 1040), the guns of the latter being covered by D'Aquin's free men of color. Next to D'Aquin was the Forty-fourth Regiment, which extended to the rear of Battery No. 5. The remainder of the line (full two thirds of its entire length) was covered by the commands of Carroll¹ and Coffee.² The former had been re-enforced that day (7th) by a thousand Kentuckians under General Adair, and with him, on the right of Battery No. 7, were fifty marines under Lieutenant Bellevue. Coffee, with five hundred men, held the extreme left of the line, on the edge of the swamp, where his men were compelled to stand in the water, and to sleep on floating logs which they lashed to the trees. Captain Ogden, with cavalry (Jackson's body-guard), was at head-quarters, yet at Macarté's chateau; and on De Lerey's plantation, in the rear of it, Hinds was stationed with one hundred and fifty mounted men. Near Pierna's Canal a regiment of Louisiana militia, under Colonel Young, were encamped as reserves.

Jackson's whole force on the New Orleans side of the river on the 7th was about five thousand in number, and of these only two thousand two hundred were at his line. Only eight hundred of the latter were regulars, and most of them were new recruits commanded by young officers. His army was formed in two divisions, the right commanded by Colonel Ross, acting as brigadier, and the left by Generals Carroll and Coffee, the former as major general and the latter as brigadier general. A mile and a half in the rear of his main line another intrenchment had been thrown up, behind which the weaker members of his army were stationed with pickaxes and spades. This line was prepared for a rallying-point in the event of disaster following the impending conflict. Jackson also established a third line at the lower edge of the city. General Morgan, on the opposite side of the river, prepared to defend his lines with only eight hundred men, all militia, and indifferently armed. On his left were two 6-pounders, in charge of Adjutant Nixon, of the Louisiana militia, and a 12-pounder under Lieutenant Philibert, of the navy. Patterson's battery, in Morgan's

sumed his vocation as merchant. He generally declined public offices, yet he was induced to take that of Lieutenant Governor of Louisiana. He died in January, 1860, and in an elegant temple-shaped tomb in St. Louis Cemetery in New Orleans his remains rest. The annexed picture of the tomb is from a sketch made by the author in April, 1861. It is built of white marble, with black inscription tablets in front. On one of these is the following: "Général J. B. PLAUCHÉ, né à la Nouvelle Orléans le 28 Janvier, 1788, décédé le 2 Janvier, 1860. En 1814-'15 major commandant le bataillon d'Orléans. En 1850 lieutenant gouverneur de l'état de Louisiane. Homme vertueux, bon père et bon citoyen, il a bien mérité de sa patrie et legue à sa famille un nom honorable."



DOMINIQUE YOU'S TOMB.

In the same cemetery, and not far from the tomb of the Plauché family, was that of Dominique You, mentioned in these pages as a noble defender of New Orleans. On his tomb, made of brick and stuccoed, the writer found the following inscription written on a clouded marble

élab: "DOMINIQUE YOU. Intrépide guerrier sur la terre et sur l'onde, il au danc cent combats signaler sa valeur; et ce nouveau Bayard, sans reproche et sans peur, aurait pu, sans trembler, voir s'écroquer le monde."

¹ William Carroll was born in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, in 1778. In 1813 he became inspector general of the Tennessee Militia and Volunteers under Jackson. He was commissioned a colonel, and served with distinction in the war with the Creek Indians. He left the service at the close of the war. He was Governor of Tennessee from 1821 to 1827, and from 1830 to 1835. He died on the 22d of March, 1844.

² John Coffee was a native of Nottaway County, Virginia, and entered the military service under Jackson in 1812. He was active with him in the Creek War, and in the attack on Pensacola in the autumn of 1814. He was distinguished in the battles near New Orleans. In March, 1817, he was appointed surveyor of public lands. He died near Florence, in Alabama, on the 7th of July, 1844.



PLAUCHÉ'S TOMB.

Thornton crosses the River to attack Morgan.

Advance of the British Line.

Opening of Battle.

of his first orders was for General Adair¹ to send over five hundred Kentuckians to re-enforce Morgan.

Let us observe the movements in the British camp on that memorable night.

According to the plan already mentioned, Colonel Thornton proceeded to cross the Mississippi for the purpose of attacking Morgan. He marched to the levee, at the end of the newly-cut canal in extension of Villerés's, and there waited with the greatest impatience the arrival of the boats that were to carry him and his troops over. The banks of the ditch had caved in in some places, and the falling of the water in the river had made that of the canal so shallow that the sailors were compelled to drag the boats through thick mud in many places. It was three o'clock in the morning before even a sufficient number of vessels to convey one half of the detachment had arrived. Farther delay would be fatal to the enterprise; so, with Pakenham's sanction, Thornton dismissed half of his force, embarked the remainder, and crossed the river in a flotilla commanded by Captain Roberts, of the Royal Navy. Ignorant of the fact that the Mississippi was flowing with a quiet, powerful current, at the rate of five miles an hour, and making no provisions for this obstacle to a quick and direct passage, they were landed, after great fatigue, at least a mile and a half below their intended point of debarkation. Before they had all left the boats the day dawned, and the roar of cannon was heard on the plain of Chalmette.

Pakenham and his officers had passed an almost sleepless night, and at the time when Jackson aroused his slumbering staff the divisions of Gibbs and Keane were called up, formed into line, and advanced to within four hundred and fifty yards of the American intrenchments. Lambert's division was left behind as a reserve. There stood the British soldiers in the darkness and the chilly morning air, enveloped in a thick fog, and anxiously listening for the booming of Thornton's guns in his attack on Morgan. He was yet battling with the current of the Mississippi. Tediouly the minutes and the hours passed, and yet that signal-gun remained silent.

Day dawned and the mist began to disperse, and as the dull red line of the British host was dimly seen in the early morning light through the veil of moisture, Lieutenant Spotts, of Battery No. 7, opened one of his heavy guns upon it. It was the signal for battle. As the fog rolled away the British line was seen stretching two thirds across the plain of Chalmette. From its extreme left and right rockets shot high in air, and, like a dissolving view, that red line almost disappeared as it was broken into columns by companies.

Gibbs now advanced obliquely toward the wooded swamp, with the Forty-fourth in front, followed by the Twenty-first and Fourth, terribly pelted by the storm that came from Batteries Nos. 6, 7, and 8, and vainly sought shelter behind a bulging projection of the swamp into the plain. These batteries poured round and grape shot incessantly into Gibbs's line, making lanes through it, and producing some confusion. This was heightened by the fact that the Forty-fourth, with whom had been intrusted fascines and scaling-ladders, had advanced without them. To wait for these to be brought up was impossible in the focus of that cannonade. So Gibbs ordered them forward, the Twenty-first and Fourth in solid and compact column, covered in front by blazing rockets and cheered by their own loud huzzas. Whole platoons were prostrated, when their places were instantly filled by others, and the column pressed on, without pause or recoil, toward the batteries on the left, and the long and weaker line covered by the Tennesseans and Kentuckians.

By this time all the American batteries, including Patterson's on the right bank

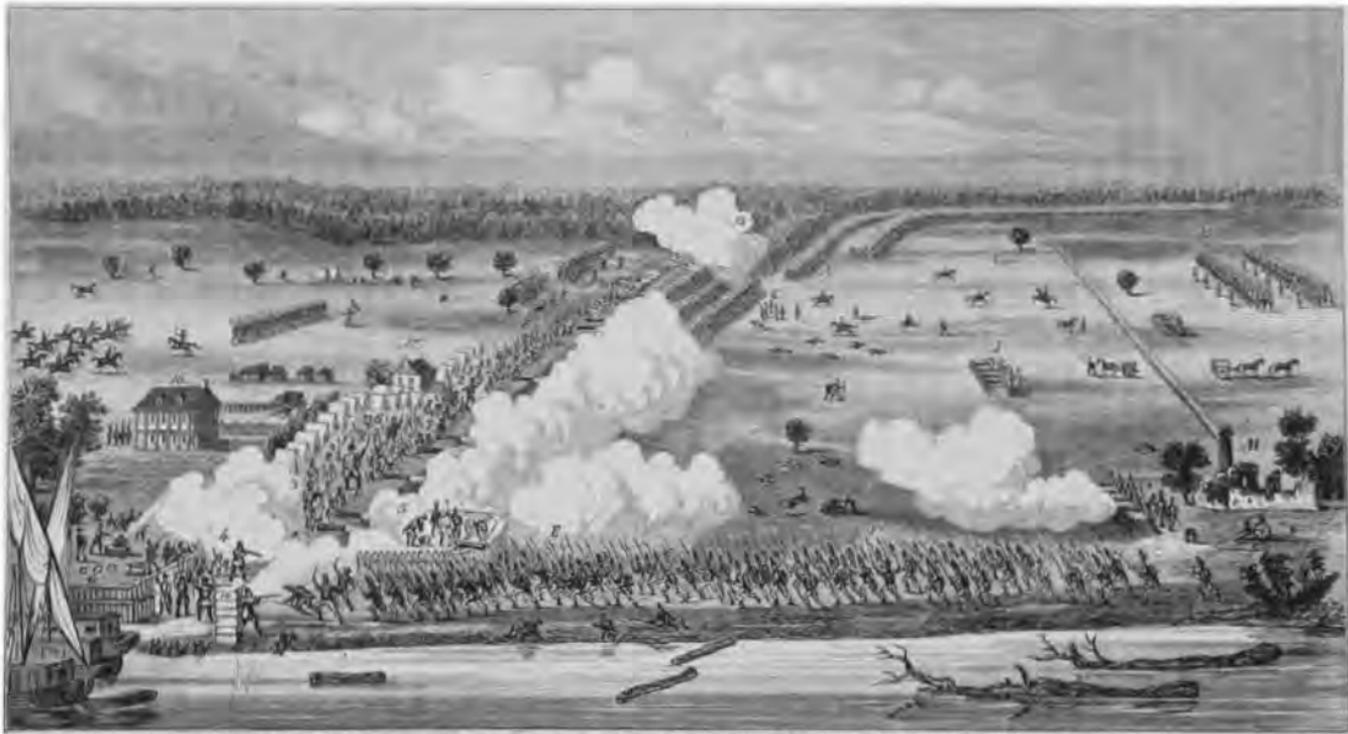
¹ John Adair was born in South Carolina in 1757, and entered the military service under General St. Clair. He served under Wilkinson in the Northwest, and was lieutenant colonel in Scott's division in 1793. He was for two years United States Senator from Kentucky, where he had made his home. He was volunteer aid to Governor Shelby in the battle of the Thames, and in 1814 was brigadier general of Kentucky militia. He left the service at the close of the war. He was Governor of Kentucky from 1820 to 1824, and representative in Congress from 1831 to 1835. He died at Harrodsburg, Kentucky, on the 19th of May, 1840.

of the river, were in full play. Yet steadily on marched Wellington's veterans, stepping firmly over the dead bodies of their slain comrades until they had reached a point within two hundred yards of the American line, behind which, concealed from the view of the invaders, lay the Tennesseans and Kentuckians four ranks deep. Suddenly the clear voice of General Carroll rang out, *Fire!* His Tennesseans arose from cover, and, each man taking sure aim, delivered a most destructive volley on the foe, their bullets cutting down scores of the gallant British soldiery. The storm ceased not for a moment; for when the Tennesseans had fired they fell back, and the Kentuckians took their places, and so the four ranks, one after another, participated in the conflict. At the same time round, grape, and chain shot went crashing through the ranks of the British, making awful gaps, and appalling the stoutest hearts. The line began to waver, and would have broken but for the cool courage and untiring energy of the officers, and the inspiring cry, "Here comes the Forty-fourth with the fascines and ladders!"

A detachment of the Forty-fourth had indeed come with scaling implements, and Pakenham at their head, who encouraged them by stirring words and bold deeds for a few minutes, when his bridle-arm was made powerless by a bullet, and his horse was shot under him. He at once mounted the black Creole pony of his favorite aid, the now (1867) venerable Sir Duncan M'Dougall, of London.¹ Other officers fell, until there were not enough to command, and the column began to break up into detachments, a greater part of them falling back to the shelter of the projecting swamp. There they were rallied, and, throwing away their knapsacks, they rushed forward to scale and carry the works in front of Carroll and his sharpshooters. At the same time, Keane, contrary to instructions, but with zealous concern for the cause, wheeled his column into line and led a portion of it to the assistance of the right wing. They were terribly scourged by the enfilading fire of the American batteries as they strode across the plain. Among them was the Ninety-third Regiment, composed of nine hundred sinewy Highlanders, who had won victories on many a field in Continental Europe, and were now unmoved by the storm that poured in such fury upon them. Their presence and example encouraged the broken column of the right, which, with these Highlanders, rushed into the very heart of the tempest from Carroll's rifles, having Gibbs on their right and Pakenham on their left. In a few minutes the right arm of the latter was disabled by a bullet, and as he was riding to the rear on the led pony, shouting huzzas to the troops, there came a terrible crashing of round and grape shot through the ranks, that scattered dead men all around him. One of the balls passed through the general's thigh, killed his horse, and brought both to the ground. Pakenham was caught in the arms of his faithful aid, Captain M'Dougall, who had performed a similar service for General Ross when he fell, mortally wounded, near Baltimore a few months before.² The commander was conveyed to the rear in a dying condition, and placed under a venerable live-oak tree, which disappeared only a few years ago. There he soon expired in the arms of M'Dougall.

General Gibbs was also mortally wounded, and died the next day; and Keane was so severely shot through the neck that he was compelled to leave the field. The command was then assumed by Major Wilkinson, the officer of highest grade left in the saddle. Under his leadership the broken battalions endeavored to scale the breastworks. They were repulsed, and Wilkinson fell on the parapet mortally wounded. His discomfited men fell back, and all of the assailants withdrew in wild confusion. Of the gallant nine hundred Highlanders, with twenty-five officers, of the Ninety-third Regiment who went into the fight, only one hundred and thirty men and nine officers could be mustered at its close. The Twenty-first Regiment lost five hundred men, and every company came out of the terrible conflict a mere skeleton in numbers.

¹ See page 952.² See page 951.



BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF THE BATTLE NEAR NEW ORLEANS, JANUARY 8, 1815.—FROM A SKETCH BY LATOUR, JACKSON'S CHIEF ENGINEER.

The author of this volume is indebted to the late General Palfrey, of New Orleans, who was a participant in the battle, for the privilege of copying Major Latour's interesting drawing, above given. The following explanations, by means of the reference figures, were made in the drawing by Major Latour: *American Army*—1. General Jackson and his staff; 2. Major Pinchebe; 3. Captain Humphrey; 4. Beale's riflemen and a company of the Seventh Regiment; 5. Redoubt on the bank of the river; 6. Captains Dominique You and Beluche, of Major La Cote's bat-

talion; 7. Lieutenants Crawley and Ross; 8. Colonel Perry; 9. General Garrigue; 10. Lieutenant Spotts; 11, 12. Divisions of Generals Carroll and Adair, and, farther to the left, General Coffee's; 13. Cavalry and dragoons; 14, 15. Line of intrenchments; 16. Masarie's, Jackson's headquarters; 17. Rodriguez's house. *British Army*—A, B. The British Army in two columns; C. The right column making the principal attack, under the command of Pakenham; E, F. Left column, commanded by Colonel Renais; I. Battery; M. Ruins of Chalmette's buildings.

While this sanguinary work was in progress on the British right, a more successful movement, for a time, was made by them on their left. Keane's whole division moved when he led the Highlanders to the right. Nearly a thousand men, under the active

Colonel Rennie, composed of the Ninety-fifth Rifles, companies of the Seventh, Ninety-third, and Forty-third Infantry, and some West India troops, had pushed rapidly forward near the river in two columns, one on the road, and the other nearer the water, under shelter of the levee, and, driving in the American pickets, succeeded in taking possession of the unfinished redoubt on Jackson's extreme right. They drove out the Americans, but they did not hold it long. The invaders on the road were terribly smitten by Humphrey's batteries and the Seventh Regiment, and were kept in check. At the same time Rennie led the column along the water's edge, where they were greatly annoyed by Patterson's battery, and, with several other officers, scaled the parapet of the American redoubt. The New Orleans Rifles, under Beale, now poured upon these officers and the inmates of the redoubt such a terrible fire that nearly every man was killed or mortally wounded. Rennie had just exclaimed "Hurrah, boys, the day is ours!" when he fell to rise no more.

This attacking column also fell back in great disorder under cover of the levee, and, like those on the British right, sought shelter in the plantation ditches from the terrible storm that came from Jackson's lines. General Lambert, with his reserves, had come forward on hearing of the disasters to Pakenham, Gibbs, and Keane; but he was in time only to cover the retreat of the battered and flying columns, and not

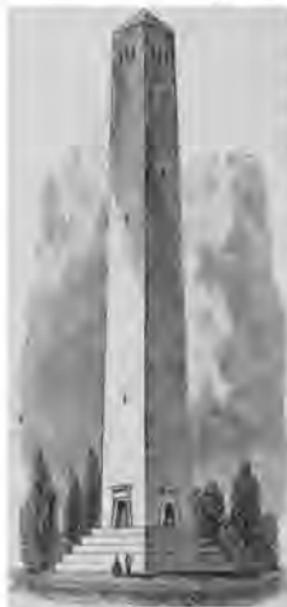
to retrieve the fortunes of the day. The fire of the musketry had ceased by half after eight in the morning, but the artillery kept up their fire until about two o'clock in the afternoon. It is worthy of note that, from the flight of the first signal rocket of the British to the close of the contest, the New Orleans Band (stationed near the centre of the line, and not far from the spot where the monument now stands, and where the American standard was kept flying during the struggle), played incessantly, cheering the troops with national and military airs. The British, on the contrary, had no other musical instrument than a bugle, and as their columns advanced no drum was heard in their lines, nor even the stirring tones of the trumpet. From their first landing at the Fisherman's Village, the experience of that army had been almost unbroken dreariness.¹

Let us now turn our attention to the movements on the right bank of the Mississippi.

We left Colonel Thornton and his men just debarked, after battling with the current of the Mississippi for some time. Morgan had sent forward his advance of less than three hundred men (one third of whom were Arnaud's Louisiana militia) under Major Tessier, and the remainder, fatigued and poorly-armed Kentuckians under Colonel Davis, chosen from those sent over on the 7th by General Adair, were directed to take position on Mahew's Canal, about a mile in advance of Morgan's line, near which it was supposed the British would land. The line which this small force was expected to hold extended from the river to the swamp, a distance of a mile, and required at least a thousand men and several pieces of artillery to give it respectable strength. Davis's troops were placed on the left, resting on the levee, and Tessier's were on their right, extending

¹ Latour says it was reported that there were divisions in the councils of the British officers concerning the point of attack, and that Admiral Cochrane, with a feeling of contempt for the American militia, declared he would undertake to storm Jackson's lines with two thousand sailors, armed only with swords and pistols. This confidence in the invincibility of the British on this occasion contributed largely to their disaster.

² This monument, between the site of Jackson's lines and his head-quarters (Macartie's), was unfinished when the writer visited the spot in April, 1861. Work upon it had then ceased. The stones had been laid to the height of about seventy feet. See note 1, page 1042.



MONUMENT.²

Battle of New Orleans.

Its Results.

to the swamp. Both watched vigilantly for signs of the coming of the invaders. Their vigilance was vain, for Thornton landed a mile below them under cover of three gun-boats under the command of Captain Roberts.

Pushing rapidly up the road, Thornton encountered Morgan's advance, when he divided his superior force, sending a part to attack Tessier, while with the remainder, and aided by Roberts's carronades, he assailed Davis. Both commands were soon put to flight, and fell back in confusion on Morgan's line. Tessier's men could not gain the road, and many of them took refuge in the swamps, where they suffered much for several hours.

When Thornton gained the open fields in front of Morgan's line he extended his force, and with the sailors in column on the road, and the marines placed as a reserve, he advanced upon the American works under cover of a flight of rockets, and with the aid of Captain Roberts's carronades. As the sailors rushed forward they were met by volleys of grape-shot from Philibert which made them recoil. Seeing this, Thornton dashed forward with the Eighty-fifth, and, handling the men with great skill and celerity, soon put the Kentuckians to flight, who ran in wild confusion, and could not be rallied. Following up this advantage, Thornton soon drove the Louisianians from the intrenchments, and gained possession of Morgan's line after that general had spiked his cannon and cast them into the river. He next made for Patterson's battery, three hundred yards in the rear. Its guns, which had been playing effectually on the British in front of Jackson's lines, were now trailed on the nearer foe on the river road. But Patterson, threatened by a flank movement, was compelled to give way; so he spiked his guns, and fled on board the *Louisiana*, while his sailors assisted in getting her into the stream, out of the reach of the enemy.

A large number of the troops were rallied and formed on the bank of the Boisgervais Canal, and prepared to make a stand there. But the British did not advance beyond Patterson's battery. There Thornton was informed of the terrible disasters on the opposite side of the river, and soon afterward received orders from General Lambert to rejoin the main army. Jackson, in the mean time having heard of Morgan's disaster, sent over General Humbert (a gallant Frenchman who was acting as a volunteer) with four hundred men to re-enforce him. Their services were not needed. Thornton had withdrawn, and at twilight re-embarked his troops. That night the Americans repossessed their works, and before morning Patterson had restored his battery in a better position, and announced the fact to Jackson at dawn by discharges of heavy cannon at the British outposts at Bienvenu's.¹

After the conflict had ceased, Jackson, accompanied by his staff, passed slowly along his whole line, addressing words of congratulation and praise to the officers and men every where. Then the band struck up "Hail, Columbia," and cheer after cheer for the hero went up from every part of the line. These were echoed from the lips of excited citizens who had been watching the battle at a distance with the greatest anxiety. Then the soldiers, after partaking of some refreshments, turned to the performance of the sad duty of caring for the wounded and the bodies of the dead, which thickly strewed the plain of Chalmette for a quarter of a mile back from the front of Jackson's lines. These were the maimed and slain of the British army. No less than twenty-six hundred were lost to the enemy in that terrible battle, of whom seven hundred were killed, fourteen hundred were wounded, and five hundred were made prisoners. The Americans lost only eight killed and thirteen wounded! The history of human warfare presents no parallel to this disparity in loss. The Americans were thoroughly protected by their breastworks, while the British fought in front of them on an open level plain.

¹ The loss of the British on this occasion, in killed and wounded, was a little more than one hundred. The Americans lost one man killed and five wounded. On that side of the Mississippi the British acquired their sole trophy during their efforts to capture New Orleans. It was a small flag, and now [1867] hangs conspicuously among other war trophies in Whitehall, London, with the inscription, "Taken at the battle of New Orleans, January 8, 1815."

After the battle General Lambert sent a flag of truce asking for an armistice in order to bury his dead. Jackson granted it on the condition that it should not be extended to operations on the right bank of the river. The result of this exception was, as we have observed, the immediate withdrawal of Thornton from Morgan's line. On the following morning detachments from both armies were drawn up three hundred yards in front of the American lines, when the dead bodies between that point and the intrenchments were carried and delivered to the British by the Kentuckians and Tennesseans on the very scaling-ladders left by the enemy when driven back. The British then carried their dead to a designated spot on Bienvenu's plantation which had been marked out as the cemetery of "the Army of Louisiana." There they were buried, and to this day that consecrated "God's Acre" has never been disturbed. It is distinguished in the landscape by a grove of small cypress-trees, and is a spot regarded with superstitious awe by the negroes in that neighborhood.

The wounded, who were made prisoners, were carefully conveyed to New Orleans, where they were placed in the barracks, and tenderly cared for by the citizens.

The bodies of the dead British officers were carried to Villeré's, the head-quarters, in whose garden some of them were buried by torch-light that night with solemn ceremonies. Those of Pakenham, Gibbs, Rennie, and one or two other officers, were disemboweled, placed in casks of rum, and sent to their friends in England. Their viscera were buried beneath a stately pecan-tree, which, with another quite as stately, seen in the annexed sketch, was yet standing in vigorous health on the lawn a few yards from Villeré's house when the writer sketched the two in April, 1861. It is said to be a notable fact that this tree, fruitful before its branches were made to overshadow the re-



PECAN-TREES.

mains of the invaders, has been barren ever since. The tree nearest the figure of the man is the historic one.

While the armies were burying their dead on the field of strife, a portion of the British were seeking to secure the free navigation of the Mississippi below New Orleans for themselves by capturing Fort St. Philip, at a bend of the stream seventy or eighty miles below the city in a direct line, and which was considered by both parties as the key of Louisiana. It contained at that time a garrison of three hundred and sixty-six men, under Major Overton,¹ of the Rifle corps, and the crew of a gun-boat which had been warped into the bayou at its side. On the morning of the 9th, at about the time when disposition was being made of the British dead in front of Jackson's lines, a little squadron of five hostile vessels appeared near the fort. They consisted of a sloop of war, a gun-brig, and a schooner (*Herald*, *Sophia*, and *Tender*),

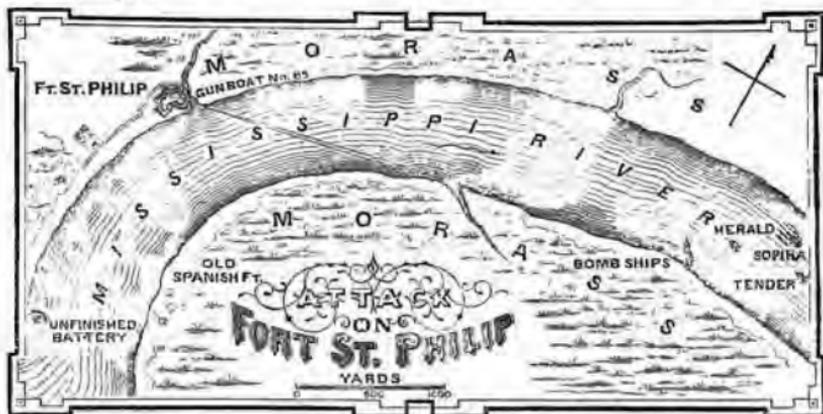
¹ Walter H. Overton, of Tennessee, entered the army in 1808, and was commissioned a major in February, 1814. For his gallantry in defending Fort St. Philip he was breveted lieutenant colonel. He resigned in 1815. He was a member of Congress from Louisiana from 1829 to 1831.

Attack on Fort St. Philip.

Capture of Fort Bowyer.

Jackson's Army enters New Orleans.

and two bomb vessels. They anchored out of range of the heavy guns of the fort, the bomb vessels with their broadsides toward St. Philip. At three o'clock in the afternoon they opened fire, and, finding they had the range of the fort, continued the bombardment, with little interruption, until daybreak of the 18th, casting more than a thousand shells, with the expenditure of twenty thousand pounds of powder, besides many round and grape shot. For nine days the Americans were in their battery (five days without shelter), exposed to cold rain part of the time. The proceeds of this expenditure secured by the British consisted of two Americans killed and seven wounded. The assailants withdrew on the 18th without gaining either the fort, spoils, or glory.¹



On the 18th of January, in accordance with an arrangement made the previous day, a general exchange of prisoners took place; and on the 19th the British, under Lambert, were wholly withdrawn from the Mississippi, having stolen noiselessly away under cover of darkness the previous night. They reached Lake Borgne at dawn on the 19th, but they were yet sixty miles from their fleet, exposed to quite keen wintry air, and considerably annoyed by mounted men under Colonel De la Ronde, who hung upon their rear. There they remained until the 27th, when they embarked, and two days afterward reached the fleet in the deep water between Cat and Ship Islands. The vigilant Jackson, in the mean time, had made such disposition of his forces as to guard every approach to the city, for he thought the foiled enemy, enraged by disappointment, might attempt to strike a sudden blow at some other quarter.

When the British departed from the vicinity of New Orleans they proceeded to invest Fort Bowyer,² yet in command of Major Lawrence.³ They besieged it for nearly two days, when the gallant Lawrence was compelled to surrender⁴ to a superior force. Mobile was then at the mercy of the foe; but their farther conquests were arrested by news of peace, brought directly to General Lambert by a ship sent from England for the purpose.

On the 21st of January, Jackson, with the main body of his army, entered New Orleans. They were met in the suburbs by almost the entire population of all ages and sexes, who greeted the victors as their saviors; and they entered the town in triumphal procession, with far more honest pride than ever swelled the bosoms of victorious conquerors or emperors of other centuries of time.⁵

¹ The chief sources from which the materials for the account of the battles near New Orleans were drawn were the official reports of the officers engaged in them; Latour's *Memoir of the War in West Florida and Louisiana*; Judge Walker's *Jackson and New Orleans*; the several histories of the War of 1812; and numerous statements to the author, oral and written, by actors in the scenes. ² See page 1021.

³ Two days afterward New Orleans was the theatre of a most imposing spectacle. At the request of Jackson, the Abbé Du Bourg, Apostolic Prefect for Louisiana, appointed that day for the public offering of thanks to Almighty God for his interposition in behalf of the American people and nationality. The dawn was ⁴ February 9, 1815. ⁵ February 12.

The news of the gallant defense of New Orleans produced a thrill of intense joy throughout the land. State Legislatures and other public bodies thanked the hero who commanded the victorious little army. A small medal was struck and extensively circulated among the people. Congress voted him the thanks of the nation, and ordered a commemorative gold medal to be given him.



GOLD MEDAL PRESENTED TO JACKSON.¹

greeted by the booming of cannon. It was a bright and beautiful winter morning on the verge of the tropics. The religious ceremonies were to be held in the old Spanish Cathedral, which was decorated with evergreens for the occasion.

In the centre of the public square, in front of the Cathedral, where the equestrian statue of Jackson now stands, was erected a temporary triumphal arch, supported by six Corinthian columns, and festooned with flowers and evergreens. Beneath the arch stood two beautiful little girls, each upon a pedestal, and holding in her hand a civic crown of laurel. Near them stood two damsels, one personifying *Liberty* and the other *Justice*. From the arch to the church, arranged in two rows, stood beautiful girls, all dressed in white, and each covered with a blue gauze veil and bearing a silver star on her brow. These personified the several States and Territories of the Union. Each carried a flag with the name of the state which she represented, upon it. Each also carried a small basket trimmed with blue ribbon and filled with flowers; and behind each was a lance stuck in the ground bearing a shield on which was inscribed the name and legend of the state or territory which she represented. These were linked by evergreen festoons that extended from the arch to the door of the Cathedral.



STATUE OF JACKSON IN FRONT OF THE CATHEDRAL.

At the appointed time, General Jackson, accompanied by the officers of his staff, passed through the gate of the Grand Square fronting the river, amid the roar of artillery, and was conducted between lines of Planché's New Orleans battalion of Creoles (which extended from the gate to the church) to the raised floor of the arch. As he stepped upon it the

¹ On one side of the medal is a profile of the bust of Jackson, and on the other a figure of *Victory* seated, supporting a tablet before her with her left hand, in which is also a laurel wreath. She is making a record of the triumph on the 8th of January. She has written the word "Orleans," when she is interrupted by another figure, personating *Peace*, who holds an olive-branch in her right hand. With her left she points to the tablet, as if directing *Victory* to record the peace which had already been agreed upon by the belligerents. *Victory* is in the act of listening. The inscriptions on the medal are simple—"MAJOR GENERAL ANDREW JACKSON. BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS, JANUARY 8, 1815. RESOLUTION OF CONGRESS, FEBRUARY 27, 1815."

Rumors of Peace disregarded.

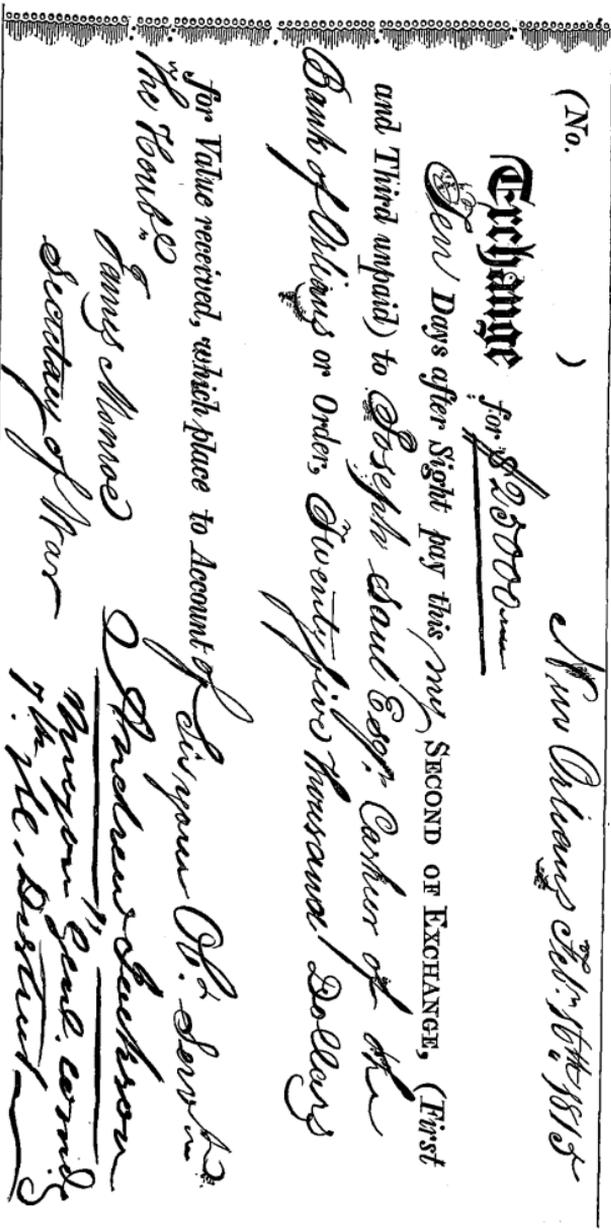
Martial Law and military Discipline continued.

Although no one supposed the British would return, Jackson, like a true soldier, did not relax his vigilance and discipline. Martial law was rigorously maintained after rumors of peace reached New Orleans through seemingly reliable sources. He did not feel bound to be governed by rumors. He retained all the troops; kept up the regular discipline of the camp; made drafts and bills of exchange on his government as usual for funds to prosecute hostilities (a fac-simile of one of which is given in the annexed engraving), and in every way acted as if war was in full career. Finally a messenger arrived from Washington^a with

^a March 6, 1815. an official announcement of peace.

Jackson was then involved in a contention with the civil authorities. This culminated in great public excitement.¹ It soon ended, and on the 30th of March the "Hero of New Orleans," as Jackson was ever afterward called, departed from that city for his humble home in Tennessee, a log house in the forest.

I visited the theatre of war around New Orleans, with a young kins-



two little girls leaned gently forward and placed the laurel crown upon his head. At the same moment a charming Creole girl (Miss Kerr), as the representative of Louisiana, stepped forward, and with modesty supreme in voice and manner addressed a few congratulatory words to the chief, eloquent with expressions of the most profound gratitude. To these words Jackson made a brief reply, and then passed on toward the church, his pathway strewn with flowers by the sweet representatives of the states.

At the Cathedral entrance the honored hero was met by the Abbé Du Bourg in his pontifical robes, and supported by a college of priests in their sacerdotal garments. The abbé addressed the general with eloquent and patriotic discourse, after which the chief was conducted to a conspicuous seat near the great altar, when the *Te Deum Laudamus* was chanted by the choir and people. When the imposing pageant was over, the general retired to his quarters to resume the stern duties of a soldier; and that night the city of New Orleans blazed with a general illumination.

¹ The story of Jackson's difficulties with the civil authorities may be told in a few words. In the Legislature of Lou-

woman as a traveling companion, in the month of April, 1861. We left New York on the 28th of March for Baltimore, from which city we passed over the Baltimore and Ohio Railway to Parkersburg, in Virginia, on the Ohio River, stopping over night at Harper's Ferry, where, three weeks later, the torch of civil war, then just lighted, made sad devastation. We crossed the Ohio River at Parkersburg, and journeyed by railway to Cincinnati. There we again crossed that stream to Cov-

isiana was a powerful faction personally opposed to Jackson—so powerful that, when the officers and troops were thanked by that body on the 2d of February, the name of their chief leader was omitted. This conduct highly incensed the people. Their indignation was intensified by a seditious publication, put forth by one of the members of the Legislature, which was calculated to produce disaffection in the army. This was a public matter, and Jackson felt bound to notice it. He ordered the arrest of the author, and his trial by martial law. Judge Dominic A. Hall, of the Supreme Court of the United States, issued a writ of habeas corpus in favor of the offender. Jackson considered this a violation of martial law, and ordered the arrest of the judge and his expulsion beyond the limits of the city. The judge, in turn, when the military law was revoked on the 13th of March, in consequence of the official proclamation of peace, required Jackson to appear before him and show

Dominic A. Hall
District Judge

cause why he should not be punished for contempt of court. He cheerfully obeyed the summons, and entered the crowded court-room in the old Spanish-built court-house, 209 Royal Street, in citizen's dress. He had almost reached the bar before he was recognized, when he was greeted with huzzas by a thousand voices. The judge was alarmed, and hesitated. Jackson stepped upon a bench, procured silence, and then, turning to the trembling judge, said, "There is no danger here—there shall be none. The same hand that protected this city from outrage against the invaders of the country will shield and protect this court, or perish in the effort. Proceed with your sentence." With quivering lips the judge pronounced him guilty of contempt of court, and fined him a thousand dollars. The act was greeted by a storm of hisses. Jackson immediately drew a check for the amount, handed



THE OLD COURT-HOUSE.

it to the marshal, and then made his way for the court-house door. The excitement of the people was intense. They lifted Jackson upon their shoulders, bore him to the street, and then the immense crowd sent up a shout that blanched the cheeks of Judge Hall, and gave evidence of the unbounded popularity of the heroic soldier who was so prompt in his obedience to the mandates of the civil law. He was placed in a carriage, from which the people released the horses and dragged it themselves to Maspero's house, where he addressed the populace, urging them to show their appreciation of the blessings of liberty and free government by a willing submission to the authorities of their country. In the mean time a thousand dollars had been collected by voluntary subscriptions and placed to his credit in a bank. Jackson politely refused to accept it, and begged his friends to distribute it among the relatives of those who had fallen in the late battles. Nearly thirty years afterward Congress refunded the sum, with interest, amounting in all to two thousand seven hundred dollars.

Andrew Jackson was born in Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, on the 15th of March, 1767. He was designed by his mother for the Christian ministry, but his studies were interrupted by the old War for Independence, whose tumults were loud in the region where the boy resided, his home then being in the northern part of South Carolina. He went into the service a mere lad, and was made a prisoner in 1781. His mother, his only surviving parent, died at that time, and he was left alone. He studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1786. He settled in Tennessee, and at Nashville, which he made his home in 1790, he was married to an excellent woman. In 1795 he assisted in forming a State Constitution for Tennessee. He was the first-elected Congressman from that state, and represented it in the Senate of the United States in 1797. He was soon appointed Judge of the Supreme Court of Tennessee, and for many years he

Journey from Baltimore to Lexington, in Kentucky.

"Ashland."

Clay's Monument.

Jackson's Tomb.

ington, and traveled southward through a beautiful region of Kentucky to Lexington, where we tarried a day and a night. We rode out to Ashland, the residence of Henry Clay, a short distance from the town, for the purpose of seeing the dwelling-place of that eminent man for many years before his death, and tendering our respects to his venerable widow, then residing there. We were met by disappointment. The venerated mansion had been demolished by a son of the statesman (James B. Clay), and upon its site stood a pretentious brick dwelling—so pretentious that persons living long distances from it went to see it. Mrs. Clay



ASHLAND.



BODLEY'S GRAVE.²

was too feeble to receive strangers;¹ and after a brief interview with the proprietor of the estate we turned with sadness from the shadows of the grand old trees under which the former master delighted to loiter in his retirement from public life. It is to be regretted that his son did not comply with the desires of the people of Kentucky that the mansion at Ashland should belong to that state, and be preserved as a perpetual memorial of her honored son.

We returned to Lexington, and rode out to the public cemetery wherein lie the remains of Henry Clay and his family, and where, on the verge of a plain, stands a beautiful monument (a sketch of which is given on the next page) erected to the memory of the statesman.



JACKSON'S TOMB.

was chief military commander in that section. His services in the War of 1812 are recorded in this volume. He remained in the service some time after the war. In 1821 he was appointed Governor of the Territory of Florida, and in 1824 he was an unsuccessful candidate for president of the Republic. He was elected to that office in 1828, and served two consecutive terms. In 1837 he retired from public life forever, and passed the remainder of his days at the "Hermitage" (see page 1016), where he died on the 8th of June, 1846. Beneath the roof of a little temple-like structure in the garden of the "Hermitage" rested the remains of General Jackson, by the side of those of his wife, when the author visited the place in the spring of 1861.

¹ Mrs. Lucretia Hart Clay was the daughter of Colonel Hart, of Lexington, and sister of Captain Hart, who was killed at Frenchtown (see page 359), on the Raisin River. Mrs. Clay had eleven children, of whom only three now (1867) survive. She died at the residence of her son, John M., near Lexington, on the evening of the 6th of April, 1864, at the age of eighty-three years.

² The slab bears these few words: "GENERAL THOMAS BODLEY. BORN 4th July, 1772. Died 11th June, 1833."

Frankfort and its Cemetery.

Graves of Daniel Boone and his Wife.



OLAY'S MONUMENT.¹

His body was laid by the side of the remains of his mother, in the western part of the cemetery; and not far from them were the grave and modest little monument of General Thomas Bodley (see preceding page), who was the deputy quartermaster general to the Kentucky Volunteers under General Harrison in 1813, with the rank of major.

From Lexington we journeyed by railway through the rich "blue-grass region" to Frankfort, the capital of the state. It is on the Kentucky River, and is the centre of a theatre of romantic events in the early history of Kentucky, in which Daniel Boone and his companions were so conspicuous.

There we were favored with the company and kind offices of General Leslie Combs, whose gallant services in the War of 1812 are recorded in this volume. With him we visited the Frankfort Cemetery, on the high right bank of the Kentucky River, a

short distance from the city, where, side by side, under the shadows of magnificent sycamore-trees that stood there when the pioneers were fighting the Indians, were the graves of Daniel Boone and his wife, with nothing to mark their place of sepulchre but little mounds covered with green grass and wild flowers of the woods.² Not far from these humble graves we found the fine monument erected to the



GRAVES OF DANIEL BOONE AND HIS WIFE.

memory of Colonel Richard M. Johnson, delineated on page 496; and in its vicinity

¹ This monument is of white marble. It is composed of an Egyptian cénôthaph, upon which stands a Corinthian capital bearing a statue of the statesman.

² These graves were near the steep bank of the river, which the Indians in Boone's time called Kain-tuck-ee. The bank was here about one hundred and fifty feet in height. Near the graves and covering a slope were stumps, stones, shrubbery, and vines, purposely left with rude aspect as appropriate to the resting-place of the remains of the pioneer. The tall shaft seen beyond the trees in the picture is that of the Soldiers' Monument given on the next page.

Louisville and Nashville.

A Visit to the Hermitage.

Dr. Felix Robertson.

stands a lofty and elegant white marble shaft, upon a rich pedestal, and with more elaborated surmountings, that was erected by the State of Kentucky in commemoration of its deceased soldiers who had served in any war.¹ We spent much of the day in that "city of the dead," and on the following morning went by railway to Louisville, at the "Falls of the Ohio," so often spoken of by the early voyagers on that stream. Thence we traveled by the same means to Nashville, on the Cumberland River, where we spent the Sabbath, and on Monday rode out to the "Hermitage," the home of Andrew Jackson,² about twelve miles from the city. It was a spacious brick mansion, built in 1835, after the earlier one was burned. There we were hospitably entertained by Mrs. Jackson, wife of the adopted son of the President, who permitted me to copy from the original the portrait of General Coffee seen on page 759. There we saw two of the general's old house-servants—Aaron and Hannah—the former nearly eighty, and the latter



KENTUCKY SOLDIERS' MONUMENT.

almost seventy years of age. Hannah went with us to the tomb of the patriot in the garden, where I made the sketch seen on page 1055. She gave us many interesting incidents of the latter days of her old master, and pointed to two thrifty willows near the tomb which she saw him plant with his own hand a few evenings after his wife was buried there.

On our return to Nashville toward evening, I passed an hour with the late venerable Dr. Felix Robertson, a portrait of whom is given on the next page, whose resemblance to Jackson was very remarkable. He was the son of General James Robertson (see page 747), and was the first white child born on the site of Nashville, his mother then being in the little log fort there. On the following morning we departed by railroad for New Orleans, going by way of Decatur, in Northern Alabama, then westward to Grand Junction, and then southward to the "Crescent City." We arrived in New Orleans at noon on the 11th of April, took rooms at the St. Charles, and remained there nearly a week, visiting places of historic interest in and around the city, and gathering materials, by the use of pen and pencil, for the narrative of the events of the war there, given in this and the preceding chapter. For much information, and for facilities for acquiring more, I am greatly indebted to the kindness

¹ This monument stands upon a mound. Upon the bands which are seen embracing the square shaft are the names of battles, and beneath each are the names of soldiers who fell in those battles. The shaft is a single piece of marble. Upon a tablet on the south front of the pedestal is a group in relief, composed of two feminine figures, one on each side of an altar. One, with an open book in her hand, represents History; the other, with a short Roman sword and olive wreath, represents Victory. The other hands of the two figures are employed in holding a wreath over the altar. At each corner of the top of the pedestal is an eagle. The shaft is surmounted with a figure of Fame, with arms extended, and holding a wreath in each hand.

² See page 1017.

of Judge Walker, author of *Jackson and New Orleans*; the late General H. W. Palfrey, who was a participant in the battle; and especially to Alfred Henner, Esq. (a leading lawyer in New Orleans), who was one of Jackson's mounted life-guard, and was engaged in active and perilous duty on the memorable 8th of January, 1815.¹ It was chiefly under the direction of Mr. Henner that we found the various localities of interest in the city and its suburbs.

* April 12, 1861. On the morning after our arrival² we rode down to the battle-ground in a pleasant barouche. General Palfrey had made arrangements to accompany us, but on that morning news had arrived of the attack of insurgents on Fort Sumter, in Charleston Harbor, and he was too busy with public matters to go with us. That outbreak of the Great Rebellion absorbed all minds. Our driver had been over the battle-ground often, and was a competent guide, so we rode down alone



Felix Robertson

along the Levee, the water in the brimful Mississippi being quite four feet higher than our roadway, with only twenty-five feet thickness of earth between us and the flood. It was a clear and very warm day. The gardens were full of blooming roses, and the orange hedges around them were bright with the golden fruit. We were kindly entertained by Madame Macarté, at Jackson's head-quarters,² and we found a cordial welcome at the Villeré mansion by the family of the grandson of Governor Villeré, where we were regaled with orange sherbet and the delicious *elfe*, or Japan plum, trees of which, full of the fruit, formed a grove near the house.³ After making drawings of that mansion, the pecan-trees,⁴ and the dwellings of



ALFRED HENNER.

Lacoste⁵ and De la Ronde,⁶ we returned to Macarté's, and while seated on the base

¹ Captain Ogden was the commander of the Life-guard. The officers alone were uniformed. Mr. Henner was one of only three survivors of that guard at the time of my visit, the other two being Ex-Governor Henry Johnson and James Hopkins. He became a resident of New Orleans in 1806, when the city contained about 14,000 inhabitants. He was there in 1801, having been sent by his father on a flat-boat with the first bales of cotton ever taken to that city. He placed them in the Jesuits' warehouse, on the site of the St. Charles Hotel, above Canal Street. It was in the fields outside of the palisades, which then occupied the line of the present broad Canal Street. ² See page 1087.

³ See page 1029. This fruit grows in clusters like cherries, on trees about the size of cherry-trees, and averages the size given in the engraving at the head of the opposite page. Some are larger. When ripe it is of a yellow color, and is filled with a bountiful supply of delicious acid juice.

⁴ See page 1050.

⁵ See page 1031.

⁶ See page 1034.

Peace Commissioners.

Negotiations opened at Ghent.

Adams, Bayard, Clay, and Gallatin.



JAMES A. BAYARD.

latter place for the meeting. The ancient city of Ghent, in Southern Netherlands (now in Belgium), was afterward substituted.¹ There the American commissioners assembled in the summer of 1814. These consisted of John Quincy Adams, James A. Bayard,² Henry Clay,³ Jonathan Russell, and Albert Gallatin.⁴ There they were joined* by the British com- * August 6, 1814.
missioners, Lord Gambier, Henry Goulburn, and William Adams; and Christopher Hughes, Jr., one of the most attractive of men in social life, and a diplomat without a rival, who was then our chargé d'affaires at Stockholm, was appointed secretary to the American commissioners.

Negotiations were speedily opened, when a wide difference in the views of the commissioners of the respective nations threat-

1817, in which office he remained until he took the chair of President of the United States in 1825. In 1831 he was elected a member of the National House of Representatives, which position he held by re-election until his death, which occurred in the Speaker's Room at the Capitol on the 22d of February, 1848, in the eighty-first year of his age. His last



words were, "This is the end of earth." His remains were buried on the family estate at Quincy. In the accompanying picture are representations of the birthplace, the later residence, and the tomb of John Quincy Adams.

¹ Ghent is the capital of the province of East Flanders, in Belgium; is situated at the confluence of the Scheldt and Lys, and is one of the most interesting localities in the ancient Netherlands.

² James A. Bayard was born in Philadelphia on the 26th of July, 1767. He was graduated at Princeton in 1784, became a lawyer of eminence, and took a seat in Congress in 1797, to which he had been elected by the Federalists. He held that position until 1804, when he was elected to the National Senate, in which he became a leader. He was opposed to the War of 1812, but cheerfully acceded in the action of the majority. After assisting in the negotiation of the treaty of peace he went to Paris, where he became seriously ill. When he arrived in England, on his way home, he was met with the commission of minister to Russia. He declined the honor, hastened home, and five days after his arrival (August 6, 1816) he died.

³ Henry Clay (see page 211) was born near Hanover Court-house, in Virginia, on the 12th of April, 1777. He was educated in inferior district schools. He began the study of the law at the age of nineteen years, and at the age of twenty he was admitted to its practice. He went over the mountains into Kentucky, and settled at Lexington in 1799. With a display of remarkable talents, he entered upon the practice of his profession, and as a politician, with vigor. At that early period he worked for measures for the emancipation of the slaves, and through life was an advocate of the abolition of slavery in some form. He was chosen a member of the Kentucky Legislature in 1806, and was sent to the National Senate in 1806. He entered the House of Representatives as a member in 1811, and almost immediately afterward was elected its speaker. He remained in Congress, as a member of one branch or the other of that body (with the exception of four years, when he was John Quincy Adams's Secretary of State, and a brief retirement thereafter), until his death, which occurred at Washington City on the 29th of June, 1852.

⁴ Albert Gallatin was born on the 29th of January, 1761, in the city of Geneva, Switzerland. He was graduated at the University of Geneva in 1779, came to America in 1780, and entered the military service in Maine. After the Revolution he was a tutor in Harvard College for a while, and finally settled in Western Pennsylvania. He was a member of the Convention to revise the Constitution of that state in 1789, and was elected to the State Legislature. He was chosen a member of the National Senate in 1793, but, being ineligible, he was elected a member of the other house, and became

Delay in the Negotiations. Sympathies of the People of Ghent with the Americans. The Treaty concluded.

ened the most formidable obstructions to agreement. At times it seemed as if the effort to negotiate a treaty would be fruitless. The discussions continued several



VIEW OF THE CITY OF GHENT, FROM THE SCHELDT.

months. The leading citizens of Ghent (whose sympathies were with the Americans¹) took great interest in the matter, and mingled their rejoicings with the commissioners when their work was ended.² That result was reached on the 24th of December, 1814, when a treaty was signed by the respective commissioners.³ It was immediately transmitted to London by the hands of Mr. Baker, secretary to Lord

the Republican leader of it. Jefferson appointed him Secretary of the Treasury in 1801, which office he held until 1814, when he was sent to St. Petersburg as a commissioner to treat for peace. His communications from Europe on public affairs at that time were mostly written in cipher, composed of numbers, of which (copied from one of them in the State Department at Washington) a fac-simile is here given from a letter dated at London, June 23, 1814. Each number rep-

1544. 1293. 509. 1335. 308. 896. of the 160. 1430. 327. 546 and
to the 1044. 1075. 705. 369. 1424. 220. 1423. 1576. 1118. 1318. ~
1385. 1044. 1033. 491. 1433. 1576. 1399. 6562. 1004. 1102. 1418. 400.

resents a word or sentence, perfectly intelligible to a person with a key. Mr. Gallatin assisted in negotiating the treaty at Ghent. He remained in Europe, and from 1816 until 1823 he was our resident minister at the French court, and was employed in other diplomatic services. He declined offices of high honor at home, and remained abroad until 1828, when he returned to the United States, and fixed his residence in the city of New York, where he engaged in the business of banking. He took an active part in literary pursuits, and at the time of his death, which occurred at Astoria, Long Island, on the 12th of August, 1840, he was President of the New York Historical Society.

¹ On the 27th of October, 1814, the Academy of Sciences and Fine Arts at Ghent invited the American commissioners to attend their exercises, when they were all elected honorary members of the Academy. A sumptuous dinner was given, at which the Intendant, or chief magistrate of Ghent, offered the following sentiment:

² *"Our distinguished guests and fellow-members, the American ministers—may they succeed in making an honorable peace to secure the liberty and independence of their country."* The band then played "Hail, Columbia." The British commissioners were not present.

³ After the treaty was concluded the American commissioners gave a dinner to the British commissioners, at which Count H. Von Steinbnyse, the Intendant of the Department, was a guest. Sentiments of mutual friendship were offered. A few days afterward the Intendant gave an entertainment to the commissioners of both nations.

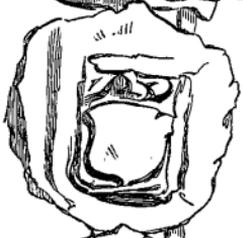
⁴ On the next two pages is a fac-simile of the last paragraph of the treaty, with the signatures of the respective commissioners, and representations of the seals set opposite their names. These were carefully copied by the writer from the original in the Department of State at Washington City. The impressions of all the seals on the red wax were imperfect, as the engravings represent them.

Gambier, and Mr. Carroll, one of the secretaries of the American commissioners.

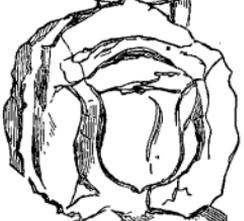
Done in Triplicate at Ghent
the twenty fourth day of December
one thousand eight hundred and
fourteen



Gambier



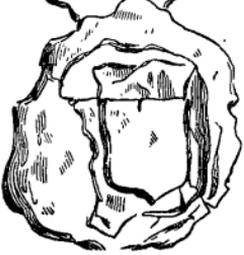
Henry Goulburn



William Adams



John Quincy Adams



J. A. Bayard

Ratification of the Treaty of Peace.

Arrival of the News in New York and Washington.



W. Clay

Jon^a Russels

Albert Gallatin

There it was ratified on the 28th of the same month by the Prince Regent, and then sent to America by the same messengers. They sailed in the British sloop of war *Favorite* on the 2d of January, 1815. She arrived at New York on the evening of Saturday, the 11th of February. Mr. Hughes left Ghent with a copy of the treaty at the same time the other messengers did, proceeded to the Texel, and there embarked for the Chesapeake in the schooner *Transit*. She arrived at Annapolis two days after the *Favorite* reached New York, and Mr. Hughes¹ was at Washington City with his copy of the treaty before the ratified copy arrived there.

News of the arrival of the *Favorite* soon spread over the city. The glad tidings of peace which she brought were wholly unexpected, and produced the most intense satisfaction. No one inquired what were the terms of the treaty; it was enough to know that peace had been secured. The streets



C Hughes W.

¹ Mr. Hughes is represented as a man of very attractive personal appearance, exceedingly active in body and mind, and more widely known personally during his long residence in Europe than almost any other man. A writer, in speak-

Rejoicings because of Peace.

How the News was spread over the Country.

Rejoicings in Great Britain.

were soon filled with people, and a placard issued from one of the newspaper offices¹ and thrown out of the window, was eagerly caught up and read by the multitude, who made the night air vocal with huzzas. Cannon thundered, bells rang, and bonfires and illuminations lighted up the city until after midnight. Expresses were sent in various directions with the glad news.² The newspapers were filled on Monday³ morning⁴ with shipping advertisements and commercial announcements of every kind. Government stocks advanced,⁵ and coin and merchandise rapidly declined.⁶ There was joy all over the land, and especially along the whole maritime frontier. Banquets and illuminations marked the public satisfaction in towns and cities.⁷ There were also great rejoicings in the Canadas because of the deliverance of the provinces from the terrors of invasion by which they had been disturbed for almost three years; and the British government, appreciating the loyalty of the inhabitants of those provinces, as manifested in their gallant defense of their territory during the war, caused a medal to be struck in testimony of its gratitude.⁸ There was rejoicing also in Great Britain because of peace, especially among the manufacturing and mercantile classes, for it promised returning prosperity; and a medal was struck in commemoration of the great event, which bore upon one side the words, "TREATY OF PEACE AND AMITY BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, SIGNED AT GHENT DECEMBER 24, 1814," and upon the other a fem-

ing of him said, "He is the best known man in the world, from New York to Kamtschatka," and was remarkable for "saying more wise things, strange things, droll things, than ever tongue uttered or mind conceived." His personal popularity made him a most skillful diplomat. He obtained a knowledge of the most profound state secrets, John Quincy Adams said, "by no improper acts, and at no cost of secret service money, but by the art of making friends by his social qualities wherever he goes."—Adams's speech in Congress, September 4, 1841. Mr. Hughes was a native of Baltimore, and was a brother-in-law of Colonel Armistead, the gallant defender of Fort M'Henry. He died in Baltimore on the 18th of September, 1849.

¹ It was issued from the office of the *Mercantile Advertiser*, on a slip of paper five by six inches in size, and was posted and scattered all over the city. The following is a copy of one of these placards, in the possession of John B. Moreau, Esq., of New York City:

"New York, Saturday Evening, 9 o'clock, February 11, 1815.

"P E A C E.

"The great and joyful news of PEACE between the United States and Great Britain reached this city this evening by the British sloop of war *Favorite*, the Hon. J. U. Mowatt, Esq., commander, in forty-two days from Plymouth.

"Henry Carroll, Esq., Secretary of the American Legation at Ghent, is the welcome bearer of the treaty, which was signed at Ghent on the 24th December by the respective commissioners, and ratified by the British government on the 28th December. Mr. Baker, late Secretary to the British Legation at Washington, has also arrived in the sloop of war with a copy of the treaty ratified by the British government."

² Mr. Goodhue, an eminent merchant, sent an express at his own expense (\$225) to Boston in thirty-six hours, which scattered the glad tidings along the way. Jacob Barker (see page 936) sent an express in like manner to Governor Tompkins at Albany in twenty-four hours. Mr. Carroll, on his way to Washington with a copy of the treaty, gave the first news of peace to Philadelphia. Hughes had already gladdened Baltimore with the tidings.

³ Six per cents rose from 76 to 86, and treasury notes from 92 to 98.

⁴ Coin, which was twenty-two per cent. premium, fell to two per cent. in the course of forty-eight hours. Within the same time sugar fell from \$26 per cwt. to \$12.50; tea from \$2.25 per lb. to \$1; tin from \$80 a box to \$25. These are mentioned, among scores of articles, as specimens of the sudden effect of the news on commercial values.

⁵ Philadelphia was the first to illuminate. It took place on Wednesday evening, the 15th of February. Robert Wharton, the mayor, in his proclamation concerning it, suggested that, as the religious principles of the Quakers would not permit them to illuminate, the police should see to it that they should be protected "in their peaceful rights." The mayor directed all the lights to be extinguished at ten o'clock. On that occasion brilliant lights were exhibited from the top of a shot-tower one hundred and sixty feet in height. The illumination in New York took place on the 22d of February. On the evening of the 16th of March a "superb ball," as the newspapers of the day said, was given at Washington Hall, the dancing-room of which was sixty by eighty feet in size. The "number of ladies and gentlemen was six hundred." The room was so arranged as to present the appearance of a beautiful pavilion, or temple, with eighteen pillars, on each of which was the name of a state. It was called the Temple of Concord. On one side of the room, under a canopy composed of flags, was the Bower of Peace, surrounded with orange and lemon trees covered with fruit. The *Evening Post* of the 21st of March said of the scene in the hall, "It was a picture of female beauty, fashion, and elegance not to be surpassed in any city in the Union." Among the most active women at this entertainment were those who composed the managers of the Association for the Relief of the Soldiers in the Field, formed in 1814. These consisted of Mrs. General Lewis, Mrs. William Few, Mrs. David Gelston, Mrs. Phillip Livingston, Mrs. Colonel Laight, Mrs. Thomas Morris, Mrs. Marinus Willet, Mrs. William Ross, Mrs. Nathan Sanford, Mrs. Daniel Smith, Mrs. L. Bradish, Miss M. Bleecker, Miss H. Lewis, and Miss H. E. G. Bradish.

⁶ The device on one side of the medal is emblematic of the United States and Canada. On one side of a river and lake (St. Lawrence and the Lakes) is the eagle, representing the sovereignty of the republic, threatening to fly over into Canada, whose emblem is the beaver. There the British lion couchant is seen, emblematic of the protecting sovereignty of Great Britain. The device on the other side explains itself. The medal was made by Thomas Wyon, Jr., a young engraver, then only twenty-three years of age. He died in 1817, at the age of twenty-five years, when he was at the head of his profession. Copies of the three medals here mentioned are in the rare numismatic collection of Chas. I. Bushnell, Esq., of New York, to whose courtesy I am indebted for the privilege of having two of them engraved for this work.

Medals and Pictures in Commemoration of Peace.

Ratification of the Treaty by the United States Senate.



MEDAL OF GRATITUDE.

ine figure standing on the segment of a globe, bearing the cornucopia of plenty, and holding in one hand the olive-branch of peace. Partly encircling the figure were the words, "ON THE EARTH PEACE, GOOD-WILL TO MEN." Another medal commemorative of the treaty was struck, on one side of which was a feminine figure standing upon a shell in the midst of the ocean, with the olive-branch in one hand and rays of light emanating from the other. Partly inclosing the figure were the words, "PEACE SPREADS HER INFLUENCE O'ER THE ATLANTIC SHORE." On the other side was a dove surrounded with light, and descending toward a wreath of palm leaves in-



MEDAL COMMEMORATIVE OF THE TREATY OF PEACE.

closing the words "CONCORD BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND AMERICA." A fine allegorical picture was painted and engraved in this country commemorative of the war and the treaty of peace, a copy of which is given on the next page.¹

The treaty of peace was ratified by the unanimous vote of the Senate of the United States on the 17th of February, 1815, and it was promulgated the next day by proclamation of President Madison. It did not, as the text of the treaty given in the Appendix shows, secure to the Americans that immunity from Search and Impressment for which they went to war, and for this reason it was pointed to exultingly by the Opposition as a proof of the wisdom of their prophecies, the patriotism of their

¹ This picture, entitled *The Peace of Ghent, 1814, and Triumph of America*, was drawn by William Planton and engraved by Chataignier. It was published by P. Price, Jr., Philadelphia. The design is thus described: "Minerva represents the wisdom of the United States, Mercury their commerce, Hercules their force. Minerva dictates their conditions of peace, which Mercury presents to Britannia, and Hercules forces her to accept them. On the shield of Minerva are the names of those who signed the treaty: on the obelisk, those of the braves. On the other side America passes in triumph through the arch on her way to the Temple of Peace. She is attended by Victory, and followed by a numerous train. Several trophies are seen, and in the background are the ruins of the Capitol." Below the picture, in a circle composed of links, on each of which is the name of a state, is the following inscription: "Under the presidency of Madison. Monroe, Secretary of State."

Allegorical Picture of the Treaty of Peace and Triumph of America.



course, and the truth of their declarations that the war was a failure—"waged to no

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| Effects of the Treaty. | Position of the Republic at the Close of the War. | Readjustment of National Affairs. |
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end."¹ It by no means secured all that the Administration hoped for; yet, in addition to the boon of peace, it gave to the Americans advantages to be derived from a final settlement of boundaries and the exclusive right to the navigation of the Mississippi River, while it took from them the important privilege, which the mariners of New England had always enjoyed, of catching and curing fish on the shores of the Gulf of St. Lawrence.² It also secured, in the interest of our common humanity, the co-operation of the two nations in efforts to suppress the inhuman and un-Christian traffic in slaves.

But far more important to this country and the world than the security of incidental advantages was the establishment, by the war, of the positive and permanent independence of the United States, and with it a guarantee to the posterities, of the perpetuation and growth of free institutions. Great Britain had been taught, by the lessons of the war, that the young republic, the offspring of her oppressions,³ growing more lusty every hour, would no longer tolerate an insult, or suffer its sovereignty to be questioned without resenting the offense; and she was compelled to sign a bond, as it were, to keep the peace, in the form of an acknowledgment that she had, in that republic, a formidable rival for the supremacy of the seas, which she was bound to respect. Her aristocracy, as a rule, and the public writers in their interest, remained, as before, the bitter enemies of the Republic. They condemned the treaty because it yielded too much to what they were pleased to call the "insolent Yankees,"⁴ and omitted no opportunity to disparage and libel the American people and the American Republic. It was, perhaps, a natural exhibition of the weakness and selfishness of human nature. That Republic, with its free institutions and equality in acknowledged citizenship, was and is a perpetual menace against the existence of privileged classes, and a silent but potential champion of the rights of man enunciated in its prime political creed, that "all men are created equal." Hence it is that the privileged classes of the Old World are its natural enemies, and are willing to disparage its institutions and people in the estimation of the toiling millions who are struggling for the light and air of a better human existence.

When the treaty of peace was ratified, the government of the United States took measures immediately for the adjustment of national affairs in accordance with the new order of things. An appropriation was made for rebuilding the public edifices.⁵ Plans were considered for the maintenance of the public credit and the extinguishment of the national debt, then amounting, in round numbers, to \$120,000,000. The

¹ The Opposition newspapers contained some well-pointed epigrams, keen satires, and genuine wit, aimed at the friends of the war, and in illustration of the shortcomings of the treaty; and there was also an abundance of coarse abuse poured out, through the same channels, upon the Administration. The usually dignified *Evening Post* had some severe criticisms, and justified the following stanza in its *New Year's Address*, printed a few weeks before:

"Your commerce is wantonly lost,
Your treasures are wasted and gone;
You've fought to no end, but with millions of cost,
And for rivers of blood you've nothing to boast
But credit and nation undone."

² The treaty provided for the appointment of commissioners, and such were the final results of their labors.

³ Half a century before (1765), when Charles Townshend, in an eloquent speech in the British House of Commons, spoke of the "ungrateful Americans" as "children planted by our care," Colonel Barré, in an indignant reply, exclaimed, "They planted by your care! No! your oppression planted them in America; they fled from your tyranny to a then uncultivated and inhospitable wilderness, exposed to all the hardships to which human nature is liable."

⁴ The London *Public Advertiser*, at that period, furnished many illustrations of the feeling against the treaty. The following will suffice:

"ADVERTISEMENTS EXTRAORDINARY.

"Wanted.—The spirit which animated the conduct of Elizabeth, Oliver, and William.

"Lost.—All idea of national dignity and honor.

"Found.—That every insignificant state may insult THAT which used to call herself MISTRESS OF THE SEAS."

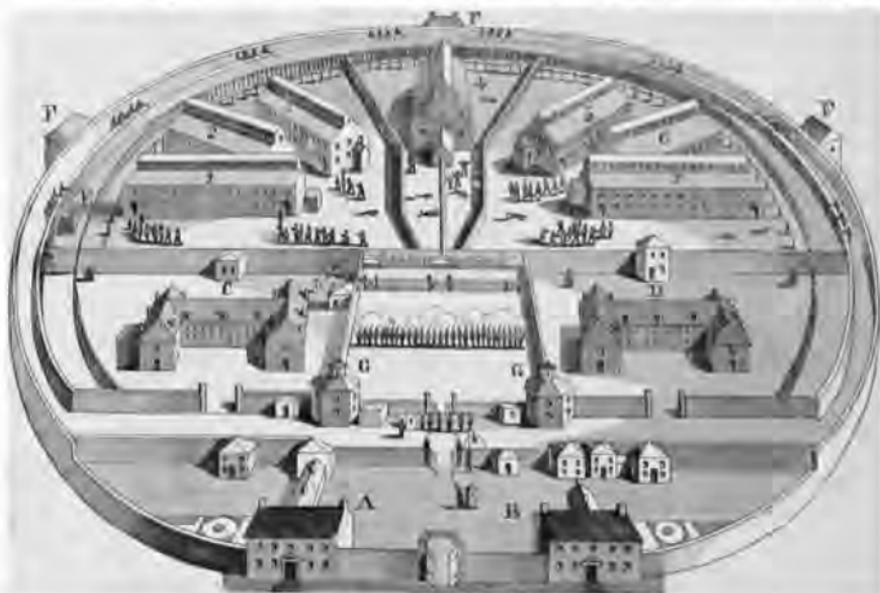
⁵ The value of the public buildings destroyed was estimated as follows: The Capitol, original cost, alterations, etc., \$787,163.28; President's house, including all costs, \$334,334; public offices, Treasury, State, War, and Navy, \$9,613.82; making a total of \$1,215,111. The walls of the Capitol and of the President's house (see pages 938 and 934) remained strong, and only needed repairs. It was estimated that \$400,000 would restore them to their condition before the fire. No estimate was made of the value of the public library that was burned. The estimated cost of rebuilding the navy yard was \$62,370. The value of property destroyed at that establishment was estimated at \$609,174.04, of which \$417,745.51 was movable property. See page 934.

Reduction of the Army. The Navy. Privateers. Captives released. Dartmoor Prisoners.

army was placed on a peace footing, and was reduced to 10,000 men, by which reduction about 1800 officers were compelled to leave the service. The navy was left where it stood, with an additional appropriation, for its gradual increase, of \$200,000 annually for three years. The national vessels and privateers were drawn from the ocean as speedily as possible,¹ and prisoners in the hands of both parties were released as quickly as proper arrangements could be made for their enlargement.

In connection with the release of captives, a circumstance occurred at a *dépôt* for prisoners in England which caused great exasperation on the part of the American people. That *dépôt* was situated on Dartmoor, a desolate region in Devonshire, where it was constructed in 1809 for the confinement of French prisoners of war. It comprised thirty acres, inclosed within double walls, with seven distinct prison-houses, with inclosures. At the time of the ratification of the treaty of peace, there were about six thousand American prisoners there, including twenty-five hundred impressed American seamen, who had refused to fight in the British Navy against their countrymen, and were there when the war broke out in 1812. Some had been there ten or eleven years. The place was in charge of Captain T. G. Shortland, with a military guard. That officer was charged with much unfeeling conduct toward the prisoners, accounts of which reached America, from time to time, and produced great irritation in the public mind.

There was much delay in the release of the Dartmoor prisoners. It was nearly three months after the treaty of peace had been signed before they were permitted to know the fact. From that time² they were in daily expectation of release. Delay caused uneasiness and impatience, and there was evidently a disposition to attempt an escape. Symptoms of insubordination appeared on the 4th of April, when the prisoners demanded bread instead of hard biscuit, and refused to receive the latter. On the evening of the 6th,³ so reluctantly did the prisoners obey orders to retire to their quarters, that, when some of them, with



DARTMOOR PRISON IN 1815.²

¹ The whole number of British vessels of every class captured by Americans during the war was estimated at 1750. An official British return stated that, during the same time, British ships had captured and destroyed 1658 American vessels of every class, manned by upward of 18,000 seamen. See page 1067.

² This is a careful copy of an engraving attached to a *Journal of a Young Man of Massachusetts, late a Surgeon on board an American Privateer*, who was a prisoner there at the time of the massacre, and an eye-witness of much of

Sad Event at the Dartmoor Prisons.

Prosperity of the Republic.

Its Relations to the Nations.

the appearance of mutinous intentions, not only refused to retire, but passed beyond the prescribed limits of their confinement, they were fired upon, by orders of Captain Shortland, for the purpose of intimidating all. This firing was followed up by the soldiers without the shadow of an excuse, according to an impartial report made by a commission appointed to investigate the matter.¹ Five prisoners were killed and thirty-three were wounded. The act of the soldiers was regarded by the Americans as a wanton massacre; and when the British authorities pronounced the act "justifiable homicide," the hottest indignation was excited. But Time, the great healer, has interposed its balm, and the event appears in history as one of the inevitable cruelties of ever-cruel war.

At the close of the SECOND WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE, the events of which are recorded in this volume, our Republic had achieved, as we have observed, the most important of all its triumphs, and was still wealthy with the fruits of a wonderful progress in the space of twenty-five years since its nativity.² It then started afresh upon a grand career of prosperity, with marvelous resources developed and undeveloped—known and unknown. The rulers and privileged classes in other lands persisted in calling it an experiment, and were ever prophesying the failure of the republican principle in government, of which it was a notable example. Recent events have silenced all cavil, and dispelled all doubts on that point.

Fifty years after the close of its last struggle for independence, our Republic emerged^a from the fiery furnace of a Civil War unparalleled in proportions and operations hitherto, purified and strengthened by the ordeal. The most skeptical observer of that trial and its results can no longer consider our Government an experiment. It is a demonstration. Its history is an affirmative answer to the question whether republican institutions have elements of vitality and power sufficient for the demands of every exigency of national life. Henceforth it will stand before the nations a trusted oracle for the guidance and encouragement of all aspirants in other lands for the privileges of free thought and action.

what he recorded. The following is a description of the picture: A. Surgeon's House; B. Captain Shortland's Quarters; C. Hospital; D. Barracks; E. Cachot, or Black-hole; F, F, F. Guard-houses; G, G. Store-houses. The Arabic numerals refer to the numbers of the prisons as they were alluded to in narratives and official documents. The outward of the two encircling walls of stone (of which the prisons were built) was a mile in circumference. The inner wall was used as a military walk for the sentinels. Within this wall were iron palisades, ten feet in height. The guard was composed of a little more than two thousand well-disciplined militia, and two companies of Royal Artillery. The picture not only gives a bird's-eye view of the post, but the position of the guards at the time they fired, and of the killed where they fell.

¹ The American commissioners to negotiate the treaty of peace, then in London, appointed the late Charles King, president of Columbia College (then a young man, who was on a visit to England), a commissioner on the part of the Americans, and the British authorities appointed Francis Seymour Larpent to act with him.

² John Bristed, in his admirable work on *The Resources of the United States*, published in 1813, gives the following summary of the real and personal capital, and the income of the people of the Republic, at about the time of the close of the war:

Real Property.—Public lands, 500,000,000 acres, at \$2 an acre, \$1,000,000,000; cultivated lands, 300,000,000 acres, at \$10 an acre, \$3,000,000,000; dwelling-houses of all kinds, \$1,000,000,000. Total of real property, \$5,000,000,000.

Personal Property.—Capital to the holders of government stocks, who were American citizens, \$100,000,000; banking stocks, \$100,000,000; slaves, 1,500,000, at \$150 each, \$225,000,000; shipping of all kinds, \$225,000,000; money, farming stock and utensils, manufactures, household furniture and plate, carriages, and every other species of personal property not above enumerated, \$1,550,000,000. Total of personal property, \$2,200,000,000. Grand total of American capital, in real and personal property, \$7,200,000,000.

APPENDIX.

TREATY OF PEACE AND AMITY

BETWEEN HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

His Britannic Majesty and the United States of America, desirous of terminating the war which has unhappy subsisted between the two countries, and of restoring, upon principles of perfect reciprocity, peace, friendship, and good understanding between them, have for that purpose appointed their respective Plenipotentiaries—that is to say: His Britannic Majesty, on his part, has appointed the Right Honorable James Lord Gambier, late Admiral of the White, now Admiral of the Red squadron of His Majesty's Fleet, Henry Goulburn, Esq., a member of the Imperial Parliament, and Under Secretary of State, and William Adams, Esq., Doctor of Civil Laws; and the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof, has appointed John Quincy Adams, James A. Bayard, Henry Clay, Jonathan Russell, and Albert Gallatin, citizens of the United States—who, after a reciprocal communication of their respective full powers, have agreed upon the following Articles:

ARTICLE THE FIRST.

There shall be a firm and universal peace between His Britannic Majesty and the United States, and between their respective countries, territories, cities, towns, and people, of every degree, without exception of places or persons. All hostilities, both by sea and land, shall cease as soon as this treaty shall have been ratified by both parties, as hereinafter mentioned. All territory, places, and possessions whatsoever, taken by either party from the other during the war, or which may be taken after the signing of this treaty, excepting only the islands hereinafter mentioned, shall be restored without delay, and without causing any destruction or carrying away any of the artillery or other public property originally captured in said forts or places, and which shall remain therein upon the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, or any slaves or other private property. And all archives, records, deeds, and papers, either of a public nature or belonging to private persons, which in the course of the war may have fallen into the hands of the officers of either party, shall be, as far as may be practicable, forthwith restored and delivered to the proper authorities and persons to whom they respectively belong. Such of the islands in the Bay of Passamaquoddy as are claimed by both parties shall remain in the possession of the party in whose occupation they may be at the time of the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty until the decision respecting the title to the said islands shall have been made in conformity with the fourth article of this treaty. No disposition made by this treaty as to such possession of the islands and territories claimed by both parties shall in any manner whatever be construed to affect the right of either.

ARTICLE THE SECOND.

Immediately after the ratifications of this treaty by both parties, as hereinafter mentioned, orders shall be sent to the armies, squadrons, officers, subjects, and citizens of the two powers to cease from all hostilities. And to prevent all causes of complaint which might arise on account of the prizes which may be taken at sea after the said ratifications of this treaty, it is reciprocally agreed that all vessels and effects which may be taken after the space of twelve days from the said ratifications, upon all parts of the coast of North America, from the latitude of twenty-three degrees north to the latitude of fifty degrees north, and as far eastward in the Atlantic Ocean as the thirty-sixth degree of west longitude from the meridian of Greenwich, shall be restored on each side; that the time shall be thirty days in all other parts of the Atlantic Ocean north of the equinoctial line or equator, and the same time for the British and Irish Channels, for the Gulf of Mexico, and all parts of the West Indies; forty days for the North Seas, for the Baltic, and for all parts of the Mediterranean; sixty days for the Atlantic Ocean south of the equator as far as the latitude of the Cape of Good Hope; ninety days for every part of the world south of the equator; and one hundred and twenty days for all other parts of the world, without exception.

ARTICLE THE THIRD.

All prisoners of war taken on either side, as well by land as by sea, shall be restored as soon as practicable after the ratifications of this treaty, as hereinafter mentioned, on their paying the debts which they may have contracted during their captivity. The two contracting parties respectively engage to discharge, in specie, the advances which may have been made by the other for the sustenance and maintenance of such prisoners.

ARTICLE THE FOURTH.

Whereas it was stipulated by the second article in the treaty of peace of one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three, between His Britannic Majesty and the United States of America, that the boundary of the United States should comprehend all islands within twenty leagues of any part of the shores of the United States, and lying between lines to be drawn due east from the points where the aforesaid boundaries, between Nova Scotia on the one part and East Florida on the other, shall respectively touch the Bay of Fundy and the Atlantic Ocean, excepting such islands as now are or heretofore have been within the limits of Nova Scotia; and whereas the several islands in the Bay of Passamaquoddy, which is part of the Bay of Fundy, and the Island of Grand Menan, in the said Bay of Fundy, are claimed by the United States as being comprehended within their aforesaid boundaries, which said islands are claimed as belonging to His Britannic Majesty, as having been at the time of and previous to the aforesaid treaty of one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three within the limits of the province of Nova Scotia: In order, therefore, finally to decide upon these claims, it is agreed that they shall be referred to two Commissioners, to be appointed in the following manner, viz.: One

Commissioner shall be appointed by His Britannic Majesty, and one by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof; and the said two Commissioners so appointed shall be sworn impartially to examine and decide upon the said claims according to such evidence as shall be laid before them on the part of His Britannic Majesty and of the United States respectively. The said Commissioners shall meet at St. Andrew's, in the Province of New Brunswick, and shall have power to adjourn to such other place or places as they shall think fit. The said Commissioners shall, by a declaration or report under their hands and seals, decide to which of the two contracting parties the several islands aforesaid do respectively belong, in conformity with the true intent of the said treaty of peace of one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three. And if the said Commissioners shall agree in their decision, both parties shall consider such decision as final and conclusive. It is farther agreed, that in the event of the two Commissioners differing upon all or any of the matters so referred to them, or in the event of both or either of the said Commissioners refusing or declining, or willfully omitting to act as such, they shall make, jointly or separately, a report or reports, as well to the government of His Britannic Majesty as to that of the United States, stating in detail the points on which they differ, and the grounds upon which their respective opinions have been formed, or the grounds upon which they, or either of them, have so refused, declined, or omitted to act. And His Britannic Majesty and the Government of the United States hereby agree to refer the report or reports of the said Commissioners to some friendly sovereign or state, to be then named for that purpose, and who shall be requested to decide on the differences which may be stated in the said report or reports, or upon the report of one Commissioner, together with the grounds upon which the other Commissioner shall have refused, declined, or omitted to act, as the case may be. And if the Commissioner so refusing, declining, or omitting to act shall also willfully omit to state the grounds upon which he has so done, in such manner that the said statement may be referred to such friendly sovereign or state, together with the report of such other Commissioner, then such sovereign or state shall decide *ex parte* upon the said report alone. And His Britannic Majesty and the Government of the United States engage to consider the decision of such friendly sovereign or state to be final and conclusive on all the matters so referred.

ARTICLE THE FIFTH.

Whereas neither that point of the highlands lying due north from the source of the River St. Croix, and designated in the former treaty of peace between the two powers as the northwest angle of Nova Scotia, nor the northwesternmost head of Connecticut River has yet been ascertained; and whereas that part of the boundary-line between the dominions of the two powers which extends from the source of the River St. Croix directly north to the above-mentioned northwest angle of Nova Scotia, thence along the said highlands which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the River St. Lawrence from those which fall into the Atlantic Ocean to the northwesternmost head of Connecticut River, thence down along the middle of that river to the forty-fifth degree of north latitude, thence by a line due west on said latitude until it strikes the River Iroquois or Cataraguy, has not yet been surveyed, it is agreed that for these several purposes two Commissioners shall be appointed, sworn, and authorized to act exactly in the manner directed with respect to those mentioned in the next preceding article, unless otherwise specified in the present article. The said Commissioners shall meet at St. Andrew's, in the Province of New Brunswick, and shall have power to adjourn to such other place or places as they shall think fit. The said Commissioners shall have power to ascertain and determine the points above mentioned, in conformity with the provisions of the said treaty of peace of one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three, and shall cause the boundary aforesaid, from the source of the River St. Croix to the River Iroquois or Cataraguy, to be surveyed and marked, according to the said provisions. The said Commissioners shall make a map of the said boundary, and annex to it a declaration, under their hands and seals, certifying it to be the true map of the said boundary, and particularizing the latitude and longitude of the northwest angle of Nova Scotia, of the northwesternmost head of Connecticut River, and of such other points of the said boundary as they may deem proper. And both parties agree to consider such map and declaration as finally and conclusively fixing the said boundary. And in the event of the said two Commissioners differing, or both or either of them refusing, declining, or willfully omitting to act, such reports, declarations, or statements shall be made by them, or either of them, and such reference to a friendly sovereign or state shall be made, in all respects, as in the latter part of the fourth article is contained, and in as full a manner as if the same was herein repeated.

ARTICLE THE SIXTH.

Whereas by the former treaty of peace that portion of the boundary of the United States from the point where the forty-fifth degree of north latitude strikes the River Iroquois or Cataraguy to Lake Superior was declared to be "along the middle of said river into Lake Ontario, through the middle of said lake until it strikes the communication by water between that lake and Lake Erie, thence along the middle of said communication into Lake Erie, through the middle of said lake until it arrives at the water communication into Lake Huron, thence through the middle of said lake to the water communication between that lake and Lake Superior:" and whereas doubts have arisen what was the middle of the said river, lakes, and water communications, and whether certain islands lying in the same were within the dominions of His Britannic Majesty or of the United States: In order, therefore, finally to decide these doubts, they shall be referred to two Commissioners, to be appointed, sworn, and authorized to act exactly in the manner directed with respect to those mentioned in the next preceding article, unless otherwise specified in this present article. The said Commissioners shall meet, in the first instance, at Albany, in the State of New York, and shall have power to adjourn to such other place or places as they shall think fit. The said Commissioners shall, by a report or declaration under their hands and seals, designate the boundary through the said river, lakes, and water communications, and decide to which of the two contracting parties the several islands lying within the said river, lakes, and water communications do respectively belong, in conformity with the true intent of the said treaty of one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three. And both parties agree to consider such designation and decision as final and conclusive. And in the event of the said two Commissioners differing, or both or either of them refusing, declining, or willfully omitting to act, such reports, declarations, or statements shall be made by them, or either of them, and such reference to a friendly sovereign or state shall be made, in all respects, as in the latter part of the fourth article is contained, and in as full a manner as if the same was herein repeated.

ARTICLE THE SEVENTH.

It is farther agreed that the said two last-mentioned Commissioners, after they shall have executed the duties assigned to them in the preceding article, shall be, and they are hereby authorized, upon their oaths, impartially to fix and determine, according to the true intent of the said treaty of peace of one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three, that part of the boundary between the dominions of the two powers which extends from the water communication between Lake Huron and Lake Superior to the most northwestern point of the Lake of the Woods, to decide to which of the two parties the several islands lying in the lakes, water communications, and rivers forming the said boundary do respectively belong, in conformity with the true intent of the said treaty of peace of one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three, and to cause such parts of the said boundary as require it to be surveyed and marked. The said Commissioners shall, by a report or declaration under their hands and seals, designate the boundary aforesaid, state their decision on the

points thus referred to them, and particularize the latitude and longitude of the most northwestern point of the Lake of the Woods, and of such other parts of the said boundary as they may deem proper. And both parties agree to consider such designation and decision as final and conclusive. And in the event of the said two Commissioners differing, or both or either of them refusing, declining, or willfully omitting to act, such reports, declarations, or statements shall be made by them, or either of them, and such reference to a friendly sovereign or state shall be made, in all respects, as in the latter part of the fourth article is contained, and in as full a manner as if the same was herein repeated.

ARTICLE THE EIGHTH.

The several boards of two Commissioners mentioned in the four preceding articles shall respectively have power to appoint a secretary, and to employ such surveyors, or other persons, as they shall judge necessary. Duplicates of all their respective reports, declarations, statements, and decisions, and of their accounts, and of the journal of their proceedings, shall be delivered by them to the agents of His Britannic Majesty and to the agents of the United States, who may be respectively appointed and authorized to manage the business on behalf of their respective governments. The said Commissioners shall be respectively paid in such manner as shall be agreed between the two contracting parties, such agreement being to be settled at the time of the exchange of the ratification of this treaty. And all other expenses attending the said Commissioners shall be defrayed equally by the two parties. And in the case of death, sickness, resignation, or necessary absence, the place of every such Commissioner respectively shall be supplied in the same manner as such Commissioner was first appointed, and the new Commissioner shall take the same oath or affirmation, and do the same duties. It is farther agreed between the two contracting parties that in case any of the islands mentioned in any of the preceding articles which were in the possession of one of the parties prior to the commencement of the present war between the two countries should, by the decision of any of the boards of Commissioners aforesaid, or of the sovereign or state so referred to, as in the four next preceding articles contained, fall within the dominions of the other party, all grants of land made previous to the commencement of the war by the party having had such possession shall be as valid as if such island or islands had by such decision or decisions been adjudged to be within the dominions of the party having had such possession.

ARTICLE THE NINTH.

The United States of America engage to put an end, immediately after the ratification of the present treaty, to hostilities with all the tribes or nations of Indians with whom they may be at war at the time of such ratification, and forthwith to restore to such tribes or nations respectively all the possessions, rights, and privileges which they may have enjoyed or been entitled to in 1811, previous to such hostilities: *Provided always*, that such tribes or nations shall agree to desist from all hostilities against the United States of America, their citizens and subjects, upon the ratification of the present treaty being notified to such tribes or nations, and shall so desist accordingly. And His Britannic Majesty engages, on his part, to put an end, immediately after the ratification of the present treaty, to hostilities with all the tribes or nations of Indians with whom he may be at war at the time of such ratification, and forthwith to restore to such tribes or nations respectively all the possessions, rights, and privileges which they may have enjoyed or been entitled to in 1811, previous to such hostilities: *Provided always*, that such tribes or nations shall agree to desist from all hostilities against His Britannic Majesty and his subjects upon the ratification of the present treaty being notified to such tribes or nations, and shall so desist accordingly.

ARTICLE THE TENTH.

Whereas the traffic in slaves is irreconcilable with the principles of humanity and justice, and whereas both His Majesty and the United States are desirous of continuing their efforts to promote its entire abolition, it is hereby agreed that both the contracting parties shall use their best endeavors to accomplish so desirable an object.

ARTICLE THE ELEVENTH.

This treaty, when the same shall have been ratified on both sides, without alteration by either of the contracting parties, and the ratifications mutually exchanged, shall be binding on both parties, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at Washington in the space of four months from this day, or sooner if practicable.

In faith whereof, we, the respective plenipotentiaries, have signed this treaty, and have hereunto affixed our seals. Done in triplicate, at Ghent, the twenty-fourth (24th) day of December, one thousand eight hundred and fourteen.

| | |
|--------|--------------------|
| [L.S.] | GAMBIER. |
| [L.S.] | HENRY GOULDEN. |
| [L.S.] | WILLIAM ADAMS. |
| [L.S.] | JOHN QUINCY ADAMS. |
| [L.S.] | J. A. BAYARD. |
| [L.S.] | H. CLAY. |
| [L.S.] | JONATHAN RUSSELL. |
| [L.S.] | ALBERT GALLATIN. |



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