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**A**

**GENERAL VIEW**

11

OF THE

RISE, PROGRESS, AND BRILLIANT ACHIEVEMENTS

OF THE

**AMERICAN NAVY,**

DOWN TO THE PRESENT TIME.

ILLUSTRATED BY BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES, OFFICIAL REPORTS,  
AND INTERESTING VIEWS OF AMERICAN COMMERCE.

TO WHICH IS AFFIXED

A SUCCINCT ACCOUNT OF THE ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF THE

**GREEK REVOLUTION.**

TERMINATING WITH THE GLORIOUS

**VICTORY OF NAVARINO,**

October 20, 1827.

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BROOKLYN, N. Y.

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## PREFACE.

The strong interest which is evinced by individuals, to learn the early history of their own country, and the enthusiasm with which they peruse the bold achievements of their early defenders, renders the work before us a fair candidate for public favour. The astonishing advancement of our favoured country in population, wealth, arts, and arms, the space which she fills in the map of the world, and the moral influence which she will unavoidably exert among the nations, are sufficient inducements to the study of her history, and the firm attachment of her children. How far the compiler of this history has conduced to the attainment of these objects, and with what judgment the work is executed, is left with his readers to determine.

In relating the exploits of the American Navy on the Lakes, he has taken the liberty to introduce so much of the military operations in the immediate vicinity, as to elucidate the corresponding transactions of the former. How far this will meet the public approbation is not within his province to determine; but he is persuaded, that those who perceive the

## PREFACE.

intimate relation which they bear to each other, will by no means disapprove the plan.

The deep interest which the sufferings and heroism of the Greeks have excited both in Europe and America, is a sufficient pledge of the favourable reception which may be expected for the historical sketch which is appended. As the conflict still rages, no sufficient data can be afforded for a full and correct history; and the compiler has merely to say that he has used his endeavors to select with care, from the most apparently correct sources.



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RISE AND PROGRESS OF  
**THE AMERICAN NAVY.**

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CHAPTER I.

*Rise and Progress of the American Navy, from its Origin  
to the commencement of the Revolution, 1775.*

It is not the intention of the author of this work, to puff off a conqueror, or emblazon a hero; but to delineate the exploits of great and good men. To accomplish this, it will be necessary to exhibit to view not only their own personal achievements, but to unite them with a general sketch of the great events which have marked the rise and progress of American commerce, and the American Navy; that by associating causes and effects, the reader may enjoy an extensive view of the whole field. This subject will not only be interesting, but exhibit to the world, at the same time, a train of the most astonishing events, which have ever been recorded in the whole family of man.

The commerce of the first settlers of North America, in the fore part of the 17th century, was confined to the article of small furs and peltry, principally, which were procured of the natives; to these were soon added, tobacco, grain, provisions, lumber of various kinds, &c. and before the middle of that century, the whale and cod fisheries, and ship building, afforded valuable articles of commerce. Before the century closed, hemp, flax, oil, copper ore, pig and bar iron, whale fins, indigo,



flax seed, and rum, were added to their exports, and the whole taken collectively, laid the foundation of a commerce, that with England alone, at that time, exceeded one million sterling annually, exclusive of their trade with France, Spain, Portugal, Holland, and the other commercial nations of Europe, and the West Indies.

About the first of the 18th century, tar and pitch were ranked among their exports. Cotton was introduced into Carolina soon after, and was added to the commercial staples of the south, and ranked among their most valuable exports. Such was the progress of the commerce of British America, at the commencement of the Revolution in 1775, that their annual exports amounted to more than 4000,000*l.* sterling. The cod and whale fisheries formed very important items in this commercial aggregate. At that time the number of vessels employed in the cod fisheries amounted to six hundred and sixty-five, and their tonnage to twenty-five thousand six hundred and thirty; manned by more than four thousand seamen. The annual amount of fish exported, exceeded 350,000 quintals, which, at \$3 the quintal, exceeded the sum of \$1,050,000, besides pickled fish in barrels, of about one half or two thirds of that sum, making an annual aggregate of more than \$1,500,000. These fish were sold principally in the south of Europe, and the West Indies and brought in exchange specie, wine, brandy, West India goods, &c. The commercial advantages of the whale fishery were also at the same time very considerable. This fishery commenced at the island of Nantucket in 1690, along the American coast, and as early as 1715, they employed six sloops of 30 tons each; but as adventurers engaged in the pursuit, it extended into other regions and other climes. As early as 1730, the Americans employed more than 300 tons of shipping in this fishery, and at the commencement of the Revolution, the colony of Massachusetts employed more than 13000 tons, and more than 4000 seamen. The enterprise of the Americans at that time is very hand-

somely described by Mr. Burke, in his speech in the British House of Commons, in the following remarks :

“As to the wealth which the colonists have drawn from the sea by their fisheries, you had all that matter laid before you at your bar. You surely thought these acquisitions of value, for they seemed to excite your envy, and yet the spirit by which that enterprising employment has been exercised, ought rather, in my opinion, to have raised esteem and admiration. And pray, sir, what in the world is equal to it? Pass by the other parts, and look at the manner in which the New England people of late carried on their whale fishery. While we follow them among the tumbling mountains of ice, and behold them penetrating into the deepest frozen recesses of Hudson’s and Davis’s straits; while we are looking for them beneath the arctic circle, we hear that they have pierced into the opposite region of polar cold, that they are at the antipodes, and engaged under the frozen serpent of the south. Falkland island, which seemed too remote and too romantic an object for the grasp of national ambition, is but a stage and resting place for their ambitious, and victorious industry. Nor is the equinoctial heat more discouraging to them, than the accumulated winter of both poles. We know that while some of them draw the line, or strike the harpoon on the coast of Africa, others run the longitude, and pursue their gigantic game along the coast of Brazil. No sea but what is vexed with their fisheries. No clime that is not witness of their toils. Neither the perseverance of Holland, nor the activity of France, nor the dexterous, and firm sagacity of English enterprise, ever carried their most perilous mode of hardy industry, to the extent to which it has been pursued by this recent people; a people who are still in the gristle, and not hardened into manhood.”

These sentiments of Mr. Burke are in point with the object in view, which is to develope the springs of action that stimulated the commercial enterprise of the most

active, persevering, hardy, adventurous, frugal, and industrious people on earth. The same springs of action extended to every branch of commerce, until they have now become the second commercial nation in the world. Nor will it rest here; for the same commercial spirit continues to rise with their increase of population, and their national resources; and will continue to rise, until the U. S. of America shall become, decidedly, the first commercial nation in the world.

Thus far for a brief summary view, of the rise and progress of American commerce. Let us now turn our attention to the naval spirit and enterprise of this people.

As early as 1710, the colonies of New-England fitted out a naval armament and took Port Royal, a strong town in French Le Acadia, now Annapolis Royal, which was the first successful naval enterprise of the British colonies. In 1745 the same colonies fitted out another armament, and took from the French the strong city of Louisburg, in Le Acadia, then called the Dunkirk of America, in allusion to the strong fortress in France by that name.— These bold and successful adventures astonished not only Europe, but America herself; for brave, hardy, enterprising and valiant as they had proved themselves to have been, in their wars with the French and Indians, they had yet to learn, that their strength could be carried abroad successfully, in distant naval enterprises. These fortresses, while in the hands of the French, annoyed their commerce, but more particularly their fishery, and they roused to the contest, and wrested them from their possession; but at the peace of Utrecht, in 1713, the former was restored; and at the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748, the latter was restored to the French. In the old seven years war, the same colonies rallied again in their strength, and fitted out another armament in 1758, to co-operate with a British fleet; and again took possession of Louisburg, which still remains in possession of Great Britain. Considering the numbers and



resources of those colonies at that day, these achievements were as brilliant as the capture of Quebec in 1759, by Gen. Wolfe, or of Copenhagen by Lord Nelson, in 1807. These valiant feats of arms were but the budding honors of America; but when taken in connexion with the splendid achievements they displayed through that war, and their growing commerce, Great Britain, after the peace of 1763, became jealous of her rising American colonies, and commenced a system of taxation, and other restrictive and coercive measures, which led to an appeal to arms, that severed the colonies from the mother country, in the revolutionary war, 1775.

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## CHAPTER II.

*Subject continued.*

At the peace of 1763, agriculture and commerce again engrossed the attention of the American people, and their naval spirit was hushed to repose, until it was again awakened by the din of war, at the commencement of the revolution, in 1775. Then the sleeping thunders of America awoke in the numerous privateers, and other armed vessels, which cruised successfully against the commerce and armed ships of Britain. Then the naval prowess of America began to unfold itself to the world. Then appeared upon the theatre of naval war a Biddle, a Preble, a Little, a Truxton, and a John Paul Jones, whose splendid achievements added an inextinguishable lustre to their names, and an immortal honor to their country. The following extracts from their several biographical memoirs, will serve more fully to illustrate this remark.

## NICHOLAS BIDDLE,

Commodore in the American Navy.

Captain Biddle was born in the city of Philadelphia, in the year 1750. Among the brave men, who perished in the glorious struggle for the independence of America, Capt. Biddle holds a distinguished rank. His services, and the high expectations raised by his military genius and gallantry, have left a strong impression of his merit, and a profound regret that his early fate should have disappointed, so soon, the hopes of his country.

Very early in life he manifested a partiality for the sea, and before the age of fourteen he had made a voyage to Quebec. In the following year, 1765, he sailed from Philadelphia to Jamaica, and the Bay of Honduras. The vessel left the Bay in the latter end of December, 1765, bound to Antigua, and on the second day of January, in a heavy gale of wind, she was cast away, on a shoal, called the Northern Triangles. After remaining two nights and a day upon the wreck, the crew took to their yawl, the long-boat having been lost, and with great difficulty and hazard, landed on one of the small uninhabited islands, about three leagues distant from the reef, upon which they struck. Here they staid a few days. Some provisions were procured from the wreck, and their boat was refitted. As it was too small to carry them all off, they drew lots to determine who should remain, and young Biddle was among the number. He, and his three companions suffered extreme hardships for want of provisions and good water; and, although various efforts were made for their relief, it was nearly two months before they succeeded.

Such a scene of dangers and sufferings in the commencement of his career, would have discouraged a youth of ordinary enterprise and perseverance. On him it produced no such effect. The coolness and promptitude with which he acted, in the midst of perils that alarmed

the oldest seamen, gave a sure presage of the force of his character, and after he had returned home, he made several European voyages, in which he acquired a thorough knowledge of seamanship.

In the year 1770, when a war between Great Britain and Spain was expected, in consequence of the dispute relative to Falkland's Island, he went to London, in order to enter into the British navy. He took with him letters of recommendation from Thomas Willing, Esq. to his brother-in-law, Capt. Sterling, on board of whose ship he served for some time as a midshipman. The dispute with Spain being accommodated, he intended to leave the navy, but was persuaded by Capt. Sterling to remain in the service, promising that he would use all his interest to get him promoted. His ardent mind, however, could not rest satisfied with the inactivity of his situation, which he was impatient to change for one more suited to his disposition.

In the year 1773, a voyage of discovery was undertaken, at the request of the Royal Society, in order to ascertain how far navigation was practicable towards the North Pole, to advance the discovery of a north-west passage into the south seas, and to make such astronomical observations as might prove serviceable to navigation.

Two vessels, the *Race Horse* and *Carcase* were fitted out for the expedition, the command of which was given to Captain Phipps, afterwards Lord Mulgrave. The peculiar dangers to which such an undertaking was exposed, induced the government to take extraordinary precautions in fitting out and preparing the vessels, and selecting the crews, and a positive order was issued, that no boys should be received on board.

To the bold and enterprising spirit of young Biddle, such an expedition had great attractions. Extremely anxious to join it, he endeavoured to procure Captain Sterling's permission for that purpose, but he was unwilling to part with him, and would not consent to let



him go. The temptation was, however, irresistible. He resolved to go, and laying aside his uniform, he entered on board the *Carcase* before the mast. When he first went on board, he was observed by a seaman who had known him before, and was very much attached to him. The honest fellow, thinking that he must have been degraded, and turned before the mast in disgrace, was greatly affected at seeing him, but he was equally surprised and pleased when he learned the true cause of the young officer's disguise, and he kept his secret as he was requested to do. Impelled by the same spirit, young Horatio, afterwards Lord Nelson, had solicited and obtained permission to enter on board the same vessel. These youthful adventurers are both said to have been appointed cockswains, a station always assigned to the most active and trusty seamen. The particulars of this expedition are well known to the public. These intrepid navigators penetrated as far as the latitude of eighty-one degrees and thirty-nine minutes, and they were, at one time, enclosed with mountains of ice, and their vessels rendered almost immoveable for five days, at the hazard of instant destruction. Captain Biddle kept a journal of his voyage, which was afterwards lost with him.

The commencement of the revolution gave a new turn to his pursuits, and he repaired, without delay, to the standard of his country. When a rupture between England and America appeared inevitable, he returned to Philadelphia, and soon after his arrival, he was appointed to the command of the *Camden* galley, fitted for the defence of the Delaware. He found this too inactive a service, and when the fleet was preparing, under Commodore Hopkins, for an expedition against *New-Providenece*, he applied for a command in the fleet, and was immediately appointed commander of the *Andrew Doria*, a brig of 14 guns and 130 men. Paul Jones, who was then a lieutenant, and was going on the expedition, was distinguished by Captain Biddle, and introduced to his friends as an officer of merit.



Before he sailed from the Capes of Delaware, an incident occurred, which marked his personal intrepidity. Hearing that two deserters from his vessel were at Lewistown in prison, an officer was sent on shore for them, but he returned with information that the two men, with some others, had armed themselves, barricadoed the door, and swore they would not be taken; that the militia of the town had been sent for, but were afraid to open the door, the prisoners threatening to shoot the first man who entered. Captain Biddle immediately went to the prison, accompanied by a midshipman, and calling to one of the deserters, whose name was Green, a stout, resolute fellow, ordered him to open the door; he replied that he would not, and if he attempted to enter, he would shoot him. He then ordered the door to be forced, and entering singly, with a pistol in each hand, he called to Green, who was prepared to fire, and said, "Now Green, if you do not take good aim, you are a dead man." Daunted by his manner, their resolution failed, and the militia coming in, secured them. They afterwards declared to the officer who furnishes this account, that it was Captain Biddle's look and manner, which had awed them into submission, for that they had determined to kill him as soon as he came into the room.

Writing from the Capes to his brother, the late Judge Biddle, he says, "I know not what may be our fate: be it, however, what it may, you may rest assured, I will never cause a blush on the cheeks of my friends or countrymen." Soon after they sailed, the small-pox broke out and raged with great violence in the fleet, which was manned chiefly by New-England seamen. The humanity of Captain Biddle, always prompt and active, was employed on this occasion to alleviate the general distress, by all the means in his power. His own crew, which was from Philadelphia, being secure against the distemper, he took on board great numbers of the sick from the other vessels. Every part of his vessel was

crowded, the long-boat was fitted for their accommodation, and he gave up his own cot to a young midshipman, on whom he bestowed the greatest attention till his death. In the mean while he slept himself upon the lockers, refusing the repeated solicitations of his officers, to accept their births. On their arrival at New-Providence, it surrendered without opposition. The crew of the Andrew Doria, from their crowded situation, became sick, and before she left Providence, there were not men enough, capable of doing duty, to man the boats. Captain Biddle visited them every day, and ordered every necessary refreshment, but they continued sickly until they arrived at New-London.

After refitting at New-London, Captain Biddle received orders to proceed off the banks of Newfoundland, in order to intercept the transports and store-ships bound to Boston. Before he reached the banks, he captured two ships from Scotland, with 400 highland troops on board, destined for Boston. At this time the Andrew Doria had not 100 men. Lieutenant Josiah, a brave and excellent officer, was put on board one of the prizes, with all the highland officers, and ordered to make the first port. Unfortunately, about ten days afterwards, he was taken by the Cerberus frigate, and, on pretence of his being an Englishman, he was ordered to do duty, and extremely ill used. Captain Biddle, hearing of the ill treatment of Lieutenant Josiah, wrote to the admiral at New-York, that, however disagreeable it was to him, he would treat a young man of family, believed to be a son of Lord Craston, who was then his prisoner, in the manner they treated Lieutenant Josiah.

He also applied to his own government in behalf of this injured officer, and by the proceedings of congress, on the 7th of August, 1776, it appears, "that a letter from Captain Nicholas Biddle to the marine committee, was laid before congress and read: whereupon, *Resolved*, That General Washington be directed to propose an exchange of Lieutenant Josiah, for a Lieutenant of

the navy of Great Britain : that the general remonstrated to Lord Howe on the cruel treatment Lieutenant Josiah has met with, of which the congress have received undoubted information." Lieutenant Josiah was exchanged, after an imprisonment of ten months. After the capture of the ships with the highlanders, such was Captain Biddle's activity and success in taking prizes, that when he arrived in the Delaware, he had but five of the crew with which he sailed from New-London, the rest having been distributed among the captured vessels, and their places supplied by men who had entered from the prizes. He had a great number of prisoners, so that, for some days before he got in, he never left the deck.

While he was thus indefatigably engaged in weakening the enemy's power, and advancing his country's interest, he was disinterested and generous in all that related to his private advantage. The brave and worthy opponent, whom the chance of war had thrown in his power, found in him a patron and friend, who, on more than one occasion, was known to restore to the vanquished the fruits of victory.

In the latter end of the year 1776, Captain Biddle was appointed to the command of the Randolph, a frigate of thirty-two guns. With his usual activity, he employed every exertion to get her ready for sea. The difficulty of procuring American seamen at that time, obliged him, in order to man his ship, to take a number of British seamen, who were prisoners of war, and who had requested leave to enter.

The Randolph sailed from Philadelphia, in February, 1777. Soon after she got to sea, her lower masts were discovered to be unsound, and, in a heavy gale of wind, all her masts went by the board. While they were bearing away for Charleston, the English sailors, with some others of the crew, formed a design to take the ship. When all was ready, they gave three cheers on the gun-deck. By the decided and resolute conduct of Captain Biddle and his officers, the ringleaders were seized and punished, and the rest submitted without further resis-



tance. After refitting at Charleston, as speedily as possible, he sailed on a cruise, and three days after he left the bar, he fell in with four sail of vessels, bound from Jamaica to London. One of them, called the True Briton, mounted twenty guns. The commander of her, who had frequently expressed to his passengers, his hopes of falling in with the Randolph, as soon as he perceived her, made all the sail he could from her, but finding he could not escape, he hove too, and kept up a constant fire, until the Randolph had bore down upon him, and was preparing for a broadside, when he hauled down his colours. By her superior sailing, the Randolph was enabled to capture the rest of the vessels, and in one week from the time he sailed from Charleston, Captain Biddle returned there with his prizes, which proved to be very valuable.

Encouraged by his spirit and success, the state of South Carolina made exertions for fitting out an expedition under his command. His name, and the personal attachment to him, urged forward a crowd of volunteers to serve with him, and in a short time, the ship General Moultrie, the brigs Fair America, and Polly, and the Notre Dame, were prepared for sea. A detachment of fifty men from the first regiment of South Carolina continental infantry, was ordered to act as marines on board the Randolph. Such was the attachment which the honorable and amiable deportment of Captain Biddle had impressed, during his stay at Charleston, and such the confidence inspired by his professional conduct and valor, that a general emulation pervaded the corps to have the honor of serving under his command. The tour of duty, after a generous competition among the officers, was decided to Captain Joor, and Lieutenants Grey and Simmons, whose gallant conduct, and that of their brave detachment, did justice to the high character of the regiment. As soon as the Randolph was refitted, and a new mainmast obtained in place of one which had been struck with lightning, she dropt down to



Rebellion Roads with her little squadron. Their intention was to attack the Carysfort frigate, the Perseus twenty-four gun ship, the Hinchinbrook of sixteen guns, and a privateer which had been cruising off the Bar, and had much annoyed the trade. They were detained a considerable time in Rebellion Roads, after they were ready to sail, by contrary winds and want of water on the Bar, for the Randolph. As soon as they got over the Bar, they stood to the eastward, in expectation of falling in with the British cruisers. The next day they retook a dismasted ship from New-England; as she had no cargo on board, they took out her crew, six light guns, and some stores, and set her on fire. Finding that the British ships had left the coast, they proceeded to the West Indies, and cruised to the eastward, and nearly in the latitude of Barbadoes, for some days, during which time they boarded a number of French and Dutch ships, and took an English schooner from New-York, bound to Grenada, which had mistaken the Randolph for a British frigate, and was taken possession of before the mistake was discovered.

On the night of the 7th March, 1778, the fatal accident occurred, which terminated the life of this excellent officer. For some days previously, he had expected an attack. Captain Blake, a brave officer, who commanded a detachment of the second South Carolina regiment, serving as marines on board the General Moultrie, and to whom we are indebted for several of the ensuing particulars, dined on board the Randolph two days before the engagement. At dinner Captain Biddle said,—“We have been cruising here for some time, and have spoken a number of vessels, who will no doubt give information of us, and I should not be surprised if my old ship should be out after us. As to any thing that carries her guns upon one deck, I think myself a match for her.” About three P. M. of the 7th of March, a signal was made from the Randolph for a sail to the windward, in consequence of which the squadron hauled upon a wind, in

order to speak her. It was four o'clock before she could be distinctly seen, when she was discovered to be a ship, though as she neared and came before the wind, she had the appearance of a large sloop with only a square sail set. About seven o'clock, the Randolph being to windward, hove to, the Moultrie being about one hundred and fifty yards astern, and rather to leeward, also hove to. About eight o'clock, the British ship fired a shot just ahead of the Moultrie, and hailed her; the answer was the Polly of New-York; upon which she immediately hauled her wind and hailed the Randolph. She was then, for the first time, discovered to be a two-decker. After several questions asked and answered, as she was ranging up along side the Randolph, and had got on her weather quarter, Lieutenant Barnes, of that ship, called out, "This is the Randolph," and she immediately hoisted her colours and gave the enemy a broadside. Shortly after the action commenced, Captain Biddle received a wound in the thigh and fell. This occasioned some confusion, as it was at first thought that he was killed. He soon, however, ordered a chair to be brought, said that he was only slightly wounded, and being carried forward encouraged the crew. The stern of the enemy's ship being clear of the Randolph, the captain of the Moultrie gave orders to fire, but the enemy having shot ahead, so as to bring the Randolph between them, the last broadside of the Moultrie went into the Randolph, and it was thought by one of the men saved, who was stationed on the quarter-deck near Captain Biddle, that he was wounded by a shot from the Moultrie. The fire from the Randolph was constant and well directed. She fired nearly three broadsides to the enemy's one, and she appeared, while the battle lasted, to be in a continual blaze. In about twenty minutes after the action began, and while the surgeon was examining Captain Biddle's wound on the quarter-deck, the Randolph blew up.

The enemy's vessel was the British vessel Yarmouth, of sixty-four guns, commanded by Captain Vincent.—

So closely were they engaged, that Captain Morgan of the *Fair American*, and all his crew, thought that it was the enemy's ship that had blown up. He stood for the Yarmouth, and had a trumpet in his hand to hail and inquire how Captain Biddle was, when he discovered his mistake. Owing to the disabled condition of the Yarmouth, the other vessels escaped.

The cause of the explosion was never ascertained, but it is remarkable that just before he sailed, after the clerk had copied the signals and orders for the armed vessels that accompanied him, he wrote at the foot of them, "In case of coming to action in the night be very careful of your magazines." The number of persons on board the *Randolph* was three hundred and fifteen, who all perished, except four men, who were tossed about for four days on a piece of the wreck before they were discovered and taken up. From the information of two of these men, who were afterwards in Philadelphia, and of some individuals in the other vessels of the squadron, we have been enabled to state some particulars of this unfortunate event in addition to the accounts given of it by Dr. Ramsay, in his *History of the American Revolution*, and in his *history of the Revolution of South Carolina*. In the former work, the historian thus concludes his account of the action: "Captain Biddle who perished on board the *Randolph* was universally lamented. He was in the prime of life, and had excited high expectations of future usefulness to his country, as a bold and skilful naval officer."

Thus prematurely fell, at the age of twenty-seven, as gallant an officer as any country ever boasted of. In the short career which Providence allowed to him, he displayed all those qualities which constitute a great soldier. Brave to excess, and consummately skilled in his profession, no danger nor unexpected event could shake his firmness, or disturb his presence of mind. An exact and rigid disciplinarian, he tempered his authority with so much humanity and affability, that his orders were



always executed with cheerfulness and alacrity. Perhaps no officer ever understood better the art of commanding the affections, as well as the respect of those who served under him ; if that can be called an art, which was rather the natural effect of the benevolence and magnanimity of his character.”\*

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EDWARD PREBLE,

Commodore in the American Navy.

“JEDEDIAH PREBLE held the commission of brigadier general, under the colonial government of Massachusetts Bay. In the struggle for independence, he took a decided stand in opposition to the encroachments of the British crown, and during that contest, was for several years, a member of the council and senate of that state.— He died in the year 1783, aged seventy-seven, having been gratified by the disposer of human events to live just long enough to see perfected the emancipation of this country from European thralldom, a blessing partly denied to Moses, who was only permitted to view the promised land at a distance, and then expire.

This gentleman, in the year 1761, resided in a part of Falmouth, called then Casco Bay, now Portland, in the Province of Maine, where his son Edward, the subject of this memoir, was born on the 15th of August in that year. In his infantile years, he discovered a persevering and bold temper. His form was robust, his constitution strong, and invigorated by athletic sports. His father placed him at Dummer academy, Newbury, where he received the rudiments of a Latin and English education, under a Mr. Samuel Moody, a gentleman in high respect for his integrity and literary qualifications.

In contrariety to the wishes and expectations of his

\* Regers's Amer. Biographical Dictionary.



father, he, at an early period, manifested a predilection for the sea, and as he persisted in his inclination, his father at last deemed it proper to gratify him. Hence he left school at the dawn of the revolution, and instead of entering a *freshman* at college, he entered *freshman* on board of a letter of marque, Captain Frend, and made his first voyage in a trip to Europe. At the age of eighteen, he was a midshipman on board the state ship Protector, of twenty-six guns, Captain John Foster Williams, in 1779. On her first cruise he had to perform his part in a hard fought action with the English letter of marque Duff, carrying thirty-six guns, off Newfoundland, when the enemy at last blew up. Scarcely forty of the crew were saved. During his second cruise, the Protector was captured, and her principal officers sent prisoners to England, with the exception of Preble, who was released at New-York, through the influence of a Colonel William Tyng, his father's intimate friend. As soon as he obtained his liberty, he returned home.

Mr. George Williams, the late first lieutenant of the Protector, having been appointed to command the sloop of war Winthrop, then fitting out at Boston, Mr. Preble entered as first lieutenant, and continued in her until the peace of 1783, rendering many essential services in the line of his duty. His daring courage and presence of mind in the midst of danger, will be best illustrated by the following anecdote :

Captain Little, having the tender of an English armed brig, which lay in the harbor of Penobscot, was advised of certain circumstances, which induced him to attempt her capture by surprise. To accomplish this object, he run along-side the brig in the night, and had forty boarders dressed in white frocks, to distinguish them from the enemy. As he advanced, he was taken for the brig's tender, hailed, and directed to *run aboard*. Little's reply was, that he *was coming aboard*.

As Little came along-side the brig, Lieutenant Preble and fourteen of the party appointed for the purpose.

jumped on board ; but the rapidity of the vessel's passage prevented the remainder from following. Captain Little, finding the precariousness of Preble's situation, hailed him, desiring to know, if he would not have more men. His reply, indicative of great presence of mind, was, " No, we have more than we want ; we stand in each other's way." The brig being within pistol shot of the shore, the chief part of the enemy on deck leaped over board, and swam to land ; who were followed by some, who made their escape through the cabin windows. The officers were just rising as Preble entered the cabin ; he assured them, that they were his prisoners, and that any resistance would be vain and fatal to them. The vessel of course was surrendered, and it was supposed to superior force. Notwithstanding a brisk cannonade and firing of musketry from a battery on shore, Preble beat his prize out of the harbor, and arrived at Boston, without injury. The knowledge of this gallant achievement greatly enhanced his reputation as a naval officer.

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### THOMAS TRUXTON,

Commodore in the American Navy.

" THE father of Captain Truxton was an eminent counsellor of the bar, in the then colony of New-York, and resided on Long or Nassau Island, where the Commodore was born on the 17th of February, 1755. Having lost his father at an early age, he was placed under the care of John Troup, Esq. of Jamaica, Long-Island, a gentleman well known in the annals of the war between France and England, preceding the American revolution. The sea was his favorite element. At twelve years of age, he first embarked in his naval career under a Captain Joseph Holmes, in the ship Pitt, bound for Bristol, England. The next year, he sailed under a Captain Chambers, in the London trade. While yet in

his novitiate he was impressed on board of an English ship of war of sixty-four guns, during the dispute with Spain about the Falkland Islands, from which ship he was afterwards released, through the influence of some friends in power. The commander of his Britannic Majesty's ship *Prudent*, from which he was discharged, used every persuasion to induce him to remain in the service of the crown, with the strongest assurances, that every exertion should be used for his speedy promotion, but without effect, as he immediately returned to the ship and service from which he had been impressed.

In the beginning of the revolutionary struggle he forthwith embarked in the cause of the colonies against the unjust oppression of Great Britain, and early in 1775 had the command of an armed vessel, with which he cruised against the enemy with great success. In these cruises, the United States were much benefited by the quantities of powder which were found on board his prizes, of which articles they were greatly in want. Towards the close of the same year, when on a voyage to St. Eustatia, a Dutch island in the West Indies, in a letter of marque, of which he was half owner, he was captured off the Island of St. Christopher's, his vessel condemned, and himself released under the provisions of the general restraining act of the British Parliament. From St. Christopher's he went to St. Eustatia, and thence to Philadelphia. His next cruise was in the capacity of first lieutenant of the private armed ship *Congress*, which was just equipping for sea. During the early part of the winter of 1776, this vessel, in company with another private armed vessel, called the *Chance*, fitted out at the same time, made several prizes off the Havana, which were very valuable home-bound Jamaica ships, going through the Gulf of Florida. He, as prizemaster, brought one of them safe into the port of Bedford, Massachusetts. In June of the same year, while the harbor of New-York was blockaded by the British fleet, previous to its evacuation by the Americans, he made



his way to sea through the Long Island Sound, in a vessel called the Independence, fitted out by himself and Isaac Sears, Esq. and placed under his command. Off the Azores or Western Isles, he made several prizes, of which three were large and valuable ships, forming a part of the Windward Island fleet, under convoy. One of these prizes carried more guns and men than his vessel. The proud Englishmen, notwithstanding their vaunted natural prowess, were obliged to strike their colours to an inferior force. Truxton next directed his course to the British Channel, in the ship Mars, of twenty guns, where he made a number of prizes, several of which he sent into Quiberon Bay. The French court, from a desire to lessen the strength of a rival power, had for some time lent a secret aid to the revolting colonies, yet it had not manifested their hostile intentions so openly as to induce the recal of the British minister from Versailles. Hence upon the reception of these prizes, into a French port, the British ambassador, Lord Stormont, made a strong remonstrance to the cabinet, protesting against the admission of American armed vessels and prizes into the ports of France, but without effect. Truxton, after this cruise, domiciliated himself in Philadelphia, from which port he sailed during the remainder of the war, commanding vessels, of which he was in general part owner. His cruises were generally successful.

When commanding the St. James, of 20 guns, and one hundred men, on a voyage to France with Thomas Barclay, Esq. the Consul General from the revolted colonies to that country, a passenger on board, he fell in with a British private ship of war, mounting 32 guns and a proportionate number of men, consequently nearly double his force. After a severe and close engagement, the enemy was obliged to sheer off, and was afterwards towed into New-York in a very crippled state. The late Secretary of the Navy, William Jones, Esq. acted as Captain Truxton's third lieutenant, and conducted him-



self during the whole engagement with such distinguished bravery, that he was shortly after promoted to a first lieutenancy. In this vessel, Truxton returned safe to Philadelphia with a most valuable cargo. He used every means in his power to harass the enemy on the ocean, during every period of the war, and constantly evinced the most consummate skill and undaunted courage; and his exertions were almost universally crowned with complete success.

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### CHAPTER III.

#### JOHN PAUL JONES.

Commodore in the American Navy.

“THE following interesting narrative is translated from a French manuscript, written by himself. While we condemn the author for his egotism, we must make great allowances, on that account for the splendid success that attended his enterprises, and estimate his vanity by the reason he had to be vain. Few even, perhaps, circumstanced as Paul Jones was, would have praised themselves less than he has done in this sketch; which possesses the singular merit of being substantially correct in all parts, so far as we are informed of the matter.”—*Niles' Register.*

“At the commencement of the American war (during the year 1775) I was employed to fit out the little squadron, which the congress had placed under Commodore Hopkins, who was appointed to the command of all the armed vessels appertaining to America, and I hoisted, with my own hands, the American flag, on board the Alfred, which was then displayed for the first time.

I at the same time, acquainted Mr. Hewes, a member of congress, and my particular friend, with a project for seizing on the Island of St. Helena, by means of our little squadron, which would have infallibly rendered us masters of part of the homeward-bound East India fleet ; and as the congress, at that time, proposed to appropriate two thirds of the prizes to itself, they would have thus been furnished with the means of carrying on the war during several years ; but an event of a more pressing nature prevented this scheme from being carried into execution.

The cruelties and vexations, at that time exercised by Dunmore, in Virginia, determined the congress to detach the squadron against him ; but Mr. Hopkins displayed neither zeal nor talents upon this occasion, and lost so much time that his squadron was frozen in the Delaware.

After a delay of two months, the squadron was at length disengaged, and set sail for New-Providence, the principal of the Bahama Islands. There we found a large quantity of artillery, mortars and other implements of warfare, of which we stood greatly in want in America ; and I had the good fortune to render myself extremely useful to the commodore, who was but little acquainted with military operations. It was to me he was indebted for the plan adopted by him when the squadron came in sight of New-Providence, and I also undertook to moor the squadron in a proper birth to execute our enterprize.

On our return from New-Providence, we took two armed vessels, one of which was loaded with bombs, and fell in, near Rhode-Island, with an English man of war, called the Glasgow, carrying twenty-four guns ; but notwithstanding our superiority, both in point of force and sailing, the commander in chief suffered her to escape, after having lost many men killed and wounded, both on board the Alfred and the Cabot.

The squadron now entered the port of New-London,

in Connecticut ; and Hopkins, on receiving intelligence that the English frigates had been driven from Newport, took advantage of the darkness of the nights to repair to Rhode-Island.

A council of war having dismissed the captain of the Providence, one of the ships of the squadron, the commodore gave me orders in writing to take the command of her, and to escort some troops that were proceeding from Rhode-Island to New-York, with a view of serving under General Washington. After this, I received instructions to escort a convoy of artillery from Rhode-Island to New-York, for the defence of which it was destined. On this occasion, I had two different engagements with the Cerberus frigate ; the first for the protection of the vessels under my command, and the second for the preservation of a vessel from St. Domingo, laden with naval stores for the congress. In the course of my service between Boston and New-York, I had also many actions with ships of war under the command of Lord Howe ; but on these as on former occasions, I was enabled to preserve my convoy, and I at length arrived safe in the Delaware, August 1, 1776.

On the 8th of the same month the president of the congress presented me in person, with the commission of captain in the marine of the United States ; this was the first granted by congress since the declaration of independence, which took place on the 4th of July of that same year.

Orders had been given for the construction of thirteen frigates : but, as none of them was yet ready, I proceeded to sea alone, on board the Providence, which was a vessel of but small force, as she carried no more than seventy men, and twelve small cannon. When in the neighborhood of Bermudas, we fell in with the Solebay, and her convoy, from Charleston ; she was a thirty-two gun frigate, and formed part of the squadron under Admiral Parker. I was of course desirous of avoiding an engagement with such superior force : but, as my offi-



cers and men insisted that it was the Jamaica fleet, as it was necessary to command by means of persuasion at this epoch of the war, the result was a serious engagement during six hours, which towards the close, was carried on within pistol shot. A desperate manœuvre was the sole resource left me : I attempted this, it succeeded, and I was fortunate enough to disengage myself.

A short time after this, I took several prizes, and then sailed towards the coast of Nova Scotia, on purpose to destroy the whale and cod fisheries in that neighborhood. When near Sable Island, we fell in with the Milford frigate, carrying thirty-two guns, with which it was impossible to avoid an engagement. A cannonade accordingly took place, from ten o'clock in the morning until sunset ; but the engagement was neither so close nor so hot as that with the Solebay, and I at length escaped through the flats, and entered a little harbor next day, where I destroyed the fishery and vessels.

After this I set sail for the Madame, where I made two descents, at the same time destroying the fisheries, and burning all the vessels I could not carry away with me. Having accomplished this, I returned to Rhode-Island, after an absence of six weeks and five days from the Delaware ; during this interval I had taken sixteen prizes. without including those destroyed.

The commander in chief, who had remained all this time in harbor, now adopted a plan proposed by me, and which consisted,

1. In the destruction of the enemy's fisheries at Isle Royale ; and

2. Of restoring to liberty more than three hundred American prisoners detained there in the coal mines. Three vessels were destined for this service, the Alfred, the Hampden, and the Providence ; but the Hampden having received considerable damage in consequence of running on a rock, could not accompany me. I however, embarked on board the Alfred, and taking the Providence by way of consort, I set sail, and on the 2d of



November, 1776, made prize of a vessel from Liverpool, and soon after the *Mellish*, a large armed vessel, having two British naval officers on board, and a captain belonging to the land service, with a company of soldiers. This ship was carrying ten thousand complete sets of uniform to Canada, for the army posted there under the orders of Generals Carleton and Burgoyne.

The *Providence* having now left the *Alfred* during the night, without the least pretext whatever, I remained alone, and that too during the stormy season, on the enemy's coast; but notwithstanding this, and that I was also greatly embarrassed with my prisoners, I resolved not to renounce my project. I accordingly effected a descent, destroyed a transport of great value, and also burned the magazines and buildings destined for the whale and cod fishery.

In addition to this, I took three transports and a vessel laden with ling and furs, near *Ile Royale*; these prizes were escorted by the *Flora* frigate, which happened to be at a small distance, but which was concealed from us by a fog. Having taken a privateer from Liverpool, mounting sixteen guns, in the course of next day I instantly returned with my prizes, towards the United States; but when in the latitude of Boston, fell in with the *Milford* frigate, which I unwillingly engaged. Towards night, however, I placed the *Alfred* between the enemy and my prizes, and having given the necessary instructions to the latter, to make for the nearest port, I changed my course, set up lights, and by this stratagem saved the vessels I had captured, as the frigate continued in chase of me. Next day I myself was fortunate enough to escape, after a very serious action, which was not terminated until dark, and even then in consequence of a hard gale of wind.

Having returned to Boston, December 10, 1776, the intelligence of the uniforms taken on board the *Mellish*, re-animated the courage of the army under General Washington, which at that period happened to be almost

destitute of clothing. Let me add also, that this unexpected succor contributed not a little to the success of the affair at Trenton against the Hessians, which took place immediately after my arrival.

I now paid out of my own purse the wages due to the crews of the Alfred and the Providence, and lent the rest of my money to the congress. That assembly transmitted me orders from Philadelphia, on the 5th of February, to undertake a secret expedition of great importance, the design of which was, to lay the Island of St. Christopher, and the north side of Jamaica, under contribution; after which we were to attack Pensacola. This project was first conceived by me, and then communicated to Mr. Morris, afterwards minister of finance; but such was the jealousy of Hopkins, the commander in chief, that it was never carried into execution. He was, however, soon after suspended, and then dismissed from the service.

The season being now too far advanced for the execution of the scheme in the West Indies, myself and crew received orders to remove on board the Amphytrite, a French vessel, destined to sail from Portsmouth, New Hampshire, to France, whence we were to pass into Holland, and take possession of the Indienne, a large frigate, constructing there for the congress; some difficulties however ensued, and I was ordered to prepare the Ranger, a vessel mounting eighteen guns.

When General Burgoyne and his army were obliged to surrender at Saratoga, it was I who was the first obliged to carry this interesting intelligence to Nantes, whither I arrived on the 2d of December, 1777. In the course of my voyage, I took two prizes, forming a part of a convoy from the Mediterranean, under the protection of the Invincible, a seventy-four gun ship, under the guns of which one of them was taken.

In the month of January, 1778, I repaired to Paris, to make the necessary arrangements with the American ministers, relative to the equipment of the *Indienne*; but,

as the recent intelligence relative to the capture of Burgoyne had determined the court of France to recognise the independence of America by means of a treaty of alliance, and as the English ambassador at the Hague, in consequence of obtaining possession of the papers of an American agent, found that the *Indienne* was the property of congress, I acquiesced in the opinion of the American ministers ; and it was determined to cede the property to his most christian majesty, this being the most likely method of preserving the property.

I then returned on board the *Ranger*, and as I had received information from America, relative to the force and stations of the English fleet in that quarter, I immediately transmitted a letter to Mr. Deane, one of the American ministers at Paris, communicating a plan of an expedition with a squadron of ten sail of the line, a few frigates, and a small body of land forces, with a view of completely destroying the enemy's naval power acting against the U. States. This scheme was not adopted until it was too late, and then it of course became impracticable.

In the mean time I took several American vessels under my convoy, from Nantes, to the bay of Quiberon, where M. La Motte Piquet was lying at anchor, with six sail of the line, a few frigates, and several merchantmen which he was to take under his protection to the westward of Cape Finisterre. M. de La Fayette was on board this fleet, which was provided with clothing, ammunition, and military stores for America.

I reached the bay, February 13, 1778, and sent to demand of the admiral, *if he would return my salute* ; and this compliment was immediately agreed to by that brave officer, although neither he nor I knew at that period, that a treaty of alliance had been signed between France and America seven days before. This was the first salute received by the American flag from any power, and occasioned much dispute in the English parliament.

I now set sail from the bay of Quiberon to Brest, but did not enter the road ; on the contrary, I anchored at



Cammeret, where I was detained by contrary winds until the French ambassador at the court of St. James', had announced the treaty lately concluded between his most christian majesty and the United States.

On this, I immediately sailed into Brest water, and saluted the Count D'Orvilliers, who returned the salute, and received me with all the honors due to an admiral on board his flag-ship *La Bretange*.

In the month of February, 1776, the parliament of England had authorised George III. to treat all the Americans taken at sea, with arms in their hands, as traitors, pirates, and felons: this, more than any other circumstance, rendered me the declared enemy of Great Britain. From the very commencement of the war an exchange of prisoners had taken place between Gen. Washington and the commanders of the enemy's army; notwithstanding the haughty conduct of Great Britain, she was obliged to submit to this arrangement, and consider the American soldiers as prisoners of war. It was, however, an atrocious crime to act against her by sea; and England, on this occasion, perpetrated anew, all the cruelties on America which she had lavished on Scotland in 1745. A ferocious and vindictive people would have rejoiced to have seen the American sailors cut down from the gibbet while yet alive, their breasts opened with a knife, and their yet palpitating hearts thrown into the flames! If they did not dare to attempt this, they however, shut up a number of citizens of the United States in the English prisons during five whole years, where they suffered all the horrors proceeding from cold, hunger, and every sort of mal-treatment. Some of these unfortunates were sold on the coast of Africa, while others were transported to the West Indies. The firmness with which these martyrs of liberty supported their hard lot, is wholly unexampled; for they preferred every kind of persecution to serving on board the English navy.

Indignant at the barbarous treatment experienced by



the Americans, I determined to make a grand effort in their behalf, with a view of stopping the barbarous proceedings of the English in Europe, as well as on the western continent; in the latter of which they set fire to their houses, destroyed their property, and burned and destroyed whole towns. I accordingly determined, by way of retaliation, to effect a descent upon some part of England, with a view of destroying the shipping. It was also my intention to make some person of distinction prisoner, whom I resolved to detain as a hostage for the security of, and in order to exchange with, the American prisoners in England.

Admiral D'Orvilliers, to whom I communicated this project, offered to procure for me a captain's commission in the French marine, that, in case I met with any disaster, I might claim the protection of his most christian majesty; but however advantageous this was, I determined to decline the acceptance: because, in the first place, I was not authorised by congress to change my flag; and, in the second, such a conduct might have rendered my attachment to America suspected.

I accordingly sailed from Brest, and advanced towards Ireland, neglecting the capture of a number of vessels within my reach, as I did not wish to diminish the strength of my crew. Near to the entrance into Carrickfergus, I, however, seized on a fishing boat, manned with six persons, who proved to be pilots. The Drake, a twenty-gun ship, happened to be then in the road, and even within sight; I imagined it possible to obtain possession of her by surprise during the night. With this view, I immediately gave orders for making the necessary preparations; but the mate, who had drank too much brandy, did not let go the anchor according to orders, which prevented the Ranger from *running foul* of the Drake, according to my intentions. As I had reason to believe, that my appearance had not hitherto given any alarm, I deemed it prudent to cut my cable, and return into St. George's channel. I remained there, buffeted

about by the winds, during three days, until the weather having become more favourable, I determined a second time to attempt a descent ; this project, however, greatly alarmed my lieutenants ; they were poor, they said, and their object was gain, not honor : they accordingly excited disobedience among the ship's company, by persuading them that they had a right to determine, whether the measures adopted by me were well concerted or not.

I happened to be at this period within sight of Whitehaven, in Cumberland, at the mouth of the Solway Frith. This is a considerable harbor, in which there then were about 400 sail, some of them vessels of 250 tons burthen ; and I had determined to take advantage of the ebb tide, when the shipping was dry, to destroy them. To effect this, it was necessary to land about midnight, with a party of determined men, and seize on a fort and a battery, which defended the port. My two lieutenants being averse to the enterprise, and yet being unwilling to discover their true motives, feigned illness. On this I determined to take the command in person, and with much difficulty prevailed on thirty volunteers to follow me.

With this handful of men, and two small boats, I quitted the *Ranger*, at eleven o'clock at night, and rowed towards the harbor ; but, it being farther off than we imagined, and the tide against us, day broke before we had effected a landing.

I now sent the smallest of the boats towards the northern side of the harbor to set fire to the vessels, while I myself advanced with the other to the south, to take possession of the fort and battery, the first of which was taken by assault, I myself being the first to enter it through one of the embrasures. We then nailed up the thirty-six cannon mounted on the batteries, and advanced towards the south, with a view of burning all the vessels, when, to my infinite astonishment, I beheld the other boat returning, without having done any thing.

On this, I deemed it best to unite my forces, with a view of effecting, at least, some part of our enterprise. In short we set fire to some of the vessels, and it soon burned with great fierceness, and began to communicate ; but, as it was now eight o'clock in the morning, and the inhabitants began to approach near us in crowds, I could no longer defer my retreat, which was made in good order. On my return on board the *Ranger*, the wind being favorable, I set sail for the coast of Scotland. It was my intention to take the Earl of Selkirk prisoner, and detain his lordship as a hostage, in conformity to the project already mentioned. It was with this view about noon of the same day I landed on that nobleman's estate, with two officers and a few men. In the course of my progress, I fell in with some of the inhabitants, who, taking me for an Englishman, observed that Lord Selkirk was then in London, but that her ladyship and several ladies were at the castle.

On this, I determined to return : but such moderate conduct was not conformable to the wishes of my people, who were disposed to pillage, burn and destroy every thing, in imitation of the conduct of the English towards the Americans. Although I was not disposed to copy such horrid proceedings, more especially when a lady was in question, it was yet necessary to recur to such means as should satisfy their cupidity, and, at the same time, provide for Lady Selkirk's safety. It immediately appeared to me, to be the most proper mode to give orders to the two officers to repair to the castle with the men, who were to remain on the outside under arms, while they themselves entered alone. They were then instructed to enter, and demand the family plate, in a polite manner, accepting whatever was offered them, and then to return, without making any further inquiries, or attempting to search for more.

I was punctually obeyed ; the plate was delivered : Lady Selkirk herself observed to the officers, that she was exceedingly sensible of my moderation ; she even



intimated a wish to repair to the shore, although a mile distant from her residence, in order to invite me to dinner ; but the officers would not allow her ladyship to take so much trouble.

Next day, April 4, 1778, I prepared to return to Carrickfergus, to attack the Drake in open day ; but the lieutenants were averse to the project, and the crew of the Ranger became so mutinous, that I ran no small risk of being either killed or thrown into the sea ; and but two days before, I was on the point of being abandoned, and left ashore at Whitehaven.

In the mean time, the captain of the Drake sloop of war, having been informed of our descent at Whitehaven, prepared to attack us ; and, while every thing was getting ready, he despatched an officer on board of his boat, with a spy-glass, in order to reconnoitre the Ranger. On this, I immediately masked my guns, kept my men out of sight, and disguised the vessel in such a manner as to resemble a merchantman ; in consequence of this the crew of the boat were deceived and taken. This trifling success produced the effect of enchantment on my sailors, who were no longer averse from giving her battle.

The Drake, having fired some cannon to recall her boat, hoisted her anchor, and came out, attended by a number of yachts and pleasure-boats, with ladies and gentlemen on board : but when the engagement became serious, they thought proper to withdraw to a respectful distance.

No sooner did the enemy make his appearance, than *I lay to*, determined not to engage until she came within pistol shot. The engagement was accordingly sustained with great vivacity on both sides during an hour and five minutes, when, the captain and lieutenant being both mortally wounded, the English flag was lowered, and I took possession of her. I regretted greatly the death of these brave men, and committed them to the ocean with all the honors due to their valor. I, at the same time, dismissed the six fishermen, whom I have before men-



tioned, whose loss I repaired, and whose services I recompensed out of my own purse.

The Drake was greatly damaged in her masts and tackling, and lost forty men either killed or wounded during the action. I had also taken several other prizes ; but, as my complement of men had only amounted to one hundred and twenty-three, I retained no more than two of them, which arrived in safety at Brest, where I myself anchored with the Ranger and Drake, on the 7th of May, after an absence of twenty-eight days, during which I had taken upward of two hundred prisoners. This expedition was of great disservice to Great Britain, as she was not only obliged to fortify her ports, but also to permit the arming of the Irish volunteers, as Lord Mountmorris demonstrated in a speech in parliament.

At the time I had been obliged to permit my people to take Lady Selkirk's plate, I determined to redeem it out of my own funds the moment it should be sold, and restore it to the family. Accordingly on my arrival at Brest, I instantly despatched a most pathetic letter to her ladyship, in which I detailed the motives of my expedition, and the cruel necessity I was under, in consequence of the conduct of the English in America, to inflict the punishment of retaliation. This was sent open to the post-master-general, that it might be shewn to the king of England and his ministers ; and the court of St. James was at length obliged to renounce the sanguinary act of its parliament, and exchange those very Americans whom they called traitors, pirates and felons, against the prisoners of war, whom I had taken and carried to France.

“ RANGER, BREST, 8th May, 1778.

“ *Madam*—It cannot be too much lamented, that, in the profession of arms, the officer of finer feeling, and of real sensibility, should be under the necessity of winking at any action of persons under his command, which his heart cannot approve ; but the reflection is doubly severe, when he finds himself obliged, in appearance, to countenance such action by authority.

“ This hard case was mine, when, on the 23d of April last, I landed on St. Mary’s Isle. Knowing Lord Selkirk’s interest with his king, I wished to make him the happy instrument of alleviating the horrors of hopeless captivity, when the brave are overpowered and made prisoners of war. It was perhaps fortunate for you madam, that he was from home, for it was my intention to have taken him on board the Ranger, and to have detained him, until, through his means, a general and fair exchange of prisoners, as well in Europe as in America, had been effected.

“ When I was informed, by some men whom I met at landing, that his lordship was absent, I walked back to my boat, determined to leave the island. By the way, however, some officers, who were with me, could not forbear expressing their discontent, observing, that in America no delicacy was shown by the English, who took away all sorts of moveable property, setting fire not only to towns, and to the houses of the rich, without distinction, but not even sparing the wretched hamlets and milk-cows of the poor and helpless, at the approach of an inclement winter. That party had been with me as volunteers the same morning at Whitehaven; some complaisance, therefore, was their due. I had but a moment to think how I might gratify them, and, at the same time, do your ladyship the least injury. I charged the two officers to permit none of the seamen to enter the house, or to hurt any thing about it; to treat you, madam, with the utmost respect; to accept of the plate which was offered; and to come away without making a search or demanding any thing else. I am induced to believe that I was punctually obeyed, since I am informed that the plate which they brought away is far short of the quantity which is expressed in the inventory which accompanied it. I have gratified my men, and when the plate is sold I shall become the purchaser, and will *gratify my own feelings*, by restoring it to you by such conveyance as you shall please to direct.

“ Had the earl been on board the following evening, he would have seen the awful pomp and dreadful carnage of a sea engagement ; both affording ample subject for the pencil, as well as melancholy reflection for the contemplative mind. Humanity starts back at such scenes of horror, and cannot but execrate the vile promoters of this detested war :—

For *they*, 'twas *they*, unsheathed the ruthless blade,  
And Heaven shall ask the havock it has made.

“ The British ship of war Drake, mounting twenty guns, with more than her full complement of officers and men, besides a number of volunteers, came out from Carrickfergus, in order to attack and take the continental ship of war Ranger, of eighteen guns, and short of her complement of officers and men ; the ships met, and the advantage was disputed with great fortitude on each side for an hour and five minutes, when the gallant commander of the Drake fell, and victory declared in favor of the Ranger. His amiable lieutenant lay mortally wounded, besides near forty of the inferior officers and crew killed and wounded. A melancholy demonstration of the uncertainty of human prospects. I buried them in a spacious grave with the honors due to the memory of the brave.

“ Though I have drawn my sword in the present generous struggle for the rights of man, yet I am in arms, merely as an American, nor am I in pursuit of riches. My fortune is liberal enough, having no wife nor family, and having lived long enough to know that riches cannot ensure happiness. I profess myself a citizen of the world, totally unfettered by the little mean distinctions of climate or of country, which diminish the benevolence of the heart, and set bounds to philanthropy. Before this war began, I had, at an early time of life, withdrawn from the sea service, in favor of “calm contemplation and poetic ease.” I have sacrificed, not only my favor-



ite scheme of life, *but the softer affections of the heart*, and my prospects of domestic happiness, and I am ready to sacrifice my life, also, with cheerfulness, if that forfeiture would restore peace and good will amongst mankind.

“ As the feelings of your gentle bosom cannot, in that respect, but be congenial with mine; let me entreat you, madam, to use your soft persuasive arts with your husband, to endeavor to stop this cruel and destructive war, in which, Britain never can succeed. Heaven can never countenance the barbarous and unmanly practices of the Britons in America, which savages would blush at, and which if not discontinued, will soon be retaliated in Britain by a justly enraged people. Should you fail in this, (for I am persuaded you will attempt it—and who can resist the power of such an advocate?) your endeavors to effect a general exchange of prisoners will be an act of humanity, which will afford you golden feelings on a death bed:

I hope this cruel contest will soon be closed; but should it continue, I wage no war with the fair! I acknowledge their power, and bend before it with profound submission! Let not therefore, the amiable Countess of Selkirk regard me as an enemy; I am ambitious of her esteem and friendship, and would do any thing, consistent with my duty, to merit it.

“ The honor of a line from your hand, in answer to this, will lay me under a very singular obligation; and if I can render you any acceptable service, in France or elsewhere, I hope you see into my character so far as to command me without the least grain of service. I wish to know exactly, the behavior of my people, as I am determined to punish them if they have exceeded their liberty.

“ I have the honor to be, with much esteem and with profound respect, madam, your most obedient and most humble servant,

“ PAUL JONES.

“ To the Right Hon. the Countess of Selkirk, }  
St. Mary's Isle, Scotland. ” }

During the course of the war, I found it impossible to restore the plate belonging to the Selkirk family; I however, purchased it at a great price, and at length found means to send it by land from l'Orient to Calais, by means of M. de Calonne, who transmitted me a very flattering letter on the occasion. In short I at length received a very flattering letter from the Earl of Selkirk, acknowledging the receipt of it.

I had no sooner arrived at Brest, than Admiral the Count D'Orvilliers transmitted an account of my expedition to the minister of the marine, in consequence of which it was intimated to Dr. Franklin, that his majesty was desirous that I should repair to Versailles, as he was resolved to employ me on a secret expedition, for which purpose he would give me the *Indienne*, with some other frigates, with troops, &c. for the purpose of effecting a descent. I was instantly informed of this by the ambassador, who observed to me, at the same time, that this must be considered as a profound secret, it being of so important a nature, that it had been deemed proper to withhold a communication of it even to his colleagues.

M. de Sartine received me with the most distinguished politeness, making me, at the same time, the most flattering promises; and the Prince de Nassau was sent into Holland to give instructions for the necessary arrangements for arming and equipping the frigate intended for me. But in a short time after this, hostilities took place between France and England in consequence of the action with *La Belle Poule*. This not a little embarrassed the Minister of the Marine, and the difficulty was not diminished by the intelligence brought by the prince, who asserted that the Dutch would not permit the *Indienne* to be equipped.

As M. de Sartine had written to the three American ministers, and obtained their consent for my remaining in Europe. I offered to serve on board of the grand fleet; I also communicated several plans for crippling the power of England, such as that of destroying her

trade and settlements on the coast of Africa, and in Hudson's Bay; of annihilating their fisheries in Newfoundland; intercepting their East India and West India, and above all, the Baltic fleet, which was escorted by a single frigate, as I learned by certain information from England. The minister adopted the last of these plans; and I accordingly repaired to Brest, to take the command of one of the frigates of that port, with two others, and a cutter, &c. then at St. Maloes; but I found, on my arrival, that the admiral had appointed a French officer to the vessel in question, and as there was not a single moment to be lost, the senior officer of the frigates at St. Maloes was despatched against the Baltic fleet, which he missed, by not steering sufficiently near to the coast of England to intercept it.

Being greatly disgusted with a series of delays, that ensued during nine months, I at length repaired to Versailles, with an intention of returning to America, if I should not immediately obtain a command; for I recollected the saying of Old Richard, "If you wish that your affairs should be prosperous, superintend them in person," &c. This induced me to promise, that if the minister should at length comply with my request, I should call my own ship "Old Richard."

Accordingly, on obtaining *Le Duras*, until a better vessel could be procured, I called her ———. She was a very small and a very old and infirm vessel, that had made four voyages to the East Indies. As proper guns could not be procured at L'Orient, where the ——— lay, I repaired, first to Bordeaux, and then to Angouleme, where I made a contract for such as I wanted. On my return, I found that the Marquis de la Fayette, who had returned from America, was desirous to join me in the expedition, it being intended that he should command a body of land forces, he having obtained the king's command for that purpose.

While the necessary arrangements were making at court, a naval commissary purchased at Nantes a mer-



chantman, called *La Pallas*, of thirty-two eight pounders, and a brig, named *La Vengeance*, of twelve three pounders ; but neither of them was calculated for war : to these was added *Le Cerf*, a very fine cutter belonging to the royal navy, carrying eighteen nine pounders ; with the *Alliance*, a new frigate, belonging to the United States : but as the guns had not as yet arrived from Angouleme, *The Good Man Richard* was armed from an old battery of twelve pounders ; and as the expedition was intended against the enemy's ports, I mounted six old eighteen pounders in the gun room, so that she might, in some measure, be called a forty gun ship. As it was found impossible to procure a sufficient number of American sailors, I determined to supply the deficiency by enrolling English ones, who happened to be prisoners of war in France ; and in addition to these, a certain number of peasants was levied, so that we may be said to have had as bad a crew as was ever shipped on board any vessel. I was given to understand, however, that the *chosen body of troops*, under the command of the Marquis de la Fayette, would serve as a guarantee for their good conduct ; but no sooner was the little squadron ready, than I received a letter from the Marquis, intimating that the object of the expedition having been divulged at Paris, the king had issued orders to prevent the embarkation of the troops, in consequence of which he had joined his regiment.

Thus the project, which was no less than that of putting Liverpool, the second town in England, under contribution, failed, in consequence of having been indiscreetly communicated to\*\*\*\*\*.

I ought also to remark, that, according to the first arrangement, my little squadron was to have been joined by two fireships, and five hundred men of Walsh's Irish regiment, but the minister did not keep his word, for he neither procured for me the fire-ships, nor the soldiers ; so that it became impossible for me to fulfil the plan I

had concerted, although it was still more important than that of seizing on Liverpool.

I now received orders to escort a fleet of transports and merchantmen from L'Orient, destined for different ports between that and Bordeaux; and after that I was to chase away the English cruisers from the Bay of Biscay, and then to return for further orders.

After executing this commission, on my representing how necessary it was to make a diversion in favor of the count D'Orvilliers, then cruising in the Channel, with sixty-six ships of the line, I received a *carte blanche* during six weeks, without any other restriction than that of repairing to the Texel, by the first of October. By this time, I received intimation from England, that eight East Indianen were soon expected on the coast of Ireland, near to Limerick. This was an object of great attention: and as there were two privateers at Port L'Orient ready for sea, *Le Monsieur*, of forty guns, and *Le Granville*, of fourteen, the captains of which offered to place themselves under my orders, I accepted the proposition. But the French commissary who superintended the naval department, acted with great impropriety on this, as well as on many former occasions.

The little squadron at length set sail from the road of Groays, on the fourteenth of August, 1779; but we had no sooner proceeded to the north of the mouth of the Channel, than *Le Monsieur* and *Le Granville* abandoned me during the night, and *Le Cerf* soon after imitated their conduct. I was extremely anxious to cruise for a fortnight in the latitude of Limerick: but the captain of the *Alliance*, after objecting to this, also left me during the night; and as I had now with me only the *Pallas* and the *Vengeance*, I was obliged to renounce my original intentions.

I took two prizes on the coast of Ireland; and, within sight of Scotland, came up and seized two privateers, of twenty-two guns each, which, with a brigantine, I sent to Bergen, in Norway, according to the orders I had re-

ceived from Dr. Franklin : these prizes, however, were restored to the English by the king of Denmark.

When I entered the North Sea, I captured several vessels, and learned by my prisoners, as well as by the newspapers, that the capital of Scotland and the port of Leith were left totally defenceless. I also understood, at the same time, that my information relative to the eight Indiamen was correct ; they having entered Limerick three days after I been obliged to leave the neighborhood of that port.

As there was only a twenty gun ship and two cutters in Leith Road, I deemed it practicable to lay those two places under contribution. I had indeed no other force to execute this project, than the Richard, the Pallas, and the Vengeance ; but I well knew, that in order to perform a brilliant action, it is not always necessary to possess great means. I therefore held out the prospect of great booty to the captains under my command ; and, as to myself, I was satisfied with the idea of making a diversion in favor of the Count D'Orvilliers, who was then in the Channel.

I now distributed red clothes to my men, and put some of them on board the prizes, so as to give them the appearance of transports full of troops. All the necessary arrangements were also taken to carry the enterprise into execution : but, about a quarter of an hour before the descent was to have been made, a sudden tempest arose, and drove me out of the Forth, or Edinburgh Frith, and so violent was the storm that one of my prizes was lost.

This did not, however, deter me, notwithstanding the smallness of my forces, from forming different enterprises of a similar nature : but I could not induce the captains of the Pallas and Vengeance to second my views ; I was therefore obliged to content myself by spreading alarm on the coast, and destroying the shipping, which I did as far as Hull.



On the morning of the 23d September, while I was cruising in the latitude of Flamborough Head, which I had appointed as a place of rendezvous for my little squadron, and where I hoped to be rejoined by the Alliance and Le Cerf, and also to fall in with the Baltic fleet; this convoy accordingly appeared, at a time when I had been abandoned by several of my consorts, had lost two boats, with their crews, who had run away on the coast of Ireland, and when a third, with eighteen men on board, was in chase of a merchantman to the windward, leaving me with a scanty crew, and only a single lieutenant and some inferior officers, on board.

It was about two o'clock in the afternoon that the Baltic fleet appeared in view; I then happened to have the wind of it, and was about two leagues distant from the coast of England. I learned from my prisoners, that the convoy was escorted by the Serapis, a new vessel, that could mount fifty-six guns, but then carried only forty-four, on two decks, the lower battery carrying eighteen pounders, and the Countess of Scarborough, a new twenty-two gun ship.

We were no sooner descried than the armed vessels stood out to sea, while the trade took refuge under the cannon of Scarborough Castle.

As there was but little wind, I cou'd not come up with the enemy before night. The moon did not rise until eight, and at the close of day the Serapis and Countess of Scarborough tacked and stood for the fortress. I was lucky enough to discover this manœuvre by means of my night glass, without which I should have remained in ignorance of it. On this I immediately altered my course six points, with a view of cutting off the enemy; which was no sooner perceived by the Pallas, than it was supposed my crew had mutinied, which induced her captain to *haul his wind*, and to stand out to sea, while the Alliance *lay to*, to windward, at a considerable distance; and, as the captain of this vessel had never paid any attention whatever to the signals of the Richard

since her leaving France, I was obliged to run all risks and enter into action with the *Richard* only, to prevent the enemy's escape.

I accordingly began the engagement at 7 o'clock at night, within pistol shot of the *Serapis*, and sustained the brunt of it for nearly a whole hour at that distance, exposed, not only to her fire but also to that of the *Countess of Scarborough*, which *raked* the *Richard*, by means of the broadsides she fired into her stern.

It ought to be here remarked, that the *Richard*, properly speaking, was only a thirty-four gun frigate, carrying only twelve-pounders; but six eighteen-pounders had been placed in the gun room, in case of being obliged to recur to a canonade in an enemy's harbor. The sea being very calm during the engagement, I hoped to be able to derive great advantage from this circumstance; but instead of this, they burst at the commencement of the action, and the officers and men, posted at this service, and who were selected as the best of the whole crew, were either killed, wounded, or affrighted to such a degree, that none of them were of any service during the rest of the engagement.

In this unfortunate extremity, having to contend with three times my own strength, the *Richard* being in imminent danger of going to the bottom, and her guns being no longer in a condition to return the enemy's fire, I had recourse to a dangerous expedient, to grapple with the *Serapis*, in order, on the one hand, to render her superiority useless, and, on the other, to cover ourselves from the fire of her consort. This manœuvre succeeded most admirably, and I fastened the *Serapis*, with my own hands, to the *Richard*. On this, the captain of the *Countess of Scarborough*, who was a natural son of the Duke of Northumberland, conducted himself like a man of sense, and from that moment ceased to fire upon us, well knowing that he must at the same time damage the *Serapis*.

That vessel being to windward at the moment we had

grappled, instantly dropped her anchor, hoping by this to disengage herself from us ; but this did not answer her expectations, and the engagement from that moment consisted of the discharge of great guns, swivels, musquetry, and grenades.—The English at first, testified a desire to board the *Richard*, but they no sooner saw the danger than they desisted. The enemy however, possessed the advantage of their two batteries, besides the guns on their fore-castle, and quarter-deck, while our cannon was either burst or abandoned, except four pieces on the fore-castle, which were also relinquished during some minutes. Mr. Mease, the officer who commanded these guns, had been dangerously wounded on the head, and having, at that period, no greater object to occupy my attention, I myself took his post. A few sailors came to my assistance of their own accord, and served the two guns next to the enemy with surprising courage and address. A short time after this, I received sufficient assistance to be able to remove one of the fore-castle guns from the opposite side ; but we had not strength sufficient to remove the other, so that we could only bring three guns to bear upon the enemy during the remainder of the action.

The moon, which as I have already observed, rose at eight, beheld the two vessels surrounded by flame, in consequence of the explosion of the cannon. It so happened at this period, that the mainmast of the *Serapis*, which was painted yellow, appeared extremely distinct, so as to form an excellent mark ; on this, I pointed one of my guns at it, taking care to *ram home* the shot. In the mean time, the two other pieces were admirably served against the——— and swept its fore-castle, by means of an oblique fire. The *tops* also seconded us bravely, by means of musquetry and swivels, and also threw a multitude of grenades so as greatly to annoy the enemy. By these means they were driven from their quarters, notwithstanding their superiority in point of men and artillery.



The captain of the *Serapis*, after consulting with his officers, resolved to strike ; but an unlucky accident, which occurred on board the *Richard*, prevented this : a bullet having destroyed one of our pumps, the carpenter was seized with a panic, and told the gunner, and another petty officer, that we were sinking.

Some one observed at the same time, that both I and the lieutenant were killed ; in consequence of which the gunner, considering himself as commanding officer, ran instantly to the quarter-deck, in order to haul down the American colours, which he would have actually hauled down, had not the flag-staff been carried away at the time the *Richard* grappled with the *Serapis*.

The captain on hearing the gunner express his wishes to surrender, in consequence of his supposing that we were sinking, instantly addressed himself to me, and exclaimed, " Do you ask for quarter ?—Do you ask for quarter ?" I was so occupied, at this period, in serving the three pieces of cannon on the fore-castle, that I remained totally ignorant of what had occurred on deck ; I replied, however, " I do not dream of surrendering, but I am determined to make you strike !"

The English commander, however, conceived some faint hopes, in consequence of what had been said, that the *Richard* was actually sinking ; but when he perceived that her fire did not diminish, he immediately ordered his men from the fore-castle, where they were too much exposed, and stationed them below, where they kept up such a tremendous discharge against the *Richard*, that it at once indicated vengeance and despair.

It has already been observed, that when I commenced the action, the *Pallas* was at a great distance to windward, while the *Alliance* lay to in the same position. When the captain of the former perceived that the engagement took place, he spoke to his consort ; but they lost a great deal of time, and it was not until now, that they came within gun shot of the *Countess of Scarborough*, and a kind of running fight took place between the

latter and the Pallas. The Alliance followed them, and on passing us, fired a broadside, which, as we were closely engaged with the enemy, did no more harm to them than to us.

The battle still continued with uncommon ardor between us and the enemy, whose———or burned, and her main-mast cut away, by degrees, by our bullets : while the heavier metal of the Serapis drove in one of the sides of my ship, and met with little or no resistance. In short, our helm was rendered useless, and the poop was only supported by an old and shattered piece of timber, which alone prevented it from giving away.

At length, after a short engagement, the Countess of Scarborough surrendered to the Pallas ; it was then that the captain of the latter asked the commander of the Alliance, “ whether he would take charge of the prize, or sail and give succour to the commodore ?” On this the Alliance began to stand backwards and forwards under her topsails, until having got to the windward, she came down, and discharged a second broadside against the fore-part of the Serapis, and the hind-part of the Richard. On this I and several other persons begged for God’s sake, that they would cease firing, and send a few men on board of us ; but he disobeyed, and fired another broadside as he passed along ; after which he kept at a most respectful distance, and took great care not to expose himself during the remainder of the action, without receiving a single shot, or having a man wounded during the whole engagement.

The idea that we were sinking had taken such possession of the armourer’s mind that he opened the scuttles, and made all the prisoners, to the number of a hundred, sally forth, in opposition to my reiterated orders. This event might have proved fatal, had I not taken advantage of their affright to station them at the pumps, where they displayed surprising zeal, appearing actually to forget their captivity ; for there was nothing to prevent their going on board the Serapis ; or, it was in their

power to put an end to the engagement in an instant, by either killing me, or throwing me into the sea.

As our three quarter-deck guns continued to play without interruption on the enemy, raked her hinder parts, and damaged her mast in such a manner, that it was only supported from falling by the yards of our ship, while the tops poured in a continual discharge ; the fire of the English began to deaden in such a manner as to bereave them of all hope of success.

A circumstance, however occurred, that contributed not a little to the victory of the *Richard* : this was the extraordinary intrepidity and presence of mind of a Scotch sailor, posted in the main-top ; this brave fellow, of his own accord, seized a lighted match, and a basket of hand-grenades, with which he advanced along the main-yard, until he had arrived exactly above the enemy's deck. As the flames of their parapets and shrouds, added to the light of the moon, enabled him to distinguish objects, the moment he perceived two or three persons assembled together, he instantly discharged a hand grenade among them ; he had even address enough to drop several through their scuttles, and one of them set fire to the cartridge of an eighteen pounder belonging to the lower deck, the discharge of which scorched several of the crew.

On this, the captain of the *Serapis* came upon the quarter deck, lowered his flag and asked for quarter, at the very moment his main-mast had fallen into the sea. He then came on board with his officers, and presented me with his sword. While this was transacting, eight or ten men belonging to the *Richard* seized on the *Serapis'* shallop, which had been at anchor during the engagement, and made off.

It was more than eleven o'clock when the battle ended ; it had consequently lasted more than four hours. My ship had no more than 322 men, good, bad and indifferent, on board, at the commencement of the engagement ; and sixty of these, posted in the gun-room when



the gun burst, having been of no further service during the action, could not be properly considered as forming part of the crew opposed to the *Serapis*, which had received a supply of English sailors while in Denmark; and it appeared, indeed, by the muster roll, that there were upwards of 400 on board of her, when the first gun was fired. Her superiority was still more considerable in respect to guns, without mentioning her greater weight in metal, which surpassed ours beyond all comparison. Thus, setting aside the damage done by the *Countess of Scarborough*, during the forepart of the action, and also by the three broadsides from the *Alliance*, it will be easy to form a due judgement of the combat between the *Richard* and the *Serapis*, and set a proper value on a victory obtained over a force so greatly superior, after such a long, bloody and close engagement.

The *Vengeance*, a corvette, mounting twelve three pounders, and the boat belonging to the pilot, with my second lieutenant, another officer, and ten men, would have been of singular service, either in pursuing and capturing the convoy, or by reinforcing me; but, strange as it may appear, the fact is, that they remained all this time mere spectators of the action, in which they took no interest, keeping themselves to windward, and out of all danger; while on the other hand, the conduct of the *Alliance* had at least the appearance of proceeding from a principle worse than ignorance or insubordination.

It must appear clear, from what has been already said, that if the enemy's ports were not annoyed, the Baltic fleet taken, and the eight *Indiamen* seized, the blame did not lie with me.

It is but justice, however, to observe, that some of my officers conducted themselves admirably during the action. The lieutenant, Mr. Dale, being left alone at the guns below, and finding he could not rally his men, came upon deck, and superintended the working of the pumps, notwithstanding he had been wounded. Not-

withstanding all his efforts, the hold was more than half full of water when the enemy surrendered.

During the last three hours of the action both the vessels were on fire ; by throwing water on the flames, it was sometimes supposed that they were quenched, but they always broke forth anew, and, on the close of the action, we imagined it wholly extinguished. It was very calm during the remainder of the night ; but, when the wind began to blow, our danger became imminent, the fire having penetrated the timbers, and spread until it had reached within a few inches of the powder-magazine. On this, the ammunition was brought on the deck, to be thrown into the sea, in case of extremity ; but we, at length, succeeded in our endeavors, by cutting away a few planks, and employing our buckets.

Next morning the weather was hazy and not a sail to be seen. We then examined the *Richard* to see if it were possible to carry her into any port. This proving wholly impracticable, all the boats were employed in carrying the wounded on board the other vessels. This occupied much of our time, and on the succeeding day, notwithstanding all our pumps had been at work, the hold was entirely full of water, and the vessel soon after sunk. On this occasion I could only save signal flags, and I lost all my property, amounting to more than 5,000 livres.

On this I instantly assumed the command of the *Serapis*, on which we erected *jury masts* ; but the sea was so tempestuous that it was ten days before we reached the *Texel*.

No sooner was my arrival known than forty-two vessels, forming different squadrons of frigates, were fitted out from the various ports in Great Britain against me, and two of these were stationed during three months at the mouths of the *Texel* and the *Fly*. My situation in Holland influenced not a little the conduct of the belligerent powers, at the same time that it excited the attention of all Europe. The English minister at the Hague

addressed different memorials to the states general, in all which he insisted that the Serapis and the Countess of Scarborough "should be delivered up to the king, his master;" and he, at the same time, claimed me under the appellation of "Scotch pirate."

Instead of listening to these propositions, the states general permitted me to land my wounded on the island of the Texel, which was delivered up to me for that purpose; on this the British government became furious, and Holland was reduced to so critical a situation, that the states were under the necessity of insisting that I should either leave the Texel, or produce a commission from his most christian majesty, and hoist the French flag.

The prince of Orange, who was attached to the English interest, sent the Vice Admiral Rhynst, who was also English in his heart, to assume the command of the Dutch squadron in the Texel, composed of thirteen two-deckers. This officer drew up his squadron, during six weeks, in such a manner as to menace us; and, in short, did every thing in his power to render my situation both dangerous and disagreeable.

In the mean time I had an interview with the Duke de la Vanguyon, at Amsterdam, who intimated to me, that it was the intention of the king of France that I should hoist his flag during my stay in the Texel, as he imagined, that my prizes would assuredly fall into the enemy's hands if I tried to escape—I, however, refused this honor, as I had declared myself an American officer, and had given a copy of my commission from congress to the Dutch admiral. It was contrived, however, at length, that I should go on board the frigate Alliance, the captain of which had been sent to Paris, to give an account of his conduct, and where I should still carry my former colours, while the prizes should hoist the French flag.

At length the wind becoming favorable, on the 27th of February, 1779, the Alliance set sail after having



lost all her anchors, one only excepted, in consequence of Admiral Rhynst's instructions to the pilot; and it was at least an hundred to one, that we should fall in with the enemy. I, however, had the good fortune to escape, although the Alliance passed the Straits of Dover, within sight of the English squadron in the Downs.

After getting clear of the Channel, I soon reached the latitude of Cape Finisterre, and entered the port of Corunna, January 16, 1780.

On my return to France, I found that the French commissary had made a private sale of my prizes to the king without consulting me. On this I repaired to Versailles, along with Dr. Franklin, but was received with great coolness by the minister of the marine. On this account I declined asking him to present me to his majesty. This honor was conferred on me next day by the Prince de Beauveau, captain of the guards. The public received me at the opera, and all the public places where I appeared, with the most lively enthusiasm; this, added to the very favorable reception I received from his majesty, afforded me singular satisfaction: and the minister of the marine from that moment paid me the most marked attention.

The Count de Maurepas about this time intimated to me, that his majesty had resolved to confer some distinguished mark of his bounty and personal esteem on me; this proved to be a sword, mounted with gold, on which was engraven the following flattering motto:—

VINDICATI MARIS  
LUDOVICUS XVI. REMUNERATOR  
STRENUO VINDICI.

The hilt was of gold, and the blade, &c. were emblazoned with his majesty's arms, the attributes of war, and an emblematical representation of the alliance between France and America. The most Christian king, at the same time, transmitted a most admirable letter to

congress, in which he offered to decorate me with the order of military merit. All this was extremely flattering, as Louis XVI. had never presented a sword to any other officer, and never conferred the cross, except on such officers as were invested with his majesty's commission.

The minister of the marine, a short time after this, lent me the *Ariel*, a king's ship, carrying twenty guns, with which I sailed, October 8th, 1780, for America. The wind was at first favorable; but I was soon after in danger of foundering on the Penmarks—and escaped only by cutting away my main and mizen masts. As soon as the storm abated, we erected jury masts, and returned to refit; in short, it was the 18th of December before I could proceed for Philadelphia.

During the voyage, I fell in with an English twenty gun ship, called the *Triumph*, and partly by stratagem, and partly by hard fighting, forced her to strike her flag; but while we were about to take possession of her, the captain, taking advantage of her superior sailing, made off, and escaped.

On my arrival in America, the congress, on the representation of the Chevalier De la Luzerne, passed a law to enable me to accept the military order of France. The French minister, on this occasion, gave an entertainment, to which all the members of congress, and the principal inhabitants of Philadelphia, were invited; after which I was invested, in their presence, with the decorations of the order.

As the three ministers plenipotentiary from America had unfortunately disagreed, it necessarily follows that *there* would be some contradiction in respect to their reports concerning me. In consequence of this, the congress enjoined the admiralty to inquire into the nature of my connexion with the court of France, and the reasons which had induced me to remain in Europe, and delay the convoy of the military stores appertaining to the United States. In consequence of the exam-

ination that ensued, and the report that was delivered in, the congress passed an act, dated April 14, 1781, in which I was thanked, in the most flattering manner, 'for the zeal, the prudence, and the intrepidity, with which I had sustained the honor of the American flag; for my bold and successful enterpsises, with a view to redeem from captivity the citizens of America, who had fallen into the power of the English, and for the eminent services by which I had added lustre to my own character and the arms of America.' A committee of congress was also of opinion, 'that I deserved a gold medal, in remembrance of my services.'

On the 21st of June, 1781, I was appointed, by an unanimous vote of congress, to the command of the *America*, a seventy-four gun ship, then building, and on the birth of the Dauphin, I, at my own expense, celebrated that happy event by royal salutes during the day, and a brilliant illumination in the evening, accompanied by fire-works.

An unfortunate accident, soon after this, deprived me of the command of that fine vessel: for the *Magnifique*, of 74 guns, belonging to the Marquis de Vaudreuil's fleet, happening to be lost at Boston, the congress seized on this occasion to testify its gratitude to his most christian majesty, by presenting him with the *America* to replace her.

In the mean time, it was resolved to place a French frigate, called *l'Indienne*, with two or three armed vessels under my orders, in order to seize on Bermudas; but, as this was never put into execution, I applied to congress for leave to serve on board the fleet of the Count d'Estaing, then destined for an expedition against Jamaica.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil received me with great distinction on board his own ship, the *Triumphant*, where I occupied the same cabin as the Baron de Viomenil, who commanded the land forces. When we were within sight of Porto Rico, intelligence was received, that



Admirals Pigot and Hood were preparing to intercept us ; and as Don Solano, with the Spanish fleet, did not meet us at Porto Cabello, according to his promise, many of the officers, becoming disgusted with the enterprise, fell sick, and I myself was in a dangerous state ; but we were relieved from our disagreeable situation, by intelligence from Europe that a general peace had taken place. This circumstance afforded me great pleasure ; as I now learned that Great Britain, after a long and bloody contest, had been forced to recognise the sovereignty and independence of the United States of America.

On this, we repaired to St. Domingo, where I received every possible mark of esteem from M. De Bellecombe, the governor : after a short stay, I embarked for Philadelphia, penetrated with gratitude for the various marks of esteem I had received from all the French officers, during the five months I had been on board his majesty's squadron.

I was unable to re-establish my health, during the rest of the summer, which I spent in Pennsylvania ; and I did not get well until Autumn, when I recovered by means of the cold bath.

I then demanded permission to return to Europe, on purpose to recover the prize-money due to myself, officers and sailors, which was granted me by an act of congress, dated at Prince-Town, November 1, 1783.

On this, I embarked at Philadelphia, on board a packet-boat destined for Havre de Grace ; but being forced into Plymouth by contrary winds, I took post-horses for London, and then set out for Paris, and was received with great cordiality by the ministry.

Having at length received from the court of France the amount of the prizes, I returned to America on board a French packet-boat.

## CHAPTER IV.

## FEDERAL CONSTITUTION.

*Subject Continued.*

AT the return of peace in 1783, the Americans had triumphed over Britain, by sea and land, and the treaty of Paris had guaranteed to them all the rights and privileges of a free and independent nation. The heroes of the revolution returned again to the shades of retirement, and the walks of private life. Their armed vessels were again converted into merchantmen, to plough the ocean, under the prosperous gales of commerce, and their thunders were hushed to repose. At this time the trade of the U. S. had been swept from the ocean, and almost wholly confined to the domestic circle of the states; but the genius of commerce awoke from her slumber, and roused to the strife the rival interests of Britain, France, Spain, Holland, and America, to supply with foreign goods the long exhausted American markets. The country was soon supplied, even to an excess, that occasioned such mercantile strife and competition, as to baffle the powers of the government of the confederation to regulate and control. As soon as the citizens of the U. S. saw the imbecility of their government, for the regulation of such an extended commerce, they turned their attention to an affectual method to remedy the evil. Upon a recommendation of congress, a general convention of all the states, except Rhode Island, was convened at Philadelphia, in May, 1787; the articles of confederation were revised, the new Federal Constitution was framed, and adopted in 1788; a new congress was constitutionally chosen, and organized, in the Spring of 1789, which became responsible for the future peace and prosperity of the nation. Under this constitution, new commercial treaties were formed, the treaty of Paris of 1783 was rigidly observed and enforced, insurrec-

tions and Indian wars were controlled and suppressed, national credit was supported upon a permanent basis, and an unparalleled prosperity pervaded the nation, until the year 1794. At this time, the regency of Algiers refused to receive the annual tribute sent out by the government of the U. S. agreeable to treaty; and commenced depredations upon American commerce. As soon as this procedure was announced to the American government, by Mr. Lear, their consul resident at Algiers, congress met the indignity with firmness, and ordered six frigates, 4 of 44 guns, and 2 of 36, to be immediately built, to form a naval force to chastise those Barbary marauders into a just and honorable peace. This prompt measure of the government, added to a spirited negotiation, soon brought the dey of Algiers to a just sense of the wrongs and aggressions which he had committed upon American commerce; the former treaty was renewed, the American prisoners, and property were released, and peace was restored upon the then fashionable terms, *annual tribute*. Sept. 5, 1795.

From this time, the United States enjoyed uninterrupted tranquillity, until the picaroons and ships of France began to commit depredations upon their commerce, in 1797, which involved them in a naval war with that terrible republic, in 1798, which continued two years.

This war was soon brought to a close, by the brilliant exploits of a Truxton, a Little, a Stewart, a Tryon, a Barney and others, whose naval career of glory was crowned with the capture of the *Le Insurgente*, *La Burceau*, *La Vengeance*, *Diana*, *Flambeau*, and other armed ships of France, as trophies of their victories.

This war, though short, was a brilliant naval school for the rising heroes of America, where they practically learnt to apply that theory of naval tactics, they so assiduously, as well as successfully studied, for the defence of their country's rights and honor, and their own immortal fame.

The question then arose in the national council;



what shall be done with that little navy, which had won such laurels upon the ocean, and given such eclat to the nation.\* In the decision of this question the wisdom of those statesmen shone as conspicuous, as when they created and supported it. They saw before them the accumulated weights of debts, and taxes, which Great Britain endures from the expenses of her vast naval establishment, and they saw also, at the same time, her system of economy, in dismantling, and laying up in ordinary, in time of peace, all such ships of war as were not necessary for the immediate protection of her commerce and her island.† They carefully avoided the first, by authorising the executive, to dispose of all such

\* The navy commenced under Washington's administration, with six frigates and had been augmented in Adams' administration to twenty frigates, and other armed vessels, and then to thirty six, with a provisional act for building six seventy fours.

† The following extract from the Edinburgh Magazine may serve to illustrate the present system of British taxation.

We can inform Jonathan what are the inevitable consequences of being too fond of glory. Taxes upon every article which enters into the mouth, or covers the back, or is placed under the foot, taxes upon every thing which is pleasant to see, hear, feel, smell or taste; taxes upon warmth, light or locomotion; taxes on every thing on earth, and the waters under the earth—of every thing that comes from abroad, or is grown at home; taxes on the raw material, taxes on every fresh value that is added to it by the industry of men; taxes on the sauce which pampers man's appetite, and the drug that restores him to health: on the ermine which decorates the Judge, and the rope which hangs the criminal; on the poor man's salt and the rich man's spice; on the brass nails of the coffin, and the ribbands of the bride; at bed, or at board, couchant or levant, we must pay! The school boy whips his taxed top—the beardless youth manages his taxed horse with a taxed bridle on a taxed road; and the dying Englishman, pouring his medicine which has paid seven per cent. into a spoon which has paid fifteen per cent. flings himself back upon his chintz bed, which has paid 22 per cent.—makes his will on an 8*l*. stamp, and expires in the arms of an apothecary who has paid 100*l*. for the privilege of putting him to death. His whole property is then taxed from 2 to 10 per cent. besides the probate. Large fees are demanded for burying him in the Chancel: his virtues are handed down to posterity on taxed marble; and he is then gathered to his fathers to be taxed no more."

armed vessels as should be deemed unnecessary, or supernumerary, in time of peace. Although this measure was warmly opposed in congress, at the time, it was sanctioned by the weight of public opinion, and gave general satisfaction to the nation. The same policy that thus dismantled the little navy of the United States, suspended the act for building the six 74s, and under the same principles of economy.

Although this act was equally popular as the other, yet many of the friends of commerce, who had witnessed the protection they had experienced from a naval force, and the heroes as well as the friends of the navy, felt the shock, when they saw, or thought they saw the right arm of the nation palsied at a blow, and the bulwark of national defence, and national honor sacrificed upon the shrine of a false economy. The acts of congress were promptly carried into effect, and the gallant naval heroes returned again to the bosom of their families, there to enjoy the laurels they had so nobly won by the smiles and benedictions of a grateful country.

Although the navy of the United States was thus by law reduced, and the senior commanders were reposing in peace in the bosom of their families, the spirit of the rising heroes indulged not a moment's repose. Their ardent minds thirsted for fame, and their active exertions cultivated a knowledge of that nautical skill, and those naval tactics, that laid the foundation of their future laurels.

During this period of peace and tranquillity, the commerce of the United States was free and uninterrupted, throughout the world. The ships of the nation crossed every sea, and their spreading canvass whitened every clime. But this was of short duration.

Those sons of Ishmael that inhabit the southern shores of the Mediteranean sea, commonly denominated Barbary Powers, had long been accustomed to plunder the commerce of christian nations, and imprison their

captives in the dungeons of slavery, or extort exorbitant sums by way of tribute for their ransom. Those sons of barbarous rapine fixed their eyes upon the commerce of the United States of America, and agreeably to their usage for centuries, again sent out their cruisers, seized several merchant vessels, belonging to citizens of the United States; carried them into their ports for adjudication, and imprisoned their crews, or condemned them to perpetual slavery.

The great maritime powers of Europe had suffered these indignities for centuries, and encouraged the aggressors in their depredations, by ransoming their people and property, and thus gave sanction and support to a system of piracy, by a voluntary tribute, that was degrading to the christian name.

Those corsairs of the Mediteranean flattered themselves with a belief, that if their powerful neighbors could thus be made tributary, a young, and in their estimation a feble nation, residing more than three thousand miles across the Atlantic, in the region of the west, and destitute of a naval force, could readily be made subœrvient to their views, and enrich their coffers with tribute. Their cruel and avaricious hearts prompted them to make the experiment; and the regency of Tripoli fitted out its cruisers, and commenced depredations accordingly.

When the news of these depredations reached America, the government and the nation felt the shock, and prepared promptly to redeem their citizens, and their property, and vindicate their honor, and their rights. They again turned their attention to that little navy, which had wrought such wonders in the naval war with France, but whose thunders had been hushed to peace, and still slept in port, under the watchful care of their veteran and rising heroes. The American government saw at once, the alternative that lay before them and prepared promptly to meet it. True to themselves, they paused not a moment between the choice of slave-



ry, and tribute, or an efficient naval force to vindicate their rights, and protect their commerce ; and fixed upon the latter, as alone admissible. The frigate *Essex*, with several others, was ordered to be immediately ready for service in the Mediterranean, and commodore Dale appointed to the command. The orders were promptly obeyed, the squadron was soon ready, and the commodore set sail for the coast of Barbary. He entered the Mediterranean in triumph, displayed the star-spangled banner, for the first time upon the mast of an American armed ship in that sea, and took his station at the entrance of the harbor of Tripoli, to check the ravages of the corsairs of the imperious Bashaw. While commodore Dale was engaged in this service, capt. Sterrett, of the armed schooner *Enterprise*, one of the American squadron, fell in with a Tripolitan corsair off the island of Malta, and after a desperate action of two hours, compelled her to strike her colors ; then demantled her and let her go. The following extract from the purser's report will show more fully the desperate conflict.

“ Lying off the island of Malta, so celebrated in ancient and modern history, a Tripolitan cruiser bore down upon our schooner, and gave us a broadside. It was instantly returned. For two glasses [two hours] the contest was terrible as can be imagined. She lowered the Turkish crescent, to the stars and stripes—but the cheers for victory had scarcely ended, when the cruiser hoisted her red flag, and poured into us another broadside. The contest was renewed with renewed desperation. She again struck ; and when Capt. Sterrett was approaching her, it was a third time renewed. The indignation manifested by the captain and crew is indescribable. I left my station as purser of the ship, was handing cartridges to the men, and distinctly heard the Captain exclaim, “ *Sink the damned treacherous creatures to the bottom.*” The slaughter became dreadful on the corsair, and the commander prostrated himself on

the side of his ship, and, with his own hands flung his own flag into the sea. Capt. Sterrett, being instructed not to make any prize, from his quarter deck, ordered the perfidious Turk to throw all his guns, ammunition and arms of every kind into the sea, and tell his master this was the only *tribute* he would ever after receive from Americans.”

When the vanquished corsair returned into port, and showed to his master the valour and magnanimity of the Americans, as displayed in the wreck of his vessel, the Bashaw saw at once, that the continuance of a war with such a people would prove unprofitable ; he immediately sued for peace, and proffered to commodore Dale such terms as were consistent with his instructions. He met the overture, settled a peace, and returned in triumph to the United States, 1801.

When the Bashaw saw the wreck of his cruiser, and learnt that she had struck her colours to an American armed vessel of equal size, he was enraged, and ordered the captain, wounded as he was, to be bastinadoed with five hundred strokes, and then conveyed through the streets upon an ass, as an object of ridicule, and contempt for the people.

The triumph of the naval heroes of the American revolution, and of the late war with France had been felt, and were remembered by the christian powers of Europe ; but the barbarians of the Mediterranean neither felt nor believed that the infant navy of America could check their ravages ; but this lesson taught them by commodore Dale was severely felt, and gave an eclat to the American navy that will not be forgotten. All the other Barbary powers, and even the christian powers of Europe viewed the enterprise with astonishment.

## CHAPTER V.

*Subject Continued.*

Upon the return of commodore Dale to the United States, the government saw at once, the importance of a naval force in the Mediterranean, and immediately ordered commodore Morris to get in readiness a second squadron, for the protection of American commerce in that sea. He promptly obeyed, and soon after, hoisted his broad pennant upon the frigate New York, and sailed with the frigate John Adams to his destined station.

The fame of his predecessor remained bright and unsullied in that region, and so far overawed the Barbary powers, that, nothing further remained for commodore Morris to do, than to traverse the Mediterranean, display his flag for a short time, then resign his command to commodore Rodgers, and return to his country, with the good tidings, that peace continues abroad, commerce is free, and all is well. But this was of short duration; the Barbary corsairs renewed their ravages, and the government of the United States again met the crisis, to vindicate the honor of their play.

In the summer of 1803, commodore Preble received orders to get ready a squadron for the Mediterranean service; he obeyed with alacrity, and on the 13th of August hoisted his flag on board the frigate Constitution, and set sail, accompanied by the frigate Philadelphia, each 44 guns, the brig Argus, 18 guns, Syren, Nautilus, and Vixen, of 16 guns each, and Enterprize of 14 guns. Upon the arrival of this squadron at Gibraltar, commodore Rodgers, then on his return to the United States with his little squadron, joined commodore Preble to assist in chastising the emperor of Morocco, for his piratical depredations upon American commerce.

On the 5th of October commodore Preble, after having despatched the Philadelphia and Vixen to block-



ade Tripoli, entered the bay of Tangier, and came to anchor with his squadron, within half a mile of the emperor's batteries. On the next day, the emperor appeared upon the beach, at the head of five thousand men, and received his visitors with a salute from his batteries and a munificent present of oxen, sheep, and poultry. The salute was cheerfully returned, and the presents thankfully received; but the visit was not closed. The emperor's cruisers had captured several American merchantmen, and had been out under orders to capture indiscriminately, all such as fell in their way; and although some of their cruisers had been captured, and others driven into port by the American squadron, satisfaction had not yet been made for the offence. Commodore Preble demanded immediate redress for the injuries received. The emperor took the subject into his most serious consideration, and again appeared upon the beach at the head of his troops, to view the visiting armament.

On the 9th, the emperor sent the American consul, Mr. Simpson, on board of commodore Preble, with assurances that all American vessels, then in his power, with their crews and effects, should be restored, and that he would admit the commodore to an audience the next day, to settle the terms of peace.

Commodore Preble cheerfully accepted the invitation, and the next day selected capt. Charles Morris for his secretary, and in company with col. Lear, the American consul for Tripoli, attended by two of his midshipmen, put off for the shore. But before his departure, he gave orders to his lieut. on board, in case he should be detained, to vindicate the honor of his flag. Double files of dragoons were drawn up upon the beach, to receive the commodore and his suite, through which they advanced with a firm and undaunted step, until they approached his Majesty. The officer of the guard requested commodore Preble to lay aside his side arms;

but he replied, "that he must comply with the customs of his country, and keep them."

The emperor surrounded by his court, his guards and his slaves, received the undaunted Preble with the following salutation. "Are you not afraid of being detained as a prisoner." To which he promptly replied; "you dare not detain me sir; and should you attempt it, my squadron now in view would lay your battery, your castle, and your city in ruins in one hour." Here followed a negotiation as firm, as prompt, and as successful as that of Lord Nelson at Copenhagen, with the king of Denmark. The emperor fulfilled his engagements, and delivered up all American captives, renewed the peace of 1786, and the commodore with his officers returned in triumph on board his fleet.

Commodore Preble was now at liberty to direct his whole attention to Tripoli. The season was, however, too far advanced for active operations.

On the 31st of October, the Philadelphia, being at nine o'clock in the morning, about five leagues to the westward of Tripoli, discovered a sail in shore, standing before the wind to the eastward. The Philadelphia immediately gave chase. The sail hoisted Tripolitan colours, and continued her course near the shore. The Philadelphia opened a fire upon her, and continued it, till half past eleven; when, being in seven fathoms, and finding her fire could not prevent the vessel entering Tripoli, she gave up the pursuit. In beating off, she ran on a rock, not laid down in any chart, distant four and a half miles from the town. A boat was immediately lowered to sound. The greatest depth of water was found to be astern. In order to back her off, all sails were laid aback; the top-gallant-sails loosened; three anchors thrown away from the bows; the water in the hold started; and all the guns thrown overboard, excepting a few abaft to defend the ship against the attacks of the Tripolitan gun-boats, then firing at her. All this, however, proved ineffectual; as did also the attempt to

lighten her forward by cutting away her foremast. The Philadelphia had already withstood the attack of the numerous gun-boats four hours, when a large reinforcement coming out of Tripoli, and being herself deprived of every means of resistance, and defence, she was forced to strike, about sunset. The Tripolitans immediately took possession of her, and made prisoners of the officers and men, in number three hundred. Forty-eight hours afterwards, the wind blowing in shore, the Tripolitans got the frigate off, and towed her into the harbour.

On the 14th of December, Commodore Preble sailed from Malta, in company with the Enterprize, commanded by lieutenant Stephen Decatur. On the 23d, the latter captured a ketch in sight of Tripoli ; which place she had left the preceding night, bound to Bingazi. She was under Turkish colours, and was navigated by Turks and Greeks. On board of her were two Tripolitan soldiers, and about forty blacks belonging to the bashaw and his subjects. The commodore had at first determined to release the vessel and men claimed by the Turkish captain, and only detain the Tripolitans, about sixty in number, as prisoners. But before this determination could be put in execution, he ascertained, that this same captain had been very active in assisting to take the Philadelphia. He had, on that occasion, received on board his vessel one hundred armed Tripolitans ; had changed his own colours for that of the enemy ; had attacked the frigate ; and, when she was boarded, had plundered the officers. This determined the commodore to retain the vessel. As she was in no condition to be sent to the United States, he forwarded her papers to government. Soon after he had her appraised ; and took her into the service as the ketch *Interpid*.

When lieutenant Decatur was informed of the loss of the Philadelphia, he immediately formed a plan of recapturing or destroying her, which he proposed to com-



modore Preble. At first the commodore thought the projected enterprise too hazardous ; but at length granted his consent. Lieutenant Decatur then selected for the enterprise the ketch Intrepid, lately captured by him. This vessel he manned with seventy volunteers, chiefly of his own crew ; and on the third of February sailed from Syracuse, accompanied by the brig Syren, lieutenant Stewart. The Syren was to aid the boats ; and, in case it should be deemed expedient to use the Intrepid as a fire ship, to receive her crew.

As soon as the crews of the Ketch Intrepid and the brig Syren were made up, the utmost despatch was used in preparing them for the expedition. The Ketch was fitted out as a fire ship, in case it should be necessary to use her as such. The brig with the boats accompanying her, were to aid, as circumstances rendered it necessary, and to receive the crew of the Ketch if she was driven to the necessity of being blown up.

Upon the 3d day of February, Decatur weighed anchor in the little Intrepid, accompanied by Lieut. Stewart, in the Syren, who was also accompanied by the boats. A favourable wind would have wafted them to their destined port in less than five days ; but for fifteen days, they encountered the most boisterous and tempestuous weather. Instead of encountering a barbarous enemy, they were buffeting the waves and struggling for life with a tumultuous and agitated sea. Nothing could be better calculated to repress the ardour of Decatur and his little band. His provisions were diminished and almost expended ; and although not a murmur escaped from the lips of the humblest seaman, it may well be imagined what must be their reflections, when liable every hour to be swallowed up by the waves ; and if they escaped them to be famished with hunger ! Men of the stoutest hearts who would undauntedly rush to the cannon's mouth, become even children at the prospect of famine.

At length, upon the memorable 16th of February,

1804, a little before sunset, Decatur hove in sight of the bay of Tripoli, and of the frigate Philadelphia, with the Turkish Crescent proudly waving at her head.—The apprehensions arising from storms and famine were suddenly banished by the prospect of a glorious victory or a glorious death. Lord Nelson, when entering into the action of Cape St. Vincent, exclaimed, “Glorious victory—or Westminster Abbey.”\*

It was determined that at ten o'clock in the evening the Intrepid should enter the harbour accompanied by the boats of the Syren. But a change of wind had separated the two vessels six or eight miles. As delay might prove fatal, lieutenant Decatur entered the harbour alone about eight o'clock. The Philadelphia lay within half gun shot of the Bashaw's castle and principal battery. On her starboard quarter lay two Tripolitan cruisers within two cables length; and on the starboard bow a number of gun-boats within half gun shot. All her guns were mounted and loaded. Three hours were, in consequence of the lightness of the wind, consumed in passing three miles, when, being within two hundred yards of the Philadelphia, they were hailed from her, and ordered to anchor on peril of being fired into. The pilot on board the Intrepid was ordered to reply, that all their anchors were lost. The Americans had advanced within fifty yards of the frigate, when the wind died away into a calm. Lieutenant Decatur ordered a rope to be taken out and fastened to the fore chains of the frigate, which was done, and the Intrepid was warped along side. It was not till then the Tri-

\* To the common reader, the exclamation of Nelson may not be altogether intelligible. It has, for some centuries been customary in England to entomb the bodies of Heroes, Statesmen, Poets, &c. in “*Westminster Abbey*” as one of the highest honours that can be bestowed upon the “illustrious dead,” and to erect a monument or statue near them. The great Doct. Johnson, in the agonies of death, was consoled, when told that his body would be there deposited. The reader will find an elegant description of this ancient Cemetery in Professor Silliman's Journal.

politans suspected them to be an enemy ; and their confusion in consequence was great. As soon as the vessels were sufficiently near, lieutenant Decatur sprang on board the frigate and was followed by midshipman Morris. It was a minute before the remainder of the crew succeeded in mounting after them. But the Turks, crowded together on the quarter deck, were in too great consternation to take advantage of this delay. As soon as a sufficient number of Americans gained the deck, they rushed upon the Tripolitans, who were soon overpowered ; and about twenty of them were killed. After taking possession of the ship, a firing commenced from the Tripolitan batteries and castle, and from two corsairs near the frigate ; a number of launches were also seen rowing about in the harbour ; whereupon lieutenant Decatur resolved to remain in the frigate, for there he would be enabled to make the best defence. But perceiving that the launches kept at a distance, he ordered the frigate to be set on fire, which was immediately done, and so effectually, that with difficulty was the Intrepid preserved. A favorable breeze at this moment sprung up, which soon carried them out of the harbour. None of the Americans were killed, and only four wounded. For this heroic achievement lieutenant Decatur was promoted to the rank of post captain. His commission was dated on the day he destroyed the Philadelphia.

After the destruction of the Philadelphia frigate, commodore Preble was, during the spring and early part of the summer, employed in keeping up the blockade of the harbour of Tripoli, in preparing for an attack upon the town, and in cruising. A prize that had been taken was put in commission, and called the Scourge. A loan of six gun-boats and two bomb-vessels, completely fitted for service, was obtained from the king of Naples. Permission was also given to take twelve or fifteen Neapolitans on board each boat, to serve under the American flag.



With this addition to his force, the commodore, on the 21st of July, joined the vessels off Tripoli. His squadron then consisted of the

Frigate	Constitution,	44	guns,	24	pounders.
Brig	Argus,	18		24	
	Syren,	18		18	
	Scourge,				
Schooner	Vixen,	16		6	
	Nautilus,	16		6	
	Enterprize,	12		6	

Besides six gun-boats, carrying each a twenty-six brass pounder, and two bomb-ketches, carrying each a thirteen inch mortar. The number of men engaged in the service amounted to one thousand and sixty.

On the Tripolitan castle and batteries, one hundred and fifteen guns were mounted; fifty-five of which were pieces of heavy ordnance: the others long eighteen and twelve pounders. In the harbour were nineteen gun-boats, carrying each a long brass eighteen or twenty-four pounder in the bow, and two howitzers abaft; also two schooners of eight guns each, a brig of ten, and two galleys, of four guns each. In addition to the ordinary Turkish garrison, and the crews of the armed vessels, estimated at three thousand, upwards of twenty thousand Arabs had been assembled for the defence of the city.

The weather prevented the squadron from approaching the city until the 28th, when it anchored within two miles and a half of the fortifications; but the wind suddenly shifting, and increasing to a gale, the commodore was compelled to return. On the 3d of August, he again approached to within two or three miles of the batteries. Having observed that several of the enemy's boats were stationed without the reef of rocks, covering the entrance of the harbour, he resolved to take advantage of this circumstance. He made signal for the squadron to come within speaking distance, to communicate to the several commanders his intention

of attacking the shipping and batteries. The gun-boats and bomb-ketches were immediately manned, and prepared for action. The former were arranged in two divisions of three each. The first division was under the command of captain Somers, on board the boat No. 1; lieutenant James Decatur commanded the boat No. 2; and lieutenant Blake, No. 3. The second division was commanded by captain Decatur, in No. 4; lieutenant Bainbridge commanded No. 5; and lieutenant Trippe No. 6. The two bomb-ketches were commanded, the one by lieutenant commandant Dent; the other by Mr. Robinson, first lieutenant of the commodore's ship.— At half past one, the squadron stood in for the batteries. At two, the gun-boats were cast off. At half past two, signal was made for the bomb-ketches and gun-boats to advance and attack. At three quarters past two, the signal was given for a general action. It commenced by the bomb-ketches throwing shells into the town. A tremendous fire immediately commenced from the enemies' batteries and vessels, of at least two hundred guns. It was immediately returned by the American squadron, now within musket-shot of the principal batteries.

At this moment, captain Decatur, with the three gun-boats under his command, attacked the enemy's eastern division, consisting of nine gun-boats. He was soon in the middle of them. The fire of the cannon and musketry was immediately changed to a desperate attack with bayonet, spear, sabre, &c. Captain Decatur having grappled a Tripolitan boat, and boarded her with only fifteen Americans; in ten minutes her decks were cleared, and she was captured. Three Americans were wounded. At this moment captain Decatur was informed that the gun-boat commanded by his brother, had engaged and captured a boat belonging to the enemy; but that his brother, as he was stepping on board, was treacherously shot by the Tripolitan commander, who made off with his boat. Captain Decatur immediately pursued the murderer, who was retreating within the

lines ; having succeeded in coming along side, he boarded with only eleven men. A doubtful contest of twenty minutes ensued. Decatur immediately attacked the Tripolitan commander, who was armed with a spear and cutlass. In parrying the Turk's spear, Decatur broke his sword close to the hilt, and received a slight wound in the right arm and breast ; but having seized the spear he closed ; and, after a violent struggle, both fell, Decatur uppermost. The Turk then drew a dagger from his belt ; but Decatur caught hold of his arm, drew a pistol from his pocket and shot him. While they were thus struggling, the crews of both vessels rushed to the assistance of their commanders. And so desperate had the contest round them been, that it was with difficulty Decatur could extricate himself from the killed and wounded that had fallen around him. In this affair an American manifested the most heroic courage and attachment to his commander. Decatur, in the struggle, was attacked in the rear by a Tripolitan ; who had aimed a blow at his head, which must have proved fatal, had not this generous-minded tar, then dangerously wounded, and deprived of the use of both his hands, rushed between him and the sabre, the stroke of which he received in his head, whereby his skull was fractured. This hero, however, survived, and now receives a pension from his grateful country. All the Americans but four were wounded. Captain Decatur brought both his prizes safe to the American squadron.

Lieutenant Trippe boarded one of the enemy's large boats, with only a midshipman, Mr. Jonathan Henly, and nine men ; his boat falling off before any more could join him. He was thus left either to perish, or to conquer thirty-six men, with only eleven. Though at first, the victory seemed doubtful, yet, in a few minutes, the Tripolitans were subdued ; fourteen of them were killed, and twenty-two taken prisoners. Seven of these last were severely wounded. Lieutenant Trippe received eleven sabre wounds, some of them dangerous.



The blade of his sword bending; he closed with his antagonist. Both fell. In the struggle, Trippe wrested the Turk's sword from him, and, with it, stabbed him to the heart.

Lieutenant Bainbridge had his lateen yards shot away. This rendered all his exertions to get along side the enemy's boats of no effect. But his brisk and well directed fire, within musket shot, did great execution. At one time his boat grounded within pistol shot of one of the enemy's batteries. He was there exposed to the fire of musketry; but, by his address and courage, he extricated himself from his dangerous situation.

Captain Somers was not able to get far enough to windward, to co-operate with Decatur. He, however, bore down upon the leeward division of the enemy.— With his single boat, he attacked five full manned Tripolitan boats, within pistol shot. He defeated, and drove them in a shattered condition, and with the loss of many lives, to take refuge under the rocks.

The two bomb vessels kept their station, and threw a great many shells into the town. Five of the enemy's gun-boats, and two galleys, composing their centre division, stationed within the rocks, being reinforced, and all joined by the gun-boats that had been driven in, twice attempted to row out and surround the gun-boats and prizes of the Americans. They were, however, prevented by the vigilance of the commodore, who made signal for the brigs and schooners to cover them. This was properly executed by these vessels. Their conduct was excellent during the whole of the engagement, and they annoyed the enemy exceedingly. The fire from the Constitution did considerable execution, and kept the enemy's flotilla in constant disorder. She was several times within two cables' length of the rocks, and three of the batteries. As soon as her broadside was brought to bear on any of the batteries, it was immediately silenced. But having no large vessels to se-

cure these advantages, the fire was recommenced as soon as she changed her position.

At half past four, the wind having inclined to the northward, and the enemy's flotilla having retreated to a station which covered them from the fire of the Americans, signal was made for the gun-boats and bombs to retire from the action. This was effected, and in fifteen minutes the squadron was out of the reach of the enemy's shot. The squadron was more than two hours within grape shot distance of the enemy's batteries, which kept up a constant fire. The damage sustained by the Americans was by no means proportionate to the apparent danger. The frigate *Constitution* was struck in her mainmast by a thirty-two pound ball, her sails and rigging were considerably cut, and one of her quarter-deck guns was injured by a round shot; not a man, however, was killed on board of her. The other vessels suffered in their rigging, and had several men wounded; but none were killed, excepting lieutenant Decatur. On the part of the enemy the effect of this engagement was very different. The boats captured by the Americans had one hundred and three men on board, forty-seven of whom were killed and twenty-six wounded. Three other boats were sunk with all the men on board of them. Numbers were also swept from the decks of the other vessels in the harbour. On shore, several Tripolitans were killed and wounded; a number of guns in the batteries were dismounted; and the town was considerably injured.

When the squadron was standing in for the attack, the bashaw affected to despise them. After having surveyed them from his palace, he said, "they will mark their distance for tacking; they are a sort of Jews, who have no notion of fighting." The palace and terraces of the houses were crowded with spectators to behold the chastisement the bashaw's boats would give the American vessels if they approached too near. Momentary, however, was this exultation. Scarcely had

the battle commenced, when no one was to be seen, except at the batteries. Many of the inhabitants fled to the country; and the bashaw retreated to his bomb-proof room.

On the 5th of August, the commodore prevailed on a French privateer, that had left Tripoli in the morning, to return with eleven wounded Tripolitans, whose wounds had been carefully dressed. The commodore also sent a letter to the bashaw's minister. The prisoners informed the prince, that the Americans in battle were fiercer than lions, but in the treatment of their prisoners, they were even more kind than the mussulmen. The bashaw at first misunderstood the motive of sending these men; but when informed that it was done through motives of humanity, he professed to be pleased, and said if he took any wounded Americans, he should, in like manner, restore them: but he would not release any of the crew of the Philadelphia.

On the 7th the privateer returned with a letter from the French consul, signifying that the bashaw would probably treat on more reasonable terms. Nothing, however, definitive or satisfactory was proposed. The terms intimated were considerably higher than the commodore felt willing, or thought himself authorised to accept. He therefore prepared for a second attack.—The bomb-ketches, commanded by lieutenants Crane and Thorn, were to take a station in a small bay west of the town, where without being much exposed, they might throw their shells with great effect. The gun-boats were to attack a seven gun battery. The brigs and schooners were to support them, in case the enemy's flotilla should venture out. At half-past two, the action commenced. In the course of two hours, six of the seven guns in the battery were silenced. During the action, forty-eight shells and about five hundred round shot were thrown into the town and batteries. The Tripolitan galleys manœuvred to gain a position that might enable them to cut off the retreat of the Ameri-



can gun-boats ; but the large vessels defeated their design. One of the American prize boats, taken in the first attack, was blown up by a red-hot shot from the battery passing through her magazine. She had on board twenty-eight men, ten of whom were killed, and six wounded : among the former were James Caldwell, first lieutenant of the Syren, and J. Dorsey, midshipman. Mr. Spence, midshipman, and eleven men, were taken up unhurt. When the explosion took place, this young officer was superintending the loading of a gun ; having discharged the piece, he with the survivors jumped into the sea. They were soon taken up by another boat.

At eight in the evening of the same day, the John Adams, captain Chauncey, joined the squadron. By him the commodore was informed, that four frigates were on their passage ; also, that by the appointment of a senior officer to one of the frigates, he would be superseded in his command. The government was highly satisfied with the conduct of the commodore ; but had not a sufficient number of captains, juniors to the commodore to supply all the frigates with commanders ; nor had information of his brilliant success as yet reached America.

The John Adams having been sent out as a transport, no assistance could, for the present, be received from her. All her guns were stowed by the kelson, and their carriages put away on board of the other frigates. As these last were all to sail four days after the John Adams, further operations were suspended in expectation of their arrival.

On the 9th, the commodore reconnoitred the harbour, in the brig Argus. Next day a flag of truce was seen flying on the shore. The commodore sent a boat, but which, however, was not permitted to land her men. They returned with a letter from the French consul. By it the commodore was informed that the bashaw would accept five hundred dollars for the ransom of

each prisoner, and put an end to the war without any annuity for peace. The sum demanded amounted to about one hundred and fifty thousand dollars. This the commodore rejected ; but for the sake of the captives, and to prevent further effusion of blood, he offered eighty thousand dollars as ransom, and ten thousand dollars as presents. The bashaw, however, suspended the negotiations, and said he would wait the result of another attack.

On the night of the 23d, the bomb-ketches were sent under the protection of the gun-boats, to bombard the town. The bombardment commenced at two A. M. and continued till daybreak ; but without much effect.

The weather being favourable on the 27th, the commodore stood in for Tripoli, and anchored the Constitution two miles N. by E. from Fort English. The light vessels kept under way. As a number of officers and seamen of the Constitution were employed in the boat, captain Chauncey, several of his officers, and about seventy seamen, volunteered their services on board her.

The gun-boats, accompanied by the Syren, Argus, Vixen, Nautilus, Enterprise, and the boats of the squadron, anchored at three in the morning within pistol shot of the enemy's lines. With springs on their cables, they commenced a brisk fire on the shipping, town, batteries, and castle. It was warmly returned from the enemy's batteries. The boats of the squadron remained with the gun-boats to assist in boarding the flotilla, in case it should come out. The brigs and schooners kept under way, to harrass the enemy, and to support the gun-boats. At daylight, the commodore, apprehensive that the ammunition of the gun-boats might be nearly expended, weighed anchor, and stood in under the direct fire of Fort English, and of the castle, crown and mole batteries. He made signal for the gun-boats to retire from action. Having arrived at a good distance for firing at thirteen Tripolitan gun-boats and gal-

leys, engaged with the American boats, he discharged a broadside of round and grape shot at them. One of them was sunk; two were disabled; and the remainder put to flight. The commodore then continued running in until within musket shot of the batteries. He hove to, fired three hundred round shot, besides grape and cannister, into the bashaw's castle, town and batteries. The castle and two of the batteries were silenced. A little after six he hauled off. The gun-boats fired four hundred round shot, besides grape and cannister, apparently with much effect. The result of this attack was serious on shore. A thirty-six pound ball penetrated the castle, and entered the apartment of the prisoners. Considerable damage was done to the houses. Several lives were lost. A boat from the John Adams, with a master's mate and eight men on board, was sunk by a double headed shot, which killed three seamen and badly wounded another.

The French consul, immediately after the attack, renewed the negotiations for peace. They were, however, broken off, in consequence, he thought, of one of the vessels of the squadron approaching the harbour as a cartel. This the bashaw interpreted as a proof of discouragement on the part of the Americans.

On the 3d of September, the bomb-ketches being repaired, and also the damages sustained by the other vessels in the action of the 27th of August, the commodore resolved on another attack. The action commenced between three and four o'clock, and soon became general. As the American gun-boats bore down, the boats and galleys gave way, and retreated under cover of the musketry, on shore. The brigs, schooners and gun-boats, pursued as far as the depth of the water would permit, and within musket shot of Fort English. The action in this quarter was divided. The brigs and schooners, with one division of the gun-boats, engaged the fort. The other division continued engaged with the Tripolitan boats and galleys.



The two bomb-ketches, while throwing their shells into the town, were exposed to a direct fire from the bashaw's castle, from the crown, mole, and several other batteries. The commodore, perceiving their danger, ran his ship between them and the batteries, within musket shot. Seventy guns were brought to bear on him from the batteries. But he discharged eleven broadsides with so much effect, that he silenced the principal batteries, and injured the others, and also the town considerably. The wind veering to the northward, and it beginning to blow fresh, the commodore, at half past four P. M. gave signal to retire from the action under cover of the Constitution. Though the frigates and vessels were much damaged in this engagement, not a man was lost.

The bomb-vessel, commanded by lieutenant Robinson, had all her shrouds shot away, and was so much damaged in her hull, as to be with difficulty kept above water. The Argus received a thirty-two pound ball in her hull. It cut away a bower cable as it entered, which so completely destroyed its force, that it fell upon the deck without doing any injury.

Commodore Preble had for some time contemplated sending a fire-ship into the harbour, in order to destroy the flotilla, and injure the town. Captain Somers volunteered his services. He, with the assistance of lieutenants Wadsworth and Israel, fitted out the ketch Intrepid for the expedition. One hundred barrels of gunpowder and one hundred and fifty shells were placed in the hold. Fusees and combustibles were so applied as not to endanger a retreat.

On the evening of the 4th of September, captain Somers chose two fast-rowing boats, in order to bring off the people, after the vessel should be set on fire. His own boat was manned by four men from the Nautilus, and six from the Constitution, with lieutenant Wadsworth. At eight they parted from the squadron, and stood into the harbour. They were convoyed by the

Argus, Vixen, and Nautilus, until arrived within a short distance from the batteries. On entering the inner harbour, and near the point of her destination, the fire ship was boarded and carried by two galleys of one hundred men each. At this moment she exploded with the most awful effect. Every battery was silenced. Not a gun was fired during the remainder of the night. There is every reason to suppose that captain Somers, on perceiving no means of escape left, and that he should inevitably be doomed to an ignominious captivity, heroically resolved to die, and with his own hands set fire to the train, when himself, his companions, and the enemy, met a common death.

After this, nothing material occurred until September 9th, when the long expected squadron, under commodore Barron, joined the one before Tripoli. Here ended the command of commodore Preble, so honourable to himself and his country. All joined in praising his distinguished merit. The Pope made a public declaration, that "the United States, though in their infancy, had, in this affair, done more to humble the antichristian barbarians on the coast, than all the European states had done for a long series of time." Sir Alexander Ball, a distinguished commander in the British navy, addressed commodore Preble as follows:—"I beg to repeat my congratulations on the services you have rendered your country, and the hair-breadth escapes you have had in setting a distinguished example. Your bravery and enterprise are worthy a great and rising nation. If I were to offer my opinion, it should be, that you have done well not to purchase a peace with the enemy. A few brave men have indeed been sacrificed; but they could not have fallen in a better cause; and I even conceive it advisable to risk more lives rather than submit to terms which might encourage the Barbary states to add fresh demands and insults."

After the junction of the two squadrons, commodore Preble obtained leave to return home. This he did with

the greater pleasure, as it would give the command of a frigate to captain Decatur. On his return to the United States, he was received and treated every where with that distinguished attention, which he had so fully merited. Congress voted him their thanks, and requested the President to present him with an emblematical medal.\*

While Commodore Preble was humbling the emperor of Morocco, and maturing his plans for the Tripolitan war, general William Eaton, who had resided as one of the American consuls up the Mediterranean, and then on his passage home, conceived the plan of co-operating with the naval force, by repairing to Egypt, and forming a confederacy with Hamet Caramelli; and restoring him to his lawful possessions. As soon as gen. Eaton made known his plans, several marines volunteered from the American squadron and joined him in the adventure. He repaired to Alexandria in Egypt, made known his plans and views to Hamet, roused him from his despondency, and entered into an agreement with him that promised to restore him to his throne. This throne was then possessed by Jussuff, who had murdered his father, and his eldest brother, driven Hamet his youngest brother into exile, and usurped the throne.

Hamet on his part promised to maintain perpetual peace with the United States, and promote, by all possible means, the mutual and reciprocal interest of the parties.

As soon as this convention was signed, the parties proceeded to assemble an army, which was soon effected; and they commenced their march across the desert of Barca. After traversing the desert about six hundred miles, they arrived before Derne, the capital of a province of the same name, belonging to the government of Tripoli, which soon yielded to the arms of the conquerors.

\*Clark's Naval History, vol. i. p. 148—163.



Alarmed for his own safety, the Bashaw of Tripoli strengthened his defence, by augmenting his garrison, and calling into the field an army of twenty thousand Arabs. Thus fortified, he set at defiance the army of Eaton, and the squadron of Preble, by demanding the sum of six hundred thousand dollars, and an annual tribute as the conditions of peace. But these terms were rejected with disdain, and the assailing squadron renewed the war.

Negotiations in the mean time were lingering and progressing, delaying and advancing in Tripoli.

Suffice it to say, that, the sum of *sixty thousand dollars* was paid to the Bashaw—*thirty thousand* dollars less than the gallant Preble, in the midst of victory, had offered ; and *five hundred and forty thousand* dollars less than the insolent Bashaw, in fancied security, had demanded.

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## CHAPTER VI.

*Causes that led to the late war with Great Britain.  
War declared.*

Notwithstanding the war of the revolution had cost Great Britain more than 100,000 men, and more than 100,000,000 sterling ; compelled her to do justice to her colonies, as far as justice could be done by a fair and honourable treaty, yet she by her folly had lost her colonies, and felt the wound so sensibly, that she made all possible efforts to continue to embarrass and distress them. She violated the 7th article of the treaty of Paris, 1783, by withholding the western posts, on the frontier ; encouraged and promoted Indian wars, and depredations upon our N. Western frontier ; and actu-

ally furnished officers and men, arms and ammunition, money and other supplies for war. She also excited the Barbary powers, upon the shores of the Mediterranean sea, to commit depredations upon American commerce ; impressed American seaman into her service, and compelled them to do duty on board her ships of war. She by her orders in council, commenced an unprecedented restrictive system upon neutral commerce, and by her arbitrary and despotic paper blockades, claimed the sovereign control of the ocean ; all which not only greatly embarrassed, but almost annihilated all neutral commerce. In addition to all this, she claimed the right of searching neutral vessels, and not only impressing therefrom American seamen ; but of seizing and removing all goods, suspected of belonging to an enemy. Under the mask of the first of these assumed rights, the British frigate Leopard actually fired into the American frigate Chesapeake ; compelled her to strike her colours, and took out of her four American seaman. This outrage caused great public excitement, and led to an immediate negotiation ; but before the affair could be amicably adjusted, the British sloop of war Little Belt, commenced an attack upon the American frigate President, which was nobly repelled ; and the Little Belt suffered severely.

This renewed outrage called aloud for war, and the government, and the nation were alive to the issue ; but before war had been declared, Great Britain added the finishing touch to her hostile system, by exciting the North Western Indians to actual hostilities, and on the first of December the President announced to Congress the memorable battle of Tippacanoë, near the Wabash, on the seventh of November, in which the Americans lost one hundred killed, wounded, and missing. The Indians in this action surprised Gen. Harrison, in time of peace, and notwithstanding they were routed and dispersed, their loss could not be accurately ascertained ; but was undoubtedly much greater than that of the Americans.

The government and nation again felt the shock, and the President recommended to Congress an immediate declaration of war. Congress entered with firmness and spirit into the views and feelings of the President and nation, and on the third of April following, they laid an embargo for ninety days. On the 4th of June following, the House of Representatives passed a bill, declaring war against Great Britain; on the 17th the Senate sanctioned the bill, on the 18th it was signed by the President, and on the 19th war was publicly declared.

A military spirit had been kindling in the country, through that portion of the French Revolution that had involved neutral commerce and neutral rights in the strife of the belligerent powers of Europe, and it had been foreseen by the nation, that it would be difficult, if not impossible, for America to avoid being involved in the controversy. Congress, by their special acts, had so far anticipated the event of war, as to authorize the President to enlist 25,000 men; but the spirit of the people had not yet been roused to the contest, and the ranks were not filled. The same acts also empowered the President to enrol fifty thousand volunteers, and embody 100,000 militia; but this force also was not raised; and had it been called into service, the want of experienced officers, together with constitutional embarrassments, would have been serious, if not insurmountable difficulties to have been overcome, before any important operations could have been effected. Under these embarrassments the President commenced the war.



## CHAPTER VI.

*General Movement in the War, &c.*

When it was understood by the government that war with Britain was inevitable, general Hull, then at Urbana, state of Ohio, June 1st, received orders to march directly to Detroit. The General with his brave troops traversed the pathless desert, then possessed by numerous and powerful Indian tribes, and arrived safe at Detroit early in the month of July. He commenced immediate preparations for the invasion of Upper Canada ; agreeable to orders, on the 1st of August, crossed over Detroit river and took possession of the village of Sandwich, where he issued his proclamation, promising peace and protection to all such as should make no resistance ; but threatening with military vengeance all such as should be found in arms, particularly every man found fighting by the side of an Indian. Under cover of this proclamation, general Hull commenced his operations ; the inhabitants were generally disposed to favour the invasion, and the General proceeded to invest fort Malden ; but before the fortress could be carried, he received intelligence of the capture of Michilimackinac by the enemy. This was a death blow to the future prospects of general Hull, for he at once saw, that the fall of this fortress would open the North Western frontier, and expose the whole Territory of Michigan to an Indian invasion, and even endanger the safety of Detroit. In this state of affairs general Hull had notice of the arrival at the river Raisin, (36 miles from Detroit,) of a company of Ohio volunteers, under captain Brush, with supplies for the army. He detached immediately a company of 150 men, under the command of Maj. Van Horne, to escort the supplies to camp. Maj. Van Horne fell into an Indian ambush, near the point of destination, and lost about forty of his party,

killed and wounded ; and among the number three of his Captains. Before the news of the disaster reached general Hull, he had concluded to raise the siege of Malden, and return to Detroit. On his way to that fortress, the news of the defeat at the Raisin reached him, and he hastened back to Detroit, leaving a strong detachment to protect his friends at Sandwich. As soon as general Hull reached Detroit, he detached Lieut. Col. Miller, with about 300 regulars, and 200 militia, to relieve the party under captain Brush, with supplies, and escort them to the fort, but the enemy had anticipated this movement, and collected in ambush, a strong force of regulars and Indians, to the number of about 750, at a place called Maguagua, near Brownstown. The Indians were headed by the noted chief Tecumseh, and the whole force was under the command of Maj. Muir. On the 9th Col. Miller fell into this ambush, and a sharp action ensued ; the British regulars commenced the attack in front, and the Indians upon both flanks ; but the Americans, regardless of the horrid yells of the savages, bravely repelled their attack ; charged home upon the British, and at the point of the bayonet drove them from their covert, and pursued them to Brownstown, where they hastily embarked, and crossed over to Malden. The loss of the British regulars amounted to 15, killed, and 30 or 40 wounded ; but the loss of the Indians was much greater ; about 100 were found dead on the field of action. The sufferings of Col. Miller and his party were so great in this action, that he found it necessary to abandon the object of his destination at the Raisin, and return the next day to Detroit, agreeable to special orders.

The communication with the state of Ohio, (and the United States army at Detroit depended for provisions upon its being kept open,) was completely blocked up ; the provisions for the supply of Hull's army, under a convoy of 200 men, commanded by captain Brush, of the Ohio Volunteers, were waiting at the River Raisin,

36 miles from Detroit; Major Van Horne had been despatched a day or two before, with a small command, to the assistance of captain Brush, but was defeated and driven back.

General Hull now saw it necessary to turn his serious attention to that point; and to send a force to open this communication which was fully competent to the task, both to enable the supplies to pass unmolested, and to counteract the unfavorable impressions made on the minds of the troops by the defeat of Maj. Van Horne.

He accordingly detached from the army a part of the regular troops, the Michigan legion and some riflemen, and dragoons of the Ohio volunteers, making in the whole about 600 men, under the command of Lieut. Col. James Miller, of the 4th regiment U. S. Infantry, for this object.

The 4th regiment, except one company left at Sandwich, to garrison a small fort, built by order of General Hull; a small detachment of the 1st Infantry, and a small number of Artillerists from captain Dyson's company stationed in fort Detroit, formed the regular troops of the detachment, amounting to about 300 in number. The Michigan legion consisted of about 60 men, mostly native Frenchmen of that territory, commanded by captain De Cant. The cavalry consisted of about 40 dragoons and mounted spies, commanded by captain Sloan, of the corps of Volunteer Cavalry. The riflemen amounted to about 200, commanded by Major Morrison, of the Ohio volunteers, making the 600 men.

Col. Miller obtained permission from General Hull to take two field pieces with the detachment, one six pounder and one 5 1-2 inch howitzer, with their appendages and ammunition. The first was manned by a squadron of Artillerists from Captain Dyson's company, detached from fort Detroit, and commanded by Lieut. Jonathan Eastman; that corps and the second was manned by a squad picked from the first Infantry (the General refusing to detach from the 1st any more Ar-



tillerists) and was placed under the command of Lieut. James Dilliba, of the regiment of Artillerists, then serving as master of ordnance to General Hull's army. Captain Brevoort, of the 2d U. S. Infantry, then commanding the transports on the lakes; and Captain Abraham P. Hull, of the 12th Infantry, son and aid to the General, volunteered their services as aids de camp to Col. Miller. Lieut. John L. Eastman, adjutant of the 4th Infantry, served as brigade major. Captain Maxwell, of the Ohio volunteers, a revolutionary officer, and who had served in the Indian war under Gen. Wayne and others, was chosen to lead the spies, reconnoitre the country a-head of the detachment, and point out the route of march: he was assisted by several volunteer citizens from Detroit, well acquainted with the country.

The detachment having drawn two days' provisions, being organized, and every thing prepared for the march, was paraded in line in order of march, as to the station of corps, in the main street in the town of Detroit, on the 8th of August, 1812, at 5 o'clock P. M. Col. Miller then rode to the centre, and in front of the line, addressed the troops in the following words: "Soldiers, we are going to meet the enemy, and to beat them! The reverses of the 5th must be repaired! The blood of your brethren, spilt by savage hands, on that day, must be avenged by their chastisement and by the chastisement of the enemy who employs them, more savage than they! I shall lead you—I trust that no man will disgrace himself or me—every man who is seen to leave the ranks, to give way or fall back without orders shall instantly be put to death. The officers are hereby charged with the execution of this order. My brave soldiers! you have once faced the enemy in a hard conflict, and beaten them, and gained glory to yourselves and honor to your country! Let this opportunity be improved to add another victory to that of Tippacanoë, and new glory to that which you gained

on the Wabash. Soldiers, if there are any now in the ranks of this detachment, who are afraid to meet the enemy, they are now permitted to fall out and stay behind—"At which the words "I'll not stay," ran through the ranks, with a "huzza."

After which the line was wheeled by sections to the right into open column, when Col. Miller took his position at the head, and ordered the detachment to march. The whole moved off in order and in high spirits, and discovered those ardent feelings to meet the conflict, which inspired a full confidence in the remaining army and anxious citizens, that it would be successful.

The head of the column arrived at the river Rouge, six miles from Detroit, about sun-set. There being no bridge, and the water very deep, the detachments were conveyed over in scows; there being but two provided, which would not carry more than 50 men each; it was 10 o'clock at night before the troops, artillery, horses and waggons, were all crossed over. The weather being somewhat rainy and very dark, it was determined to encamp there for the night. The guards and piquets having been stationed, and every arrangement completed for the security of the camp; the men were permitted to lie down upon their arms and rest till day light. The tents and all other dispensable baggage, was left at Detroit. The troops had no other covering than some rails which they took from the fences to screen them from the weather. Cooks of messes were directed to cook the provisions during the night so as to be ready to march at day break. Accordingly the troops were paraded, and every thing prepared to move in that order, which appeared the best calculated to receive or make an attack, when and wherever the enemy might be met. The following is the order in which the troops marched; Captain Maxwell, with his mounted spies went a-head, as a van guard, at such a distance as he judged prudent. An advanced guard, under Capt. Snelling, of the fourth

Infantry, of 40 men of his company, marched in line of single rank, 200 yards in advance of, and covering the heads of the columns. The musquetry was formed in two columns of single files, the regulars in front, and marched by files on the right of columns. One column on each side of the road, at 200 yards distance from each other. One commanded by Major Morrison, and the other by Major Van Horne, of the Ohio volunteers. The Cavalry under Captain Sloan, marched in the road, in column of double files by the right of column. The head of this column kept in line with the heads of the columns of musquetry on the right and left. Flank guards were formed of riflemen, and marched by single files, headed by the officer commanding each, parallel with the column of musquetry and at the distance of 80 yards from them. A rear guard marched at the distance of 50 yards in rear of the foot of, and covering the columns of musquetry. The artillery moved in the road, in the rear of the cavalry, and opposite the centre of the columns of musquetry, followed by the ammunition waggons, the waggons containing entrenching tools, hospital stores, medicine chests, &c. followed in succession. Colonel Miller marched at the head of the column of cavalry, accompanied by his aids, in the road and in a line with the heads of the columns of musquetry.

The method of forming the line of battle from the order of march, was as follows :

In case an attack was made in front, the advance guard was to stand till the columns of infantry and riflemen formed in lines and marched upon it. The two columns of infantry were to form two lines to the front ; the front division of each column were to form the first line, and the rear divisions the second line, which brought the regular troops into the first line. The two lines were to be formed respectively on the centres of the divisions of columns which were to compose them. If the first line should require extending, the



right and left divisions of the second line were to advance and form respectively on the right and left flanks of the first line. If the first line should not require extending, the second line was to form a corps of reserve. The right and left flank guards were to form respectively on the right and left flanks of the front line. The artillery and cavalry were to move to that point by order of the commander in chief, which he should think proper to direct. The rear guard was to protect the waggons and stores. If an attack should be made in rear, the columns were to form lines to the rear, and march upon the rear guard as upon the front, and so of other corps. If an attack should be made on either flank, the whole were to halt and the columns face to the enemy; and by so facing they would already be formed in two lines; and the other corps would form as before directed.

In this order the detachment marched from the encampment near the river Rouge, on the morning of the 9th. They proceeded through the White Settlement, which was about five miles, and entered the woods. The country, from the river Rouge to Brownstown, is generally flat, and lies a little above the surface of the river Detroit. Indian huts and fields are interspersed through woods: at that time the fields were covered with corn, which was grown to 7 and 8 feet high. The first woods which the troops entered was about one mile and a half through.

When the advance guard had arrived at the farther edge of this wood, the spies having advanced into the Indian opening, were fired upon by a party of about ten Indians, who were on horseback, and had concealed themselves behind the house of the celebrated chief, Walk-in-the-water. The spies fell back: a citizen from Detroit, who accompanied them, was killed, and fell from his horse. The guard under captain Snelling advanced quickly towards the house, at sight of which, the Indians fled without receiving much injury from the

guard, who fired upon them as they were uncovered by the house, bearing away as a trophy, the citizen's scalp whom they had shot. The facility with which the scalp was taken, was astonishing. There appeared not to have been time for the Indian to have reached the spot where the man fell, before the guard arrived upon the same spot, when the scalp had been taken off, and the Indian fled. When the firing was heard by the columns, the order was given by Colonel Miller to "form the line of battle," which soon ran through the detachment, and was executed promptly; but as the Indians had fled, the firing ceased, and all was silent for a few moments. The spies were again sent forward, but soon returned, and reported that no enemy could be discovered. The troops were again formed in the order of march and moved forward as before. The firmness with which Colonel Miller conducted during this alarm, and his presence of mind, gave the army fresh courage, and increased their confidence in their commander: as also, the promptness and order with which the line of battle was formed, gave him reciprocal confidence in his troops; for every one believed that the enemy had met them in force. This happened about 9 o'clock A. M. The march was continued until 12, without much further interruption. Some flying Indians were discovered now and then, who had been sent out by the enemy to watch the movements of the Americans, and to give information of their approach towards Brownstown; where the enemy, as appeared afterwards, then lay in ambush to receive them. He had crossed over from Malden, and taken that position, on the night of the 7th, the time the American detachment crossed from Sandwich to Detroit; which clearly proved that he had intelligence of the movement and object of Colonel Miller: for all the Indians, and *their allies*, had recrossed to Malden, after the defeat of Major Van Horne, to celebrate the victory and present the American scalps to the commanding officer of that fort.

The position which the enemy had chosen, lay in an open oak wood, just at the declivity of a rising ground, over which the Americans had to pass. He had thrown up breastworks of trees, logs, &c. behind which he lay concealed in force, and in order of battle. His works were thrown up in form of a *courtine* with two flanks. The line of the *courtine* lay across the road and perpendicularly to it. The banks formed an angle with the *courtine* of about 120. The *courtine* was lined with British regular troops, two deep, of the 41st regiment of foot, under the command of Major Muer, of that regiment, who had long been in command at Malden. The flank of the *courtine*, on the enemy's right, and American left, was lined with Canadian militia and Indians, commanded by Walkin the-water and Marport. This line was flanked by the river Detroit. Most of the militia were dressed and painted like their "brethren in arms," the savages. The left flank of the *courtine* was lined entirely by savages, under the command of the celebrated Indian warrior Tecumseh, of the Shawanoese nation. The number of the British regulars and militia amounted to about 300: about 200 regulars. The Indians amounted to 450; making the enemy's force about 750 men.

The position and strength of the enemy were entirely unknown to Colonel Miller and to the army, at this time.

At 12 o'clock, meridian, the detachment arrived at a large opening which contained 4 or 5 Indian houses, gardens and orchards. The army halted to take some refreshment, and to bury the man who had been killed; where they lay about one hour. The village was deserted, and nothing left in the houses of consequence.

The march was again resumed at 1 o'clock P. M. and continued without interruption. The troops marched over the ground on which Major Van Horne had been defeated four days before; and passed the



dead bodies of several of the slain, and some dead horses. The body of captain M'Culloch lay under an Indian bark. The columns having arrived at the oak woods near Brownstown, at half past three, some guns were heard a-head by them. In a few seconds a volley was heard from captain Snelling's advance guard, and another instantly returned from a great number of pieces. The troops, by this time completely awake, were ordered to halt. Colonel Miller rode towards the centre at full speed, halted, and with a firm voice, ordered the columns to "form the line of battle," which was executed with that order, promptness and zeal, which he had expected: after the first volleys, the firing became incessant in front. Captain Snelling stood his ground till the lines were formed, and moved to his relief. He stood within pistol shot of the enemy's breastworks, in a shower of balls from the regular troops in his front, who shewed themselves after the first fire, and set up the Indian yell. When the first line appeared before the breastwork, they received the fire of the whole front and a part of the flanks: at this instant Colonel Miller discovered that the enemy outflanked him, when the second line and flank guards were brought upon the flanks of the front line, and extended to meet the whole line of the enemy. The savages, in unison with the British troops, set up a horrid yell, and a severe conflict ensued. The incessant firing in the centre ran diverging to the flanks: from the cracking of individual pieces, it changed to alternate volleys; and at length to one continued sound: and, while every thing seemed hushed amidst the wavering roll, the discharge of the six pounder burst upon the ear. The Americans stood!—At this instant Colonel Miller was thrown from his horse which took fright at the discharge of the artillery; he was supposed to be shot, those near him flew to his aid. The savages who saw him fall sprang over the breastwork to take his scalp, but were driven back. Colonel Miller instantly

remounted and returned to continue his orders. The fire from the Indians who were screened by their breastworks, was deadly. The soldiers saw the advantage it gave them, and Colonel Miller, throwing his eye along the line, discovered one or two, edging to place themselves behind a tree. He saw the instant must be improved, and ordered "*charge!*" which instantly ran through the line: the men whom he saw edging, with every other, brought down their pieces, struck up a huzza! and marched directly into the breastworks. The effect of the grape from the six-pounder, and the approach of the bayonet, caused the British line to yield, and then to break, and the troops fled in disorder! at nearly the same instant the Indians and militia on their right flank, being charged in their works, by the Michigan legion, under Captain De Cant, and a part of the Ohio riflemen, turning this flank by the river, fled in confusion. Tecumseh, on the enemy's left flank, stood longer; some of the Indians under his command, near the extremity of the line, had jumped over the breastworks, in the full assurance of victory: they were driven back, by the point of the bayonet. Tecumseh endeavored to outflank the American line, and turn their right; but from the skill and gallantry of the officers, and firmness of the men on that flank, he was foiled in every attempt, and was finally forced to fall back, and take new positions, and fight on the retreat. The British and Indians on their right flank, fled directly down the river, and were pursued by Colonel Miller, with that part of his troops which had opposed them; and Tecumseh, with his Indians, fled directly from the river, westwardly, into the wilderness, and were pursued by that part of the troops which had opposed them, overtaking them who were wounded, and otherwise unable to escape.

After the British had retreated about one mile, they came into an opening, of about half a mile in diameter; here they endeavoured to form again, but on the

precipitate approach of the Americans, they again broke and fled into the woods down the river. They were pursued to the edge of these woods, when Colonel Miller received information from Major Van Horne, whom he had left in command of the right flank, that Tecumseh had retreated westwardly, that he successively took new positions with his Indians, that they were still fighting, and that it was still doubtful how the conflict would finally terminate in that quarter. On the receipt of this information, Colonel Miller ordered the troops under his immediate command, to halt, and form the line. He informed the officers, that it would not do to pursue the enemy any farther, until he had heard again from the right flank. That as Tecumseh had retreated in another direction, the army was now divided, and the two divisions, already out of hearing of each other's musquetry. That if Tecumseh was likely to overpower that division, he must send back a reinforcement to their relief, or the Indians would otherwise immediately advance upon the field of battle, and massacre the wounded, destroy the rear guard, and take the ammunition and stores ; and finally fall upon his rear.

Information was at length brought that Tecumseh had finally fled, and that the troops were returning to join that division as soon as possible.

Colonel Miller immediately ordered the troops to march in further pursuit of the British. They entered the woods and the cavalry moved a-head at full speed. When they arrived through these woods, which was about half a mile, they came upon the beach of Lake Erie, and discovered the enemy all in boats, steering towards Malden, and out of reach of their shot. They had concealed their boats at this point, when they came over, for this purpose, if they should be defeated. This circumstance, however, could not have been known to Colonel Miller before. He now ordered the troops to return upon the field from whence they had last marched, which was done ; and on their arrival, they were



joined by the other division which had returned from the pursuit of Tecumseh and his Indians.

The cause is now shewn, which has not been generally understood heretofore, why the British were not all captured, when they had been so totally defeated.

The troops were then formed in line, fronting the field of battle ; when Colonel Miller rode in front of the centre, and addressed them in the following words :

“ My brave fellows ! you have done well ! every man has done his duty. I give you my hearty thanks for your conduct on this day ; you have gained my highest esteem ; you have gained fresh honor to yourselves, and to the American arms : your fellow soldiers in arms will love you, and your country will reward you. You will return to the field of battle to collect those who have gloriously fallen ; your friendly attentions to your wounded companions is required.” After which, detachments were sent out with waggons to search the woods, and collect all the wounded and dead, and to bring them to the ground then occupied by the troops. After this was completed, all the Indian houses were prepared, amounting to 3 or 4, and the wounded moved into them, as it began to rain, and the surgeons were industriously employed with them, during the whole night. The troops then encamped in order of battle, about dusk, on the bank of the river, fronting the woods, forming three sides of a parallelogram, the river forming the other side.

The time from the attack on the van guard, to the time of forming the line on the Indian fields, after the pursuit was finally ended, was two and a half hours. During this sharp conflict, the conduct of each individual officer and soldier was so uniformly and strictly military, that the commander was scarcely able to make distinctions in his brief and modest official report to General Hull. The physical powers of almost every man, were called to action, and severely tried. The names of some officers only, will be mentioned, whose

conduct was, from concomitant circumstances, most deeply impressed on the mind of the writer. In doing this, however, he wishes to be distinctly understood, that the conduct of many others, was equally meritorious. As he writes entirely from recollection, the impossibility at this time, of giving the names, and much more, the actions of every individual, will readily be conceived. Major Van Horne, who had the mortification to be defeated on nearly the same ground, on the 5th, had sought and obtained a command under Colonel Miller. He behaved during the whole action, in a gallant and soldierly manner. Major Morrison, of the Ohio volunteers, also obtained a command in the detachment, of whose meritorious conduct, Colonel Miller always spoke with the greatest warmth of feeling; his horse was shot under him at nearly the same time Colonel Miller was dismounted, being at that moment near together. Lieutenant Johnson, of the Michigan dragoons, (a small number of which corps, formed a part of the cavalry,) behaved in a most gallant manner—he had his horse shot under him. At the moment the charge was ordered, being near Colonel Miller, he discovered one of his men shrink from the attack, at which he presented his pistol to his breast and was on the point of blowing him through, when Colonel Miller desired him not to kill him, as he considered the battle was going in their favor. Captain De Cant, and his Ensign M<sup>c</sup>Comb, of the Michigan legion, behaved in a manner, which would have done honor to veterans, particularly, when charging the Indians in their works, on the river flank; Captain De Cant was the first man, who jumped the breast work at that point, thereby encouraging his men to follow him. Captain Brown of the Ohio volunteers, who was on the flank opposed to Tecumseh, with his company, fought hard and stubborn; his conduct was admired by Colonel Miller—as was the conduct of all the volunteers, both officers and men on that flank. Captain Daniel Baker, of the first regiment U. S. Infantry, had requested and

obtained a command; he was on the flank opposed to the Indians under Tecumseh. His gallantry, and the effect of his experience, contributed greatly to the foiling of Tecumseh, in his manœuvring to turn that flank of the American line. He was shot through the thigh, in the warmest part of the engagement, but did not quit his command, till the enemy finally fled, nor the ground until the wounded were all brought off. Lieutenant Eastman, with the six pounder, did good execution, and contributed greatly to the defeat of the British troops. The fourth regiment behaved generally in that chivalrous manner, which ought to render the individuals then composing it, the objects of their country's warmest affections and *unceasing patronage*.

These sentiments, it is believed, must be acknowledged by all those who are acquainted with their conduct, fatigues, and hardships, during this, and the preceding campaign on the Wabash. They had been for eighteen months, almost continually traversing those wild regions of the north west, where perils and dangers awaited them through every succeeding day and night, where they were necessarily deprived of almost all the enjoyments and comforts of life, and during some portion of the time, of the necessary means of subsistence. They had marched during successive weeks, in mud and water, and during successive days, without having dried their feet. They had now fought during this time, two of the severest battles that had ever been fought under the government of the United States, larger numbers had been engaged, but an equal number had never fought more desperate y. These battles were as much more perilous than usual, as the enemy were more terrible: capture was massacre, and defeat was annihilation.

The conduct of Colonel Miller, it is believed, will be correctly appreciated from the foregoing narrative of facts, by his countrymen. Encomium would be insipid. Captain Snelling, of the advance guard, behaved in that heroic manner that can never be excelled: of his com-



mand of forty men, more than twenty were killed and wounded. In the retreat of the enemy, he pursued on horseback (the remnant of his guard falling into the line,) bare-headed, having lost his hat in the engagement. It is believed it was shot away. Captains Fuller and Burton; Lieutenants Peters, Hawkins, Way, Eastman, Ager, Peckham and Larabee, of the fourth, all conducted in the most gallant manner; as also did Captain Whistler, junior; Lieutenant Stansbury, Ensigns Whistler, M'Cabe, Cibley and Phillips, of the first U. S. regiment of infantry, who served in the fourth on that tour.

Lieutenant Peters was wounded in the early part of the engagement, having been shot through the leg, the same, and a little below that, which had been shot through at the battle of Tippacanoë: Ensign Whistler was also wounded. Capt. Brevoort, aid to Col. Miller, behaved with that cool and daring intrepidity, which gained him the admiration of the army.

Capt. Hull was active, and very useful in carrying the orders of Colonel Miller. Lieutenant Charles Larabee of the fourth, was also wounded; he was shot through the left arm, little below the shoulder, the bone of which was broken and split, and which was amputated a few days afterwards. On his falling to the rear, which he was persuaded to do, he found the officer and squad with the howitzer in difficulty. The position of this piece on the march, being in rear of the six pounder, and its ammunition waggon, and considerably in the rear of the centre of the columns, when the attack was made in front, it had not ascended the rising ground on which the lines formed. The enemy not being seen from that position, and their situation, and the nature of the attack, being unknown; the piece was unlimbered and prepared for action and awaited the orders of the commander in chief, agreeably to his instructions. Orders soon came by an aid, Captain Hull, to advance the piece to the front, in line with the infantry; in consequence of having to ascend the rising ground, the soil being soft,

and the road somewhat obstructed by logs and roots, it was necessary again to limber the piece, in order to advance it to its intended position. At this moment, the horses being frightened by the firing, grew frantic and unmanageable, and in endeavoring to bring the limbers to the piece, they were run against a tree, and so twisted around it as to break them down. They were thrown aside, and an attempt made to advance the piece to the front by the men, with their drag ropes. In consequence of the obstructions before mentioned, the men with all their exertions, were able to advance it but slowly up the rising, with the officer at the drag ropes. In this situation, tugging up the hill, Lieutenant Larabee met them, when he saw their trouble, forgetting that he was hurt, he sprang to the piece, clinched the drag rope with his right hand, and with the greatest enthusiasm of feeling and language, he assisted in bringing the piece to the front, with his left arm swinging from its shattered point, when he again returned to the rear. This misfortune of the howitzer, deprived Colonel Miller of its use, during the time the British troops stood their ground. It could not be brought in front of the line so as to fire on the enemy, without injuring the Americans, till the moment the enemy's line broke, as there were but ten men attached to it. That number being its complement in action only, could not advance it, under those circumstances, in time. The conduct of the officer commanding the piece, however, was applauded, and his misfortune solaced by Colonel Miller. In this action eighteen Americans were killed, and sixty three wounded, making in killed and wounded, eighty-one; about one man in seven who were engaged: not one man was captured. The loss of the enemy was ascertained to be, of Indians killed and wounded, one hundred and two, more than one half of that number were left dead on the field, and believed to be from the best information, of whites, fifty-eight, total, one hundred and sixty: a few whites were taken prisoners.

The British had brought over horses and sleds to carry off their killed and wounded, and consequently they were mostly taken to Malden. The writer believes the above stated number of killed and wounded, of the white enemy, to be too small, as he saw in the hospitals at Malden, a few weeks afterwards, while a prisoner of war, and on his way to Quebec, a great number of convalescent men, many had died : among whom were one or two officers of the 41st regiment. He also ascertained that Major Muer, Tecumseh, Blue Jacket, and other commanders, were wounded.

Some time in the evening of the ninth, Captain Maxwell returned with his spies, having been sent forward to the village of Brownstown, and reported, that the village was abandoned, and that no enemy could be discovered. Early next morning, August 10th, detachments were sent out by Colonel Miller, to scour the woods in search of one man who was ascertained to be still missing ; he was however, found dead. While the men were ranging over the woods, one of them was shot dead. The smoke of a piece was discovered at a distance, rising from the ground, by the party—they approached the spot, and beheld an Indian lying on the ground wounded, and unable to stand—one arm and one leg were broken—he had lain there during the night by his piece, which was loaded when he fell. The cool deliberation with which he died, proved the native fortitude of the savage to meet death when resistance is useless. Unwilling to endure his pains longer, and die by degrees, he determined to die by the hand of his enemies, and to sell his life to them, as dear as possible. He summoned together the little strength which remained, and so steadily levelled his rifle at the approaching American, as to put the ball through his heart.

A singular occurrence happened also, as to the death of an Indian who was killed the day before, during the battle, and near the close of it :—An officer of the



fourth regiment had observed two or three balls strike close to him, and apparently from a quarter where no enemy could be discovered, he told one of his men to search for the Indian whom he supposed concealed, and on watching for the discharge, he discovered it to be overhead—he looked into the top of a tree, and saw an Indian loading his rifle, he took a position to fire at the savage, who discovered it, and made ready to fire at the soldier, but the soldier being a little too quick for him, put a ball through him, and he came tumbling down from the tree like a bear.

The dead being all collected on the tenth, about 10 o'clock A. M. were buried under an Indian house, in one grave, and the house burned down, to conceal from the savages the spot where they lay.

At sun rise the march was resumed, and at 12 o'clock on the 12th of August, the detachment re-entered the town of Detroit, covered with mud, from foot to head, their clothes not having been dried in two and a half days. The sun now cheered them with its influence, they marched through the street to the encampment, to the tune of the soldier's return, and closed with yankee doodle. They were met by their brother soldiers and citizens, with all that sympathy and heart felt joy, which constitutes the soldier's reward, for his hard earned victory.

About the same time Capt. Heald, who had abandoned Fort Chicago, agreeable to orders, fell into an Indian ambush, on his way to Detroit, and suffered the loss of his whole party, either killed, wounded, or taken, and the survivors were carried to Michilimackinac. On the 14th Gen. Hull made one more attempt to relieve Capt. Brush at the Raisin, and escort the supplies to Detroit, he accordingly detached Colonels Cass, and M'Authur with 3 or 400 men; but before this could be effected, the British invested the fortress of Detroit, and on the 16th Gen. Hull signed an unconditional capitulation, and the fortress of Detroit, the whole

Michigan Territory, together with the detachment of McAuthur and Cass, and the party and supplies, at the Raisin, under captain Brush, were all given up to the enemy. The former fell into their hands; but the latter, disdainng the pusillanimity of Hull, and calling in question his powers to involve him and his party in the fate of the garrison, abandoned his stores, and returned, with his brave troops, to Ohio.

## SURRENDER OF HULL'S ARMY.

*Head Quarters, Detroit, August 26, 1812.*

### GENERAL ORDERS.

It is with pain and anxiety, that Brig. General Hull announces to the North West Army, that he has been compelled from a sense of duty, to agree to the following articles of Capitulation.

Camp at Detroit, Aug. 16, 1812.

Capitulation for the surrender of Fort Detroit, entered into between Major General Brock, commanding His Britannic Majesty's forces, on the one part, and Brig. Gen. Hull, commanding the N. Western Army of the United States, on the other part.

1st. Fort Detroit, with all the troops, regulars as well as militia, will be immediately surrendered to the British forces under the command of Major General Brock, and will be considered as prisoners of war, with the exception of such of the militia of Michigan Territory as have not joined the army.

2nd. All the public stores, arms, and all public documents, including every thing of a public nature, will be immediately given up.

3d. Private persons and property of every description, will be respected.

4th. His Excellency Brig. General Hull, having expressed a desire that a detachment from the state of Ohio, on its way to join his army, as well as one sent from Fort Detroit, under the command of Colonel M'Arthur, should be included in the above capitulation, it is accordingly agreed to; it is however to be understood, that such part of the Ohio Militia, as have not joined the army, 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.

5th. The garrison will march out at the hour of 12 o'clock this day, and the British forces will take immediate possession of the fort.

J. M'DONEL, Lt. Col. Militia, P. A. D. C.

J. B. GLEGG, Major, A. D. D.

JAS. MILLER, Lt. Col. 5th U. S. Infantry.

E. BRUSH, Col. 1st. Regt. Michigan Militia.

APPROVED.

W. HULL, Brig. Gen. Comdg. U. S. Army.

ISAAC BROCK, Major General.

Gen. Brock took possession of Detroit, and sent Gen. Hull with his regulars down to Quebec; but sent to their homes upon parole, the militia and volunteers.

*From General Brock to Sir George Prevost—dated Detroit, 16th August, 1812.*

SIR, I hasten to apprise your excellency of the capture of this very important post; 2500 troops have this day surrendered prisoners of war, and about 25 pieces of ordnance have been taken without the sacrifice of a drop of British blood. I had not more than 700 troops including militia, and about 600 Indians, to accomplish this service. *When I detail my good fortune, your Excellency will be astonished.*

ISAAC BROCK, Major General.

To His Ex. Lieut. Gen. Sir GEO. PREVOST.



This dastardly conduct of Gen. Hull, gave a shock to the government, and the nation, inexpressibly great, and fixes a lasting reproach upon his name. He was soon after exchanged for thirty British prisoners; tried in due form by a court martial, and sentenced to be shot; but by the recommendation of the court, mercy interposed, on account of his revolutionary services, and advanced age; the President remitted his sentence, and ordered his name to be struck from the rolls of the army.

Public opinion sanctioned the doings of the court-martial, as well as the interposition of mercy, through the President, and all further clamour against Gen. Hull ceased.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

### *General view of the naval operations of the war.*

The public mind, which had been overwhelmed with the disasters and misfortunes of the savage war of the wilderness, and the fall of Michilimackinac, Chicago, and Detroit, was soon relieved by the brilliant display of naval war upon the ocean. The naval heroes of America unfurled the starspangled banner; spread their sails to the wind, traversed every sea, and every clime in quest of the enemy, and spread a new and splendid era on their country. With the glorious victories of a Paul Jones, a Preble and other naval heroes of the revolution before them; of a Truxton, a Little, a Stewart, a Tryon, a Barney and others of the naval war with France; of a Decatur, a Macdonough, and others of the Tripolitan wars, they rose in the majesty of them-

selves, and nobly vindicated the honor and just rights of their country's flag.

On the 28th of June, commodore Rodgers put to sea, from N. York, with his little squadron, consisting of the President, Congress, United States (frigates) and brig Hornet in quest of the British West-India fleet. Soon after they were at sea, they discovered the British frigate Belvidera, and commenced a chase, which continued through the day, and when the President had so far gained upon the Belvidera, as to be able to reach her with her bow guns, and was in momentary expectation of bringing her to action, she had the misfortune to lose 16 men by the bursting of one of her bow guns, and the leg of the commodore was fractured at the same time. This misfortune, added to the explosion of the passing brig, so crippled the President, as to render it necessary to wear ship, and with a broad side upon the Belvidera, attempt to cripple her so much as to prevent her escape, and bring her to action. But the desired effect was not fully obtained, for the Belvidera, crippled as she was, effected her escape, by lighting ship, throwing overboard her guns, and whatever else she could spare, and the commodore gave up the chase about midnight.

Commodore Rodgers continued his cruise in quest of the convoy, to the entrance of the British channel, and not falling in with them, stood away for the Madeiras, and Western isles, and on the 30th of August returned to Boston by the way of Newfoundland, with several valuable prizes.

*Copy of a letter from Capt. Hull to the Secretary of the Navy.*

*United States Frigate Constitution,*

*August 28, 1812.*

SIR,

The enclosed account of the affair between the *President*, Com. Rodgers, and the British frigate *Belvidera*, was taken by an officer, on board the *Belvidera*, and fell into my hands by accident. It clearly proves that she only escaped the commodore by superior sailing, after having lightened her, and the *President* being very deep.

As much has been said on this subject, if Commodore Rodgers has not arrived, to give you his statement of the affair, if it meet your approbation, I should be pleased to have this account published, to prevent people from making up their minds hastily, as I find them willing to do.

I am confident, could the commodore have got along side the *Belvidera*, she would have been his, in less than one hour.

I have the honour to be, with great respect,  
Sir, your obedient servant.

ISAAC HULL.

HON. PAUL HAMILTON, &c.

*An account of the proceedings of his Majesty's ship Belvidera, Richard Byron, Esq. Captain, 23d of June, 1812.*

At 40 minutes past 4 A. M. off Nantucket Shoal, saw several sail bearing S. W. made sail towards them : at 30 minutes past 6, they bore S. W. by S. made them out to be three frigates, one sloop, and one brig of war, standing to the S. E. under a press of sail. Observed them to make signals, and haul up in chase of us, haul-



ing down their steering sails, in a confused, and irregular manner. Tacked ship, made the private signal, which was not answered; made all the sail possible, N. E. by E.; at 8, moderate and fine weather, the headmost ship of the chase S. S. W. 1-3 W. apparently gaining ground on us at times, and leaving her consorts. At 30 minutes past 11 hoisted our colours and pendant; the chase hoisted American colours, two of them hoisted commodore's broad pendants; at noon the commodore and the second headmost ship of the chase S. W. 3-4 W. about 2 and 3-4 of a mile, Nantucket Shoal N. 4° E. 48 miles; moderate and fine weather, cleared ship for action, commodore of chase gaining, the other ships dropping; observed the chase pointing her guns at us; at 40 minutes past 3 P. M. the commodore fired 3 shot, one of which struck the rudder coat, and came into the after gun room; the other two came into the upper, or captain's cabin, one of which struck the muzzle of the larboard chase gun, the other went through the beam under the skylight, killed William Gould, seaman; wounded John Hill, armourer, mortally; Joseph Lee, seaman, severely; George Marlon, ship's corporal, badly; Lieut. Bruce, and James Kelley and James Larmont, seamen, slightly. At 45 minutes past 3, commenced firing with our stern guns, shot away her larboard lower steering sail, keeping our ship a steady course N. E. by E. at 4, the chase bore up and fired her larboard broadside, which cut our rigging and sails much, the long bolts, breeching-hooks, and breechings of guns and carronades frequently; breaking (by one of which Capt. Byron was severely wounded in the left thigh) all of which was instantly replaced. Kept up a constant fire, which was returned by our opponent with bow-chase guns, and at times by her broadsides, which by her superiority of sailing she was enabled to do till 45 minutes past 6, when we cut away our spare sheet and small bower anchors, barge, yawl, and jolly boats, and started 14 tons of water; we then gained on

him, when he bore up and fired three broadsides, part of which fell short of us ; at 7, opponent ceased firing, and the second frigate commenced, but finding her shot fell short, ceased again. Employed fishing our cross-jack yard, and main top-mast (both badly wounded,) knotting and splicing our rigging, which was much cut and damaged. At 11, altered our course to E. by S. 1-2 S. and lost sight of our opponents.

## AMERICAN SQUADRON.

*Boston Sept. 1, 1812.*

We with pleasure announce the safe arrival in this port on Monday last of the United States squadron commanded by Com. Rodgers, which sailed from New-York, on the 21st June, on a cruise. The squadron, composed of the *President*, 44 guns, bearing Com. Rodgers' flag; the *United States*, 44, bearing Com. Decatur's flag; *Congress* 36, Capt. Smith; *Hornet* 16, Capt. Lawrence; and brig *Argus* 16, Capt. Sinclair; came into harbour in a handsome style. The squadron had been seventy days at sea, during which time they had been nearly to the chops of the English Channel, along the coast of France, Spain, and Portugal; to within ten leagues of the Rock of Lisbon; to the vicinity of the Western Islands; and back by the Banks and Coast of Nova Scotia to Boston; during which they did not even see a single British national vessel, excepting the *Belvidera*, with whom the *President* had a running fight of some hours. They have captured seven English merchantmen two of which they burnt, and sent the other five for American ports, none of which, as we have learnt, have been fortunate enough to arrive,

The running fight between the *President* and *Belvidera* is thus stated:—The latter was descried on the 23d June, when the squadron gave chase. The *President*, by superiority of sailing, got within gun-shot of

the *Belvidera*, between 4 and 5 o'clock P. M. when finding the breeze, which had enabled the *President* to overhaul the chase, was moderating, and that the chase was preparing to fire on the *President*, the latter commenced firing for the purpose of crippling the spars of the *Belvidera*, in order to come up with her. The fire was kept up two hours; the *President* yawing, and firing two or three broadsides to effect her object, and keeping up a constant fire of the chase guns, which though it cut the sails and rigging, did not stop the way of the *Belvidera*, which, as the wind became light, was accelerated by her crowding all sail, starting her water, cutting away her anchors, and by staving and throwing over her boats. The chase continued until near midnight; during which the *Congress* frigate came so near the *Belvidera* as to fire three or four shot at her. The *Hornet*, as reported, had no share in the firing. Early in the chase a very serious accident occurred on board the *President*—one of the forward guns, being fired, burst, tore up the decks, killed several seamen, and wounded 11 or 12 others—among whom was Com. Rodgers, who had stepped forward to direct the firing of the chase guns, and who was blown up, and in the fall had the bone of his leg fractured. He has since recovered. This accident also prevented the chase guns being used for some time. The loss of the *President* we have not accurately ascertained. We understand 4 were killed by the bursting of the gun, and 3 by the shot of the *Belvidera*; and 19 were wounded, mostly slightly, and by the bursting gun.

We lament to learn, that the crews of the ships are very sickly, mostly of scurvy—occasioned by short allowance of provisions and water, made necessary in consequence of the sudden departure of the squadron from New-York, and the length of her cruise. Many have died.—*Centinel*.



*From Com. Rodgers to the Secretary of the Navy.*

*U. S. Frigate President, Boston, Sept. 1, 1812.*

SIR,

I had the honour yesterday of informing you of the arrival of the squadron, and now state the result and particulars of our cruise.

Previous to leaving New-York on the 21st of June, I heard that a British convoy had sailed from Jamaica for England, on or about the 20th of the preceding month, and on being informed of the declaration of war against Great Britain, I determined, in the event of Com. Decatur joining me with the United States, Congress, and Argus, as you had directed, to go in pursuit of them.

The United States, Congress, and Argus did join me on the 21st; with which vessels, this ship and the Hornet accordingly sailed in less than an hour after I received your orders of the 18th of June, accompanied by your official communication of the declaration of war.

On leaving New-York, I shaped our course southeasterly, in the expectation of falling in with vessels, by which I should hear of the before mentioned convoy, and the following night met with an American brig that gave me the sought-for information; the squadron now crowded sail in pursuit, but the next morning was taken out of its course by the pursuit of a British frigate, that I since find was the Belvidera, relative to which I beg leave to refer you to the enclosed extract from my journal. After repairing as far as possible the injury done by the Belvidera to our spars and rigging, we again crowded all sail, and resumed our course in pursuit of the convoy, but did not receive further intelligence of it until the 29th of June, on the western edge of the banks of Newfoundland, where we spoke an American schooner, the master of which reported

that he had two days before passed them in latitude  $43^{\circ}$ , longitude  $55^{\circ}$ , steering to the eastward. I was surprised to find that the convoy was still so far to the eastward of us, but was urged, however, as well by what I considered my duty as by inclination, to continue the pursuit.

On the 1st of July, a little to the eastward of Newfoundland Bank, we fell in with quantities of cocoa nut shells, orange-peels, &c. which indicated that the convoy were not far distant, and we pursued it with zeal, although frequently taken out of our course by vessels it was necessary to chase, without gaining any further intelligence until the 9th of July, in lat.  $45^{\circ} 30'$ , long.  $23^{\circ}$ , we captured the British private armed brig Dolphin, of Jersey, and were informed by some of her crew that they had seen the convoy the preceding evening; the weather was not clear at the time, but that they had counted 85 sail, and that the force charged with its protection consisted of one two decker, a frigate, a sloop of war, and a brig.

This was the last intelligence I received of the before-mentioned convoy, although its pursuit was continued until the 13th of July, being then within 18 or 20 hours sail of the British channel.

From this we steered for the Island of Madeira, passed close by it on the 21st of July; thence near the Azores, and saw Corvo and Flores; thence steered for the banks of Newfoundland; and from the latter place, by the way of Cape Sable, to this port, it having become indispensably necessary, by the time we reached our own coast, to make the first convenient port in the United States; owing, I am sorry to say, to that wretched disease, the scurvy, having made its appearance on board of the vessels, most generally to a degree seriously alarming.

From the western part of the banks of Newfoundland to our making the island of Madeira the weather was such, at least six days out of seven, as to obscure

from our discovery every object that we did not pass within four or five miles of, and indeed for several days together the fog was so thick as to prevent our seeing each other, even at cable's length asunder, more than twice or thrice in 24 hours.

From the time of our leaving the United States until our arrival here we chased every vessel we saw, and you will not be a little astonished when I inform you, that, although we brought to every thing we did chase, with the exception of four vessels, we only made seven captures and one recapture.

It is truly an unpleasant task to be obliged to make a communication thus barren of benefit to our country; the only consolation I individually feel on the occasion being derived from knowing, that our being at sea obliged the enemy to concentrate a considerable portion of his most active force; and thereby prevented his capturing an incalculable amount of American property that would otherwise have fallen a sacrifice.

I am aware of the anxiety you must have experienced at not hearing from me for such a length of time; but this I am sure you will not attribute in any degree to neglect, when I inform you that no convenient opportunity occurred from the time of leaving the United States until our return.

Mr. Newcomb, who will deliver you this, you will find an intelligent young man, capable of giving such further information as you may deem of any moment: He will at the same time deliver you a chart, shewing the track in which we cruised. Annexed is a list of vessels captured, recaptured, and burnt.

The four vessels we chased and did not come up with, were the *Belvidera*, a small pilot-boat schooner, supposed to be an American privateer, the hermaphrodite privateer *Yankee*, which we lost sight of in a fog, but whose character we afterwards learnt, and a frigate supposed to be British, that we chased on the 28th ult. near the shoals of George's bank and should certainly



have come up with, had we had the advantage of two hours' more day-light.

On board of the several vessels of the squadron there are between 80 and 100 prisoners, taken from the vessels we captured during our late cruise. The government not having any agent for prisoners here, I shall send them to Com. Bainbridge, to be disposed of in such manner as best comports with the interest of the United States, and which I hope may meet with your approbation.

With the greatest respect, I have the honour  
to be, sir, your obedient servant,

JOHN RODGERS.

HON. PAUL HAMILTON,  
*Secretary of the Navy.*

*Extract from Commodore Rodgers' Journal.*

Sailed from New York June 21. The 23d, 6 A. M. discovered and gave chase to an English frigate, supposed to be the *Belvidera*. The superiority of the President's sailing, while the breeze continued fresh, enabled her to get within gun-shot between 4 and 5 P. M. when it had moderated so as to give very faint hopes of getting along side. At this time perceiving she was training her guns to bear upon the President, the latter commenced a fire at her spars and rigging, with the view to cripple and get abreast of her, a fire was kept up about two hours. The President gave her two or three broadsides, and kept up a well directed fire from the chase guns, which cut her sails and rigging very much, but did not succeed in destroying any of her spars, although some of them were much wounded. The President all this time was exposed to a running fire from her four stern-chasers; and once the British frigate commenced a fire from her main deck, with an intention of raking the President with a broadside, but at that moment receiving one from the President continued her course under a press of sail, and used only her stern

guns. All sail was crowded in pursuit, but in vain. The chase was now throwing overboard every thing that could be spared, to increase her sailing, and escaped by the lightness of the wind ; four of her boats were seen floating by the President, completely knocked to pieces, together with a great number of casks, spars, &c. and it was supposed most of her guns were also thrown overboard.

The President received a considerable number of shot in her sails and rigging, but was not materially injured. The chase was continued till about midnight, when it was relinquished as hopeless, and the President hove to for the squadron to come up. Early in the chase, one of the President's chase guns, on the gun-deck, burst, and injured the upper deck so much, as to prevent the use of the chase guns on that side for a considerable time. The President had 3 killed, and 19 wounded, most of the latter slightly ; of the wounded, 16 were by the bursting of a gun. It was by the same gun Com. Rodgers had his leg fractured ; but has recovered.

The squadron afterwards pursued the Jamaica fleet, but owing to uncommonly foggy weather, missed them, although at times very near.

After the rencounter above related, Capt. Byron, of the Belvidera, in conversation with an American gentleman, observed, that, in his opinion, Com. Rodgers had done every thing on board the President, which could have contributed to the capture of his ship. When the squadron first gave chase to the Belvidera, they gained upon her very fast ; and Capt. Byron considered his vessel as lost ; but as a last resort, when the President was coming up within gun-shot of the Belvidera, orders were given to cut away the anchors, stave the water casks, and throw overboard the boats, and every thing moveable, which could be spared, and which could tend to lighten the ship. As soon as this had been done, it was observed, that the Belvidera began to

draw from the chase ; which being discovered by Com. Rodgers, he opened his fire upon her, in hope of disabling some of her spars, and thereby enable him to come up with her. Capt. Byron declared, that the fire from the President was extremely well directed, almost every shot taking effect ; and that to the circumstance above related, and the wind at the same time becoming more light, was his escape to be attributed.

A declaration, like this, coming from an enemy, is conclusive evidence of the good conduct of Commodore Rodgers.

On the 3d of July the frigate *Essex*, Capt. Norton, put to sea from New-York, bound on a cruise : the *Constitution*, Capt. Hull put to sea from Annapolis on the 12th, bound to New York. On her way, she was chased out of her course on the 17th by the British ship of the line *Africa*, and the frigates, *Shannon*, *Belvidera*, *Guerriere*, and *Eolus*. This squadron commenced their chase under a favourable breeze, and Capt. Hull, seeing no prospect of escape, cleared ship for action, in case of necessity ; but deeming resistance against such a vast superiority of force, desperate, he hit upon the following expedient. He sent out his kedges, with a long warp, and hove his ship ahead so adroitly, that she soon gained upon the squadron, so fast as to induce them to put forth all their efforts to bring their headmost ship into action by all the tow boats of the squadron. The parties continued their exertions about 60 hours, with the most indefatigable labours, when the *Constitution* was relieved by a favorable breeze, and she shot ahead of her pursuers, and made an honorable escape.

The following account from the log book of the *Constitution* will shew in detail the most interesting adventures.

*Friday, July 17, 1812.*

Commences with clear weather and fresh breezes from the northward and eastward. At 1-2 past 1, P. M. rounded in 22 fathoms water. At 2, four sail of vessels



in sight. At 3, sounded in 18 1-2 fathoms. At 1-4 past 3, tacked to the east. At 4, a ship in sight, bearing N. E. standing down for us, and three ships and a brig N. N. W. on the starboard tack. From 4 to 6, light airs from the northward. At 6, the single ship bearing E. N. E. At 1-2 past 6, got a light breeze from the southward and eastward, wore ship and stood towards the above sail, keeping her a little off the larboard bow. At 1-2 past 7, beat to quarters and cleared ship for action. At 8, light airs ;—coming up with the ships very slow. At 1-2 past 10, made the private signals of the day. At 1-4 past 11, hauled down the signals, not having been answered, and made sail by the wind, with starboard tacks on board. From 12 to 4 A. M. light airs from the southward and westward and cloudy. At 4 A. M. the ship made a signal. At day-light, discovered three sail astern. At 5, discovered another sail astern, making two frigates off our lee-quarter, and two frigates and one ship of the line, one brig, and one schooner, astern. At 1-4 past 5, it being calm and the ship having no steering way, hoisted out the first cutter and got the boats ahead to tow ship's head round to the southward, got a 24 pounder up off the gun-deck for a stern-gun, and the fore-castle gun aft—cut away the taffarel to give them room, and run two guns out of the cabin windows. At 6, got the ship's head round to the southward and set top-gallant studding-sails and stay sails, one of the frigates firing at us. At 1-2 past 6, sounded in 26 fathoms water. At 7, got out a kedge and warped the ship ahead. At 1-2 past 7, hoisted the colours and fired one gun at the ship astern. At 8, calm ;—employed warping and towing the ship. The other ships having a light air gaining on us, with their boats ahead, and one of them using sweeps. At 9, the above ship in close chase of us, and the nearest frigate gaining on us. At 9 minutes past 9, a light breeze sprung up from the southward ; braced up by the wind on the larboard tack, when the above frigate commen-

ced firing, but her shot did not reach us; got the boats along side, run two of them up. At 10, started 2335 gallons of water and pumped it out—almost calm—manned the first cutter to tow ship;—six sail of the enemy's ships off the starboard beam and quarter; perceived that the nearest frigate had got all the boats from the other ships to tow her towards us. From 10, A. M. to meridian, employed warping and towing. All sail made by the wind, one of the ships coming up, apparently having all the boats from the other ships.

*Saturday, July 18.*

Light airs from the southward and eastward, attended with calms. At 1-2 after meridian, sent the first cutter and green cutter ahead to tow ship. At 1-4 before 1, P. M. a strange sail discovered two points abaft off the lee-beam, the four frigates one point off the starboard-quarter. Line-of-battle ship, brig and schooner, off the lee-beam. At 7 minutes before 2, the chasing frigates commenced firing their bow chase guns, we returned them with our stern chasers. At 1-2 past 3, still chased by the above ships, one of them being nearly within gun-shot. At 7, observed the enemy's ships towing with their boats. Lowered down the first cutter, green cutter and gig, and sent them ahead to tow ship;—light airs, inclinable to calms. At 8, light airs from the southward and eastward. The first and fifth cutters and gig ahead towing ship. The enemy's ships in the same position as at 7. From 8 to 9, light airs and cloudy. The enemy's ships still in chase of us; boats ahead towing ship. At 7 minutes before 11, a breeze springing up from the southward; boats came along side, hoisted up the gig and green cutter, and set the fore-top-mast stay-sail and main-top-gallant studding sail. At midnight moderate breezes and cloudy, the enemy's ships still in chase. At 2, A. M. discovered one of the ships off the lee-beam. At 1-2 past 2, took in the studding sails, at day-light four frigates in sight, three off the lee-quarter

and one off the lee-beam, from two to three miles distant. At 4, six sail in sight from off the deck, hauled down the foretop-mast staysail;—very light breezes. At 20 minutes past 4, tacked ship to the eastward. At 5, passed about gun-shot distance to windward of one of the frigates; hoisted in the first cutter;—ten sail in sight from the mast-head. At 9, saw a ship to windward supposed to be an American merchantman, standing towards us. The frigate astern hoisted American colours, as a decoy; we immediately hoisted English colours; got royal studding sails fitted. At 11, A. M. took in sky-sails. At meridian, moderate breezes and pleasant weather, rather leaving the frigates in chase; the headmost frigate to leeward, bearing nearly N. by W. four or five miles distant, the nearest frigate W. N. W. directly in our wake, distant about three and half miles. The line-of-battle ship, N. by W. 1-2 W. on the larboard tack, hull down. Two frigates off our lee-quarter, N. N. W. 1-2 W. and N. W. by N. about five miles distant, and a brig bearing about N. by W. Observed, latitude  $38^{\circ} 47'$  N. which, with the soundings got at 1-4 past 10, A. M. and allowing for the distance since run, gives our long. about  $73^{\circ} 53'$  W. from which we date our departure.

CAPT. HULL'S OFFICIAL LETTER.

*Constitution at sea, off Nantucket,*  
*July, 20, 1812.*

SIR,

The Constitution is on her way to Boston for your orders, having been chased by a British squadron off New-York, and very near being taken. The chase continued three days and nights, by a line-of-battle ship, four frigates, a brig and a schooner.



I shall call off Boston and write from there, and continue cruising in the bay until I hear from you.

Respectfully,

ISAAC HULL.

HON. PAUL HAMILTON,  
*Sec'y of Navy.*

On Sunday, the 26th of July, the Constitution arrived in Boston harbour. On Tuesday the 28th, Capt. Hull came up to the town. On his landing and reaching State Street, he was received by his fellow-citizens with repeated huzzas.

[The following card was inserted, at the request of Capt. Hull, in the Exchange Coffee-house Books.]

“Capt. Hull, finding his friends in Boston are *correctly* informed of his situation when chased by the British squadron off New-York, and that they are good enough to give him more credit by escaping them than he ought to claim, takes this opportunity of requesting them to make a transfer of a great part of their good wishes to Lieutenant Morris, and the other brave officers, and the crew under his command, for their great exertions and prompt attention to orders while the enemy were in chase. Capt. Hull has great pleasure in saying, that notwithstanding the length of the chase, and the officers and crew being deprived of sleep, and allowed but little refreshments during the time, not a murmur was heard to escape them.”

#### *Interesting Particulars.*

Capt. Hull, in the management of his ship during her chase by the squadron under Com. Broke, displayed the most skilful and accomplished seamanship.

At a time when the wind was very light, the sails of the *Shannon* were all furled, and the boats of the squadron were all put to tow her directly to windward to-

ward the *Constitution*; at the same time Capt. Hull was kedging his ship forward faster than the enemy was able to advance by towing; he had gained a considerable distance, before the enemy, who were constantly observing him with their glasses, perceived the manner in which he was leaving. They then kedged in their turn, but not with the same rapidity, owing probably in some measure to the precaution observed by Capt. Hull, whenever his boats came home, instead of making them fast to the ship, of hoisting them up at the davids. This manœuvre of *kedging* a ship at sea, in 25 or 30 fathoms water, was an ingenious and novel experiment; it was first suggested, it is understood, by *Lieut.* [now Capt.] *C. Morris*.

When the squall struck the *Constitution*, by which she ultimately escaped, *Capt. H.* availed himself of another stratagem to gain time. He was to windward—the squall was powerful, and pressed her huge side low in the water; he immediately let every thing go by the run, apparently in the utmost confusion, as if unable to shew a yard of canvas—his sails were hauled up by the brails and clewlines; the enemy, observing this, hastened to get every thing snug before the gust should reach them:—but, no sooner had they got their sails furled, than *Capt. Hull* had his courses and topsails set, and the *Constitution* darted forward with great rapidity.

So coolly however did he proceed, that he would not suffer one of his boats to be cut adrift, but though pressed by a pursuing enemy, attended personally to hoisting in his launch and other boats, while the ship was going nine or ten knots through the water. This is a fact which will appear astonishing to a sailor; and he seemed to be the only person in the ship who conceived it feasible:—the British squadron cut adrift all their boats and, after they abandoned the chase, spent two or three whole days in cruising to pick them up.

## CHAPTER IX.

*Naval Adventures Continued.*

## CONSTITUTION AND GUERRIERE.

On the 2d, of Sept. the *Constitution* put to sea from Boston, and on the 19th, descried a sail, and gave chase immediately. Capt. Hull soon discovered the chase to be a British frigate of the largest class, which did not appear to decline the combat. Capt. Hull cleared ship, and bore down upon the enemy and his brave crew gave three cheers as they commenced the action.

*U. S. frigate, Constitution, off Boston Light,  
August 30, 1812.*

SIR,

I have the honour to inform you, that on the 19th inst. at 2 P. M. being in lat. 41 deg. 42 min. and lon. 55 deg. and 48 min. with the *Constitution* under my command, a sail was discovered from the mast-head bearing E. by S. or E. S. E. but at such a distance we could not tell what she was. All sail was instantly made in chase, and soon found we came up with her. At 3 P. M. could plainly see, that she was a ship on the star-board tack under easy sail, close on a wind; at half past 3 P. M. made her out to be a frigate; continued the chase until we were within about three miles, when I ordered the light sails to be taken in, the courses hauled up, and the ship cleared for action. At this time the chase had backed his maintop-sail, waiting for us to come down. As soon as the *Constitution* was ready for action, I bore down with intention to bring him to close action immediately: but on our coming within gunshot she gave us a broadside and filed away, and wore, giving us a broadside on the other tack, but without



effect ; her shot falling short. She continued wearing and manœuvring for about three quarters of an hour to get a raking position, but finding she could not, she bore up, and run under her top-sails and jib, with the wind on her quarter. I immediately made sail to bring the ship up with her, and five minutes before 6 P. M. being along side within half pistol-shot, we commenced a heavy fire from all our guns, double shotted with round and grape, and so well directed were they, and so warmly kept up, that in 15 minutes his mizen-mast went by the board and his main yard in the slings, and the hull, rigging, and sails very much torn to pieces. The fire was kept up with equal warmth for 15 minutes longer, when his mainmast and foremast went, taking with them every spar, excepting the bowsprit. On seeing this we ceased firing, so that in thirty minutes after we got fairly along side the enemy, she surrendered, and had not a spar standing, and her hull below and above water so shattered, that a few more broadsides must have carried her down.

After informing you, that so fine a ship as the *Guerriere*, commanded by an able and experienced officer, had been totally dismasted, and otherwise cut to pieces so as to make her not worth towing into port, in the short space of thirty minutes, you can have no doubt of the gallantry and good conduct of the officers and ship's company I have the honour to command ; it only remains therefore for me to assure you, that they all fought with great bravery ; and it gives me great pleasure to say, that from the smallest boy in the ship to the oldest seaman, not a look of fear was seen. They all went into action, giving three cheers, and requested to be laid close along side the enemy.

Enclosed I have the honour to send you a list of killed and wounded on board the *Constitution*, and a report of the damages she has sustained ; also a list of kil-

led and wounded on board the enemy, with his quarter bill, &c.

I have the honour to be, with very great respect,  
Sir, your ob't serv't,

ISAAC HULL.

Hon. PAUL HAMILTON, &c.

Return of killed and wounded on board the U. S. frigate Constitution, Isaac Hull Esq. Captain, in the action with H. M. ship Guerriere, Jas. R. Dacres Esq. Captain, on the 20th day of Aug. 1812.

*Killed.*—Wm. S. Bush,\* 1st Lt. marines; Jacob Sago, seaman; Robert Brice, do.; John Brown, do. James Read, do.; Caleb Smith, do.; James Ashford, do.

*Wounded.*—Chas. Morris, 1st Lt. dangerously; John C. Alwyn, master, slightly; Richard Dunn, seaman, dangerously; Geo. Reynolds, ord. seaman, dangerously; Dan. Lewis, do. dangerously; Owen Tayler, do. dangerously; Francis Mullen, marine, slightly.

#### *Recapitulation.*

*Killed.*—One Lt. of marines and six seaman,—Total killed 7.

*Wounded.*—Two officers, four seaman and one marine.—Total wounded 7.

Total killed and wounded, 14.

ISAAC HULL, *Capt.*

T. J. CHEW. *Purser.*

*U. S. frigate Constitution,*  
*Aug. 21, 1812,*

\*Lieut William S. Bush was a native of Wilmington (Delaware) His father, Capt. John Bush, was a meritorious officer in the revolutionary war, and he was the nephew of the brave Major Lewis Bush, who fell supporting the cause of his country at the battle of Brandywine,

*List of the killed and wounded on board the Guerriere.*

*Killed.*—H. Ready, 2d Lt. and fourteen petty officers, seamen and marines.

*Wounded.*—James R. Dacres, Capt. ; Bart. Kent, Lt. ; Robert Scott, master ; Samuel Grant, master's mate ; James Enslie, midshipman, and fifty seven petty officers, seaman and marines.

*Missing.*—Lt. James Pullman, Mr. Gaston, and twenty two seaman and marines.

The following particulars of the action, are communicated by an officer of the Constitution, and may be considered as essentially correct.

Lat. 41° 42' N. lon. 55° 33' W. Thursday, August 20th, fresh breeze from N. W. and cloudy ; at 2 P. M. discovered a vessel to the southward, made all sail in chase ; at 3, perceived the chase to be a ship on the starboard tack, close hauled to the wind ; hauled S. S. W. ; at 1-2 past 3, made out the chase to be a frigate ; at 4, coming up with the chase very fast ; at 1-4 before 5, the chase laid the main-top-sail to the mast ; took in our top-gallant-sails, stay-sails and flying jib ; took a second reef in the top-sails, hauled the courses up, sent the royal yards down, and got all clear for action ; beat to quarters, on which the crew gave three cheers ; at 5 the chase hoisted three English ensigns, at 5 minutes past 5, the enemy commenced firing : at 20 minutes past 5, set our colours, one at each mast-head, and one at the mizen-peak, began firing on the enemy, and continued to fire occasionally, he wearing very often, and we manœuvring to close with him, and avoid being raked ; at 6, set the main top-gallant sail, the enemy having bore up ; at 5 minutes past 6, brought the enemy to close action, standing before the wind ; at 15 minutes past 6, the enemy's mizen-mast fell over on the starboard side ; at 20 minutes past 6, finding we were drawing ahead of the enemy, luffed short round his bows, to rake him ; at 25 minutes past 6, the enemy fell on



board of us, his bow-sprit foul of our mizen rigging. We prepared to board, but immediately after, his fore and main-mast went by the board, and it was deemed unnecessary. Our cabin had taken fire from his guns ; but soon extinguished, without material injury ; at 30 minutes past 6, shot ahead of the enemy, when the firing ceased on both sides ; he making the signal of submission by firing a gun to leeward ; set fore-sail, and hauled to the eastward to repair damage ; all our braces and much of our standing and running rigging and some of our spars being shot away. At 7 wore ship, and stood under the lee of the prize—sent our boat on board, which returned at 8, with Capt. Dacres, late of his Majesty's ship *Guerriere*, mounting 4<sup>9</sup> carriage guns, and manned with 302 men ; got our boats out, and kept them employed in removing the prisoners and baggage from the prize to our own ship. Sent a surgeon's mate to assist in attending the wounded ; wearing ship occasionally to keep in the best position to receive the boats. At 20 minutes before 2 A. M. discovered a sail off the larboard beam, standing to the south ; saw all clear for another action ; at 3 the sail stood off again ; at day light was hailed by the Lieut. on board the prize, who informed he had four feet of water in the hold, and that she was in a sinking condition ; all hands employed in removing the prisoners, and repairing our own damage through the remainder of the day. Friday the 21<sup>st</sup> commenced with light breezes from the northward, and pleasant ; our boats and crew still employed as before. At 3 P. M. made the signal of recal for our boats, having received all the prisoners. They immediately left her on fire, and 1-4 past 3 she blew up. Our loss in the action was 7 killed and 7 wounded ; among the former, Lieut. Bush of the marines, and among the latter, Lt. Morris, severely ; and Mr. Aylwin, the master, slightly. On the part of the enemy, 15 men killed, and 64 wounded. Among the former, Lt. Ready, 2<sup>d</sup> of

the ship ; among the latter, Capt. Dacres, Lt. Kent, 1st, Mr. Scott, master, and master's mate.

During her short cruise, the *Constitution*, besides the above gallant achievement, has destroyed two English brigs ; one with lumber, the other in ballast, and recaptured the *Adeline* of Bath, from London with dry goods, which had been taken by the British sloop *Avenger*, Capt. Johnston, of 16 guns ;—and which Capt. Hull manned and ordered for America.

When the *Guerriere* first came in sight of the *Constitution*, she stood toward her, as if with an intention of bringing her to immediate action, and the latter put herself under easy sail for her reception ; but after approaching sufficiently near, to observe her with accuracy, she bore up, stood broad off from the wind, and seemed inclined to take French leave : Capt. Hull was compelled to crowd a press of sail upon his ship in order to overtake his antagonists, who when he got within gun shot, commenced a cannonade ; not a gun was returned from the *Constitution*, whose men were coolly turned up to reef topsails, send down top-gallant yards, and swing the lower yards with chains ; this business being effected with deliberation and precision under a galling fire from the enemy, and without herself returning a single shot, the *Constitution* was ranged along side of the enemy, and her fire opened with such terrible effect, that in 25 minutes the *Guerriere* was demolished !

When the *Guerriere*'s mizen mast was shot away, Capt. H. in the enthusiasm of the moment, swung his hat round his head, and, in true sailor's phraze, exclaimed, "*Huzza!* my boys ! we have made a brig of her !"

It is well known, that when Lieut. Bush of the marines received his mortal wound, the *Guerriere*'s bowsprit was engaged in the mizen rigging of the *Constitution*, and he was on the quarter for the purpose of boarding. Lt. Morris was in the same situation, and received a musket ball through his body. Capt. Hull

was about joining them for the same purpose, and when stepping upon the arm-chest, he was drawn back by a sailor, who begged he would not get up there unless he took off those SWABS, pointing to his epaulets. At that moment the two ships were so near together, that one of our sailors, having discharged his boarding pistol, and missed his object, threw the pistol itself, and struck him in the breast.

The flag being shot away from the *Constitution's* main-top-gallant mast-head, John Hogan, a young sailor, ascended amid a shower of bullets and lashed it to the mast. This brave fellow enjoys a pension for his intrepidity.

Lieutenant, (now Capt.) MORRIS, has since been promoted to the command of the frigate *Adams*, of 32 guns. He has ever been distinguished in the navy for his unremitted application in the acquirement of nautical information; for activity, intelligence, and zeal in the faithful discharge of his duty. His gallant conduct, while under Commodore Preble, in the Tripolitan war, gained him the confidence of his commander, the admiration of his companions in arms, and the applause of his countrymen. He was the first man who gained the deck of the frigate *Philadelphia*, on that ever memorable night, when, under the batteries of the enemy, she was wrapt in flames by the Spartan band, under Lieutenant Decatur; for which brilliant exploit the President most justly gave the latter a Captain's commission. When the constitution made her escape from the British squadron off the Capes of the Chesapeake, to Lieut. Morris did the magnanimous Hull give much of the credit acquired in that masterly retreat. Those who personally know the sterling worth and intrinsic merit of Captain Morris, cannot but rejoice that his manly virtues and naval talents have now a more ample field of exertion in his country's cause.

Capt. Hull, in a letter to the Secretary of the navy, passed a handsome eulogium on Capt. Morris, in the



following passage: "I cannot but make you acquainted with the very great assistance I received from that valuable officer, Lieut. Morris, in bringing the ship into action, and in working her whilst along side the enemy; and I am extremely sorry to state, that he is badly wounded, being shot through the body. We have yet hopes of his recovery, when, I am sure, he will receive the gratitude of his country for this and the many gallant acts he has done in the service."\*

The Constitution made several other valuable captures, and arrived in Boston on the 28th of August, when Capt. Hull and his brave officers and crew were most courteously received, and most hospitably treated. When the festive scenes at Boston were closed, Capt. Hull set out for Washington. On his way he was received with the highest testimonials of respect; presented with the freedom of all the large cities, as he passed, together with several valuable presents in plate, &c. Congress, highly sensible of the merits of this action, as well as the loss they had sustained in being obliged to destroy the prize at sea, voted as a gratuitous donation to the crew of the Constitution, the sum of fifty thousand dollars. The government bestowed honourable promotions upon the truly meritorious sailing master, and lieutenants; and the whole crew applauded the act.

Soon after the capture of the *Guerriere*, Commodore Porter entered the *Delaware*, and announced, that shortly after he sailed from New York, he had fallen in with a British fleet of merchantmen, under convoy of

\*A few days previous to this action, the following challenge was inscribed upon the register of the *John Adams*.

"The *Guerriere*, 44 guns, 300 men, will be happy to see the President, Commodore Rodgers, out-side the Hook, or any other large frigate, to have a sociable *tete-a-tete*."

The *Guerriere* was so much of a wreck, that she was burnt at sea, the next day; but the *Constitution* suffered so slightly, that she actually cleared ship for action immediately after the battle, when a sail, supposed to be an enemy, appeared in view,

one frigate, and that he had been so successful as to cut out a transport brig, containing about 150 soldiers, which he permitted the Capt. to ransom for 14,000 dollars, after having disarmed, and parolled the troops. That on the 13th of August, he fell in with the British sloop of war Alert, and captured her in eight minutes.

#### ESSEX AND ALERT.

Letters from Capt. Porter of the Essex Frigate to the Secretary of the Navy.

*At Sea, August 17, 1812.*

SIR,

I have the honour to inform you, that on the 13th, his Britannic Majesty's sloop of war Alert, Capt. T. L. P. Laugharne, ran down on our weather quarter, gave three cheers, and commenced an action (if so trifling a skirmish deserves the name) and after eight minutes firing struck her colours, with seven feet water in her hold, much cut to pieces, and 3 men wounded.

I need not inform you that the officers and crew of the Essex behaved as I trust all Americans will in such cases, and it is only to be regretted, that so much zeal and activity could not have been displayed on an occasion that would have done them more honour. - The Essex has not received the slightest injury.

The Alert was out for the purpose of taking the Hornet!

I have the honour to be with great respect,  
your obedient servant,

D. PORTER.

Hon. PAUL HAMILTON,

*Sec'y of Navy.*

The Alert mounted twenty 18lb. carronades, [rated in Steel's list 16,] and had 130 men,

*At Sea, August 20, 1812.*

SIR,

Finding myself much embarrassed by the *Alert*, from the great number of prisoners we have already made (about 500,) I conclude that before our arrival in America the number would be considerably augmented, and as I found my provisions and water getting short, and being well satisfied that a plan had been organized by them for rising on the ship in the event of an engagement, I considered it to be for the interest of my country to get clear of them as speedily as possible, particularly as I was well assured that immediately on their arrival at St. Johns, an equal number of my countrymen would be released and find a sure and immediate conveyance. I therefore drew up written stipulations corresponding with the accompanying letters; threw all the guns of the *Alert* overboard; withdrew from her all the men belonging to the *Essex*; appointed Lieut. J. P. Wilmer to command her as a cartel, put all my prisoners on board her, and despatched her for St. Johns, in Newfoundland, with orders to proceed from thence to New York with such Americans as he may receive in exchange.

At a more suitable opportunity I shall do myself the honour to lay before you copies of every paper relative to this transaction, and sincerely hope that my conduct in this affair may meet you with approbation.

As the *Essex* has been so annoying about Bermuda, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland, I expect I shall have to run the gauntlet, through their cruisers; you may however rest assured, that all a ship of her size can do shall be done, and whatever may be our fate our country shall never blush for us.

I have the honour to be, &c.

D. PORTER.

Hon. PAUL HAMILTON,

*Sec'y of Navy.*



We are obliged to omit the correspondence between Captains Porter and Laugharne, in which it was finally agreed, that the *Alert*, after being, disarmed, should go to Newfoundland, as a cartel, with British prisoners.—The *Alert* afterwards returned to New York with American prisoners.

Extract of a letter from Admiral Duckworth to the Secretary of the Navy.

*St. Johns, Newfoundland, Aug. 31, 1812.*

A vessel captured as the *Alert* has been, could not have been vested with the character of a cartel, until she had entered a port of the nation by which she had been captured, and been regularly fitted out from thence. For every prize might otherwise be provided with a flag of truce, and proposals for an exchange of prisoners; and rendered thus effectually secure against the possibility of recapture; while the cruising ship would be enabled to keep at sea with an undiminished crew; the cartels being always navigated by the prisoners of war.

It is utterly inconsistent with the laws of war to recognise the principle upon which this arrangement has been made.

Nevertheless I am willing to give a proof of my respect for the liberality with which the captain of the *Essex* has acted, in more than one instance, towards the British subjects who have fallen into his hands; of the sacred obligation that is always felt, to fulfil the engagements of a British officer; and of my confidence in the disposition of his royal highness the Prince Regent, to allay the violence of war by encouraging a reciprocity of that courtesy by which its pressure upon individuals may be so essentially diminished.

On the 4th of this month, a midshipman of the *Essex* arrived, and presented to me a letter from his captain, proposing an exchange for 86 British prisoners. The

midshipman had however been placed alone in the charge of one of the captured vessels, with 86 prisoners, to conduct them to this port. A list of 10 prisoners of the same description, disposed of in the same manner, has been sent to me by the commander of the American private armed schooner the *Rossie*.

It is incumbent upon me to protest in the strongest manner against the practice of conducting exchanges upon terms like these ; and to signify to you that it will be utterly impossible for me to incur, in future, the responsibility of assenting to them.

Commodore Porter further states, that on the 30th of August, he descried a sail standing towards him, and he immediately cleared ship for action, and stood towards the enemy ; that when night intervened, he hoisted lights as beacons, to the enemy, which were regularly answered, but for some cause not satisfactorily explained, the enemy disappeared, and in the morning was not to be found. Also, that on the 4th of Sept. the *Essex* commenced the chase of a brig, when two ships of war were in sight ; but owing to light winds she made her escape. That the *Essex* was chased in her turn by two ships of war ; but by her skilful manœuvring, had the good fortune to make her escape.

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## CHAPTER X.

### *Naval Operations Continued.*

On the 8th of Oct. Commodore Rodgers sailed from Boston, with the following squadron, on a cruise ; viz. The frigates *President*, *United States*, *Congress*, and brig *Argus*. On the 13th, a gale parted the squadron, and shortly after the *President* and *Congress* fell in

with and captured the British packet *Swallow*, with 200,000 dollars in specie on board, which they brought safe into Boston, on the 30th of Dec. The *Argus* cruised off the West India station so successfully, that she returned into port about the middle of Jan. 1813, with prizes to the amount of about 200,000 dollars. She was no less successful in eluding and escaping the armed ships, and squadrons of the enemy, than in capturing and securing her prizes; and such was her adroitness in nautical skill, that she actually captured and manned one of her prizes within pistol shot of a British 74.

On the 18th of October, captain Jones, in the United States sloop of war *Wasp*, of sixteen guns, fell in with, and captured, his Britannic majesty's sloop of war *Frolic*, of eighteen guns, captain Winyates, after a sharp and desperate action of forty-three minutes. The *Frolic* lost thirty killed and fifty wounded; the *Wasp* five killed and five wounded.

His Britannic majesty's ship of war *Poictiers*, of 74 guns, fell in with, and captured the *Wasp* and her prize, soon after the action.

#### THE WASP AND FROLIC.

Copy of a letter from Captain Jones, late of the U. States' sloop of war *Wasp*, to the Secretary of the Navy, dated

*New-York, 24th Nov. 1812.*

SIR,

I here avail myself of the first opportunity, of informing you of the occurrences of our cruise, which terminated in the capture of the *Wasp*, on the 18th of Oct. by the *Poictiers*, 74 guns, while a wreck, for damages received in an engagement with the British sloop of war *Frolic*, of 22 guns; sixteen of them 32lb. carronades, and four 12 pounders, on the main deck, and two 12 pounders, carronades, on the top-gallant fore-castle, making her superior in force to us, by four 12 pounders.



The Frolic had struck to us, and was taken possession of, about two hours before our surrendering to the Poictiers.

We had left the Delaware, on the 13th—the 16th, had a heavy gale, in which we lost our jib-boom, and two men. Half past eleven, on the night of the 17th, in the lat. of  $37^{\circ}$  north, lon.  $65^{\circ}$  west, we saw several sail, two of them appearing very large; we stood from them, for some time; then shortened sail and steered, the remainder of the night, the course we had perceived them on. At day-light, on Sunday the 13th, we saw them ahead—gave chase, and soon discovered them to be a convoy, of six sail, under the protection of a sloop of war; four of their large ships mounting from 16 to 18 guns. At 32 minutes past 11, A. M. we engaged the sloop of war, having first received her fire, at the distance of 50 or 60 yards, which space we gradually lessened, until we laid her on board, after a well supported fire of forty-three minutes; and, although so near, while loading the last broadside, that our rammers were shoved against the side of the enemy, our men exhibited the same alacrity, which they had done during the whole of the action. They immediately surrendered, upon our gaining their fore-castle, so that no loss was sustained, on either side, after boarding.

Our main top-mast was shot away, between 4 and 5 minutes after the commencement of the firing, and falling, together with the main topsail yard, across the lar-board fore and fore topsail braces, rendered our head yards unmanageable the remainder of the action; at 8 minutes the gaff and mizen top-gallant mast came down; and, at twenty minutes from the beginning of the action, every brace, and most of the rigging, was shot away. A few minutes after separating from the Frolic, both her masts fell upon deck; the main mast going close by the deck, and the fore mast twelve or fifteen feet above it. The courage and exertions of the officers and crew, fully answered my expectations and wishes: Lieut. Bid-

de's active conduct, contributed much to our success, by the exact attention paid to every department, during the engagement—and the animating example he afforded the crew, by his intrepidity. Lieutenants Rodgers, Booth, and Mr. Rapp, shewed, by the incessant fire from their divisions, that they were not to be surpassed in resolution or skill. Mr. Knight, and every other officer, acted with a courage and promptitude, highly honourable; and, I trust, have given assurance, that they may be relied on, whenever their services may be required. I could not ascertain the exact loss of the enemy, as many of the dead lay buried under the masts and spars, that had fallen upon deck, which two hours exertion had not sufficiently removed. Mr. Biddle, who had charge of the Frolic, states, that, from what he saw, and from information from the officers, the number killed must have been about thirty, and that of the wounded, about forty or fifty. Of the killed, is her first Lieutenant, and sailing master; of the wounded, Captain Winyates, and the second Lieutenant.

We had five killed, and five wounded, as per list; the wounded are recovering. Lieut. Claxton, who was confined by sickness, left his bed a little previous to the engagement; and, though too weak to be at his division, remained upon deck, and showed, by his composed manner of noting its incidents, that we had lost, by his illness, the services of a brave officer.

I am, &c.

JAMES JONES.

The Hon. P. HAMILTON,  
*Sec'y of Navy.*

The frigate United States, Commodore Decatur, soon after she was separated from the squadron in the gale, fell in with and captured H. B. Majesty's frigate Macedonian, J. S. Carden commodore, after an action of 90 minutes.

## CAPTURE OF THE MACEDONIAN.

Copy of a letter from Commodore Decatur, to the Secretary of the Navy, dated

*U. S. Ship, United States,  
At Sea, Oct. 30, 1812.*

SIR—I have the honour to inform you, that on the 25th inst. in lat.  $29^{\circ}$  north, lon.  $29^{\circ} 30'$  west, we fell in with, and after an action of an hour and a half, captured his Britannic majesty's ship Macedonian, commanded by Capt. John Carden, and mounting 49 carriage-guns—the odd gun shifting. She is a frigate of the largest class, two years old, four months out of dock, and reputed one of the best sailers in the British service. The enemy, being to windward, had the advantage of engaging us at his own distance, which was so great, that, for the first half hour, we did not use our carronades; and at no moment was he within the complete effect of our musquetry or grape; to this circumstance, and a heavy swell, which was on at the time, I ascribe the unusual length of the action.

The enthusiasm of every officer, seaman, and marine, on board this ship, on discovering the enemy—their steady conduct in battle, and precision of their fire, could not be surpassed—where all met my fullest expectations, it would be unjust, in me, to discriminate. Permit me, however, to recommend to your particular notice, my 1st Lieutenant, Wm. H. Allen; he has served with me upwards of 5 years; and to his unremitting exertions, in disciplining the crew, is to be imputed the obvious superiority of our gunnery, exhibited in the result of this contest.

Subjoined is a list of the killed and wounded, on both sides. Our loss, compared with that of the enemy, will appear small. Amongst our wounded, you will observe the name of Lieut. Funk, who died a few hours



after the action; he was an officer of great gallantry and promise, and the service has sustained a severe loss in his death.

The Macedonian lost her mizen mast, fore and main top masts, and main yard, and was much cut up in her hull; the damage sustained, by this ship, was not such as to render her return into port necessary; and, had I not deemed it important that we should see our prize in, should have continued our cruise.

With the highest, &c.

### STEPHEN DECATUR.

#### *List of killed and wounded, on board the United States.*

<i>Killed</i> —Privates	-	-	5
<i>Wounded</i> —1 Lieut. and 6 privates	-	-	7
Total, killed and wounded,	-	-	12

#### *On board the Macedonian.*

<i>Killed,</i>	-	-	-	36
<i>Wounded</i> —68, viz. 1st and 3d Lieutenants, Master's Mate, 2 Midshipman, and seamen,	-	-	-	68
Total, killed and wounded of the enemy;				104

### S. DECATUR.

Commodore Decatur had on board his frigate a little boy, whose father, a noble seaman, had died, and left the little fellow and his mother in poverty. As the Macedonian hove in sight, and the seamen of the United States frigate were clearing ship for action, the noble lad run up to the Commodore, saying—"Captain, I wish my name might be put down on the roll"—"Why

so my lad?" "So that I can draw a share of the prize money, Sir," answered the young hero. His request was granted; after the Macedonian struck, the Commodore called the young lad to him—"Well Bill, we have taken her, and your share of the prize if we get her safe in, may be about \$200—what will you do with it?"—"I'll send half of it to my mother, Sir, and the other half shall send me to school." Delighted with a spirit so noble, and yet so affectionate, he took the fine little fellow into his protection—obtained for him a midshipman's warrant—attended to his education—and he now bids fair to emulate and possibly to equal the achievements of his noble patron.

In the hottest of the engagement, and at the moment the mizen mast of the Macedonian went by the board, a seaman actively engaged in working his gun, exclaimed to his comrades—"Aye, aye, we have made a brig of her." Being overheard by the Commodore, he said, "Well my boys, take good sight at your object, and she will soon be a sloop; and immediately turning to another gunner, said—"My good fellow, aim at the yellow," (a stripe in the Macedonian between wind and water) "her rigging is going fast enough; she must have a little more hulling." A favorite comrade of one of the seamen having fallen desperately wounded by his side, he exclaimed, "ah, my poor fellow, I must attend to the enemy a few minutes longer—his colours must soon come down; and then I will attend to you"—"Let me live till I hear that," said the agonized hero, "and I shall want attention from nobody."

That admirable seaman, 1st Lieut. W. H. Allen, in this action, beheld the practical result of the discipline he had introduced into this noble ship, and unrivalled crew, and which occasioned Comm. Decatur's high commendation. So rapid was the firing, and so completely was the frigate at one time enveloped in fire and smoke, that the crew of the Macedonian gave three cheers, supposing her to be on fire. Their

cheers were soon converted to groans by the thickening messengers of death which poured into their ill-fated ship.

After the Macedonian struck her colours, and her commander ascended the quarter deck of the United States, a scene peculiarly affecting followed. With a dignified grace, he approached Comm. Decatur and offered him his sword. With a benign suavity, and a manner wholly unassuming, the Commodore said, "Sir, I cannot receive the sword of a man who has so bravely defended his ship, but I will receive your hand." It was the hand of Capt. John Surnam Carden, with whom he had the interesting interview mentioned in a preceding chapter. Upon recognizing each other, silence was the most impressive eloquence. The fortune of battle had placed one gallant hero in the hands of another; and they steadfastly looked at each other with those kind of feelings which would be disgraced by any description. The affable grace of Comm. Decatur, put the gallant Carden as much at ease as a conquered hero could be placed in the hour of defeat. He had left his ship almost a complete wreck, and could discover but little of the effects of the severe conflict in the frigate that had so effectually conquered her. The Macedonian, when she struck, was in a state little better than that of the *Guerriere*, *Java*, and *Peacock*; the last of which sunk even before the whole crew could be taken out, and the two others were abandoned by the captors and sunk.

But the injury done to the ship is forgotten when the slaughter made amongst the crew is considered. An officer of the frigate United States, besides communicating many other interesting particulars, thus expressed himself:—"After securing our prisoners, I was sent on board the prize to assist in fitting her out, which we did in a few days under jury-masts. I assure you the scene she exhibited just after the action, was distressing to humanity. Fragments of the dead were dis-



tributed in every direction—the decks covered with blood—one continued agonizing yell of the unhappy, wounded victims:—a scene so horrible of my fellow creatures, I assure you, deprived me very much of the pleasure of victory.” \*

Commodore Decatur arrived safe with his prize at New London, on the 4th of December, 1812, where he was hailed by the citizens with the warmest expressions of enthusiastic joy. After despatching Lieut. Hamilton to Washington with the flag of the *Macedonian*, and

\*It will be recollected that the official report states the killed on board the *Macedonian* to be 36—wounded—63. Fifty-three of the wounded died afterwards of their wounds; making 89 in the whole;—more lives than were lost by the Americans in all their battles with the Tripolitans! And, what will astonish every reader, who has not, like the writer, critically examined every official report to ascertain the fact—this loss of human lives on board the *Macedonian*, by instant death or wounds which proved mortal, was greater than that of the Americans in every one of the actions between single ships, where victories were won; and also in the victory upon Lake Erie, during the war with Great Britain! Equally astonishing is it that this loss is only six less than that sustained by the *Essex*, of 32 guns, in the unparalleled contest with the frigate *Phœbe* of 36—and sloop of war *Cherub*, of 28—of the *President* 44, with the *Majestic* (razee) frigates *Endymion*, *Pomone*, *Tenedos*, and brig *Despatch*—and of the *Argus* of 18, with the *Pelican* of 21 guns!—

\* The following is an extract from the Muster Roll of the *Macedonian*, when captured by comm. Decatur.

“Christopher Dodge, American, aged 32, prest by the *Thisbe*, late *Dedaigieuse*, shipped in the *Macedonian* July 1, 1810.

Peter Johnson, American, aged 32, prest by the *Dedalus*, entered August 24, 1810.

John Alexander, of Cape Ann, aged 29, prest by the *Dedalus*, entered August 25, 1810.

C. Dolphin, of Connecticut, aged 22, prest by the *Namur*, late *Ceres*, entered August 4, 1810.

Major Cook, of Baltimore, aged 27, prest by the *Royal William*, late *Mercury*, entered Sept. 10, 1810.

William Thompson, of Boston, aged 20, prest at Lisbon, entered Jan. 16, 1811, drowned at sea in boarding an American!

John Wallis, American, aged 23, prest by the *Triton*, entered Feb. 16, 1811, killed in action in the *Macedonian*!

John Caró, American, aged 27, prest by the *North Star*, entered April 13, 1811, killed in action in the *Macedonian*!”

receiving the thanks of the Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council, he partook of the honours of a splendid ball, and hastily prepared to conduct his prizes to New York. On the 8th of January, 1813, Lieut. Hamilton announced the arrival of the flag of the Macedonian at Washington. It was upon a brilliant occasion, in the midst of a splendid ball, given in honor of the officers of the navy, generally, and to celebrate the memorable reception of the flag of the British frigate *Guerriere*.

When the flag of the Macedonian was announced by Lieut. Hamilton, it is impossible to express the sensations that electrified the whole assembly; but when they saw the British banner borne triumphantly through the hall, and presented to Mrs. Madison, a rapturous scene of enthusiastic joy ran through the hall, and gladdened every heart. These scenes at Washington were no sooner closed, than the city of New York presented a new theatre of action. Here, by a fortuitous concurrence of events, the heroic conquerors of the *Guerriere*, the *Frolic*, and the *Macedonian*, once more joined their hearts and their hands in naval fellowship. The corporation of the city of New York prepared a splendid entertainment, in honour of their guests. "A capacious hall," says the author of the *Life of Decatur*, "was colonaded with masts of ships, and the flags of all the world were suspended upon them. Upon each table was a miniature ship, displaying the 'star-spangled banner' of America. An area of about 20 by 10 feet, was filled with water, and a miniature of the United States frigate was floating in it. A mainsail, 33 by 16 feet, was suspended in the rear of the artificial lake, upon which was painted the American Eagle, holding in his beak a scroll with these words, '*Our children are the property of our Country.*'\*" One beautiful transparency represented the American Eagle, holding in his mouth three medallions. Upon one was inscribed 'Hull and the

\* Toast by Commodore Decatur's father.

Guerriere,' on another, 'Jones and the Frolic,' on another, 'Decatur and the Macedonian.' Another splendid transparency represented the frigate Constitution taking the Guerriere in a blaze, August 19th, 1812; the frigate United States taking the Macedonian, Oct. 25th, 1812; the Wasp taking the Frolic, Nov. 18th, 1812. Upon displaying these inimitable representations, the whole company expressed their feelings by nine animated cheers."

"The corporation of the city of New York, also gave to the whole crew of the frigate United States a splendid dinner, in the same hall in which Commodore Decatur dined. The decorations were precisely as just described, excepting the *lake* in which the miniature frigate wafted, which was filled with *grog*, but produced not the least excess amongst these well disciplined sailors. The crew exceeded 400, and were neatly dressed in blue jackets and trowsers, scarlet vests, and glazed hats. As they marched from the frigate to the city hotel, reiterated applauses were given by the citizens. The splendour of the hall—the miniature lake and frigate—and above all, the transparencies of the victories of the United States, Constitution, and Wasp, carried their astonishment almost to delirium. The boatswain's whistle kept them in perfect order, and 'Yankee Doodle,' from the inimitable band of the Macedonian, inspired them with ardent patriotism. After dinner, the boatswain thus answered Alderman Vanderbilt's elegant address.

"In behalf of my shipmates, I return our sincere thanks to the corporation of the city of New York, for the honour which they this day have done us. Rest assured, Sir, that it will be *always* our wish, to deserve the good opinion of our countrymen." Three hearty cheers, from the whole crew, evinced their approbation of the boatswain's sentiments. They then drank to this toast, so perfectly in character with American tars :

"American ships, all over the ocean."



At this time, Commodore Decatur and his accomplished Lieutenant, W. H. Allen, entered the hall. The presence of the Commodore heightened their previous rapture. He gave as a toast :

“Free Trade and no impressments.”

which was received with an enthusiasm peculiar to sailors. He communicated to them the request of the managers of the Theatre, that they would attend in the evening: and the whole pit was appropriated for their accommodation. The Commodore addressed them nearly in these words—‘Sailors!—Your orderly and decorous conduct this day, gives me high satisfaction. Continue it through this evening; and convince the hospitable and patriotic citizens of New York, that you can maintain the same order in the midst of amusements as you have done, when sailing upon the ocean and conquering the enemy.’ It was answered by the well known and respectful salute of sailors.”

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## CHAPTER XI.

### *Naval War Continued.*

On the 13th, of Nov. naval operations commenced upon lake Ontario under very favorable auspices.

#### AFFAIR ON LAKE ONTARIO.

*Sackett's Harbor, 13th Nov. 1812.*

SIR,

I arrived here last evening in a gale of wind, the pilots having refused to keep the Lakes. On the 8th, I fell in with the Royal George, and chased her into the

Bay of Quanti, where I lost sight of her, in the night. In the morning of the 9th, we again got sight of her, lying in Kingston channel. We gave chase, and followed her into the harbor of Kingston, where we engaged her and the batteries, for one hour and forty-five minutes. I had made up my mind to board her ; but she was so well protected by the batteries, and the wind blowing directly in, it was deemed imprudent to make the attempt at that time ; the pilots also refused to take charge of the vessels. Under these circumstances, and it being after sun-down, I determined to haul off, and renew the action the next morning. We beat up, in good order, under a heavy fire from the Royal George and batteries, to 4 mile point, where we anchored ; it blew heavy, in squalls, from the westward, during the night, and there was every appearance of a gale of wind : the pilots became alarmed, and I thought it most prudent to get into a place of more safety—I therefore deferred renewing the attack, upon the ships and forts, until a more favorable opportunity.—At 7, A. M. on the 10th, I made the signal to weigh, and we beat out of a very narrow channel, under a very heavy press of sail, to the open Lake. At 10, we fell in with the Gov. Simcoe, running for Kingston, and chased her into the harbor ; she escaped by running over a reef of rocks, under a heavy fire from the Gov. Tomkins, the Hamilton, and the Julia, which cut her very much : all her people ran below, while under the fire of these vessels ; the Hamilton chased her into 9 feet water, before she hauled off. In our passage through the bay of Quanti, I discovered a schooner at the village of Armington, which we took possession of, but finding she would detain us, (being then in chase of the Royal George) I ordered Lieut. M'Pherson to take out her sails and rigging, and burn her, which he did. We also took the schooner Mary Hall, from Niagara, at the mouth of Kingston Harbor, and took her with us, to our anchorage. The next morning, finding she could not beat through the

channel with us, I ordered the sailing master, in the Growler, to take her under convoy, and run down past Kingston, anchor on the east end of Long-Island, and wait for a wind, to come up on the east side ; I was also in hopes, that the Royal George might be induced to follow, for the purpose of retaking our prize ; but her commander was too well aware of the consequences, to leave his moorings. We lost, in this affair, one man killed, and three slightly wounded, with a few shot through our sails. The other vessels lost no men, and received but little injury in their hull and sails, with the exception of the Pert, whose gun bursted in the early part of the action, and wounded her commander badly, and a midshipman, and three men slightly. Mr. Arundel, who refused to quit the deck, although wounded, was knocked overboard, and drowned, in beating up to our anchorage. The Royal George must have received very considerable injury, in her hull, and in men, as the gun vessels, with a long 32 pounder, were seen to strike her, almost every shot ; and, it was observed, that she was reinforced with troops, four different times, during the action. I have great pleasure in saying, that the officers and men, on board of every vessel, behaved with the utmost coolness, and are extremely anxious to meet the enemy on the open Lake ; and as long as I have the honor to command such officers and men, I can have no doubt of the result.—I think I can say, with great propriety, that we have now the command of the Lake ; and that we can transport troops and stores, to any part of it, without any risk of an attack from the enemy. Although the whole of his naval force was not collected at Kingston, yet, the force, at the different batteries, would more than counterbalance the vessels that were absent ; it was thought, by all the officers in the squadron, that the enemy had more than 30 guns, mounted at Kingston, and from 1000 to 1500 men.

The Royal George, protected by this force, was driven into the inner harbor, under the protection of the



musquetry, by the Oneida, and 4 small schooners, fitted out as gun-boats.

I have the honor to be &c.

ISAAC CHAUNCEY.

The Hon. P. HAMILTON.

*Sec'y of Navy.*

In the month of Oct. Commodore Bainbridge, in the frigate Constitution, put to sea from New York, accompanied by the sloop of war Hornet, Capt. Lawrence, to join Capt. Porter in the Essex, and form a cruising squadron against the British whale fisheries in the south sea and western Pacific; but the junction failed, and Porter proceeded alone on his cruise. On the 29th of Dec. the Constitution of 44 guns, Commodore Bainbridge, fell in with and captured the British frigate Java, Capt. Lambert, of 44 guns, off the coast of Brazil, after an action of 50 minutes. The Java lost 69 killed and 301 wounded. The Constitution lost 9 killed and 25 wounded.

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## CHAPTER XII.

### *General Operations Against Canada.*

Formidable preparations were now in forwardness, against Canada. One army was assembled under the command of general Harrison, governor of Indiana, called the north-western army. Another under the command of general Stephen Van Rensselaer, at Lewistown, called the army of the centre, and another under the command of general Dearborn, at Plattsburg, called the army of the north.

In the course of the general operations against Canada, this autumn, the Americans surprised and took two valuable fur ships, upon lake Erie, and brought off one, valued at 100,000 dollars. This successful enterprise, kindled fresh ardor in the breast of the American troops, and they pressed General Van Rensselaer to lead them against the enemy. The general gratified their wishes and on the 12th of October, detached about 1000 men, under the command of Colonel Solomon Van Rensselaer, who crossed over the river Niagara, and effected a landing upon the Canada shore, at Queenstown. Colonel Van Rensselaer was severely wounded upon his first landing, but kept the field at the head of his brave troops, where he was soon joined by Colonel Scott, with his artillery, and the British retired before the victors. The troops at Buffalo and Lewistown, were put in motion at the same time, to be in readiness to cross over and support the action.

Colonel Van Rensselaer was now reinforced, with regulars and militia, and General Brock advanced to the combat, with a strong reinforcement of regulars and Indians, and the battle became fierce and bloody; but the British recoiled. Stung with chagrin and mortification, General Brock rallied his troops to the charge; but he fell, mortally wounded, in the heat of the action, and his troops again recoiled.

General Van Rensselaer, at this critical moment crossed over to secure the victory; but the enemy were again reinforced, and returned to the charge, and were again repulsed.

At this eventful moment, when the American troops were exhausted with the fatigues of the day, and anxiously expecting the volunteers to cross over, and secure the victory they had gained, General Van Rensselaer, impatient, of their delay, crossed over in person, to lead on the reserve; but to his inexpressible disappointment and mortification, they refused to follow, upon constitutional grounds.

During this parley, the British were again reinforced, and again rallied to the combat, to revenge the death of their brave General Brock, and to wipe off the disgrace of the day. The conflict was renewed, and raged, with such violence, that the Americans were overpowered; about sixty were killed, 100 wounded, and 1000 taken prisoners. Had the volunteers followed their General, the victory of the day would, most probably, have been complete, and the whole aspect of the campaign changed.

#### BATTLE OF QUEENSTOWN.

Copy of a letter from Major General Van Rensselaer, of the New York militia, to Major General Henry Dearborn, transmitted by the latter, to the Department of War.

*Head Quarters, Lewistown, October 14, 1812.*

SIR,

As the movements of the army under my command, since I had last the honour to address you on the 8th inst. have been of a very important character, producing consequences serious to many individuals; establishing facts actually connected with the interest of the service, and the safety of the army; and as I stand prominently responsible for some of these consequences, I beg leave to explain to you sir, and through you, to my country, the situation and circumstances, and the reasons and motives which governed me; and if the result is not all that might have been wished, it is such, that when the whole ground shall be reviewed, I shall cheerfully submit myself to the judgement of my country.

In my letter of the 8th inst. I apprized you, that a crisis in this campaign was rapidly advancing, and that (to repeat the same words,) "the blow must be soon struck, or all the toil and expense of the campaign go for nothing; and worse than nothing, for the whole will be tinged with dishonor."



Under such impressions I had, on the 5th inst. written to Brig. Gen. Smyth, of the U. States forces, requesting an interview with him, Major Gen. Hall, and the commandants of the U. States' regiments, for the purpose of conferring upon the subject of future operations.

I wrote Major Gen. Hall, to the same purport; on the 11th, I had received no answer from Gen. Smyth; but in a note to me of the 10th, Gen. Hall mentioned that Gen. Smyth had not then agreed upon any day for consultation.

In the mean time, the partial success of Lieut. Elliott, at Black Rock, (of which, however, I have received no official information) began to excite a strong disposition in the troops to act; this was expressed to me through various channels in the shape of an alternative; that they must have orders to act; or at all hazards they would go home. I forbear commenting here upon the obvious consequences to me, personally, of longer withholding my orders under such circumstances.

I had a conference with——, as to the possibility of getting some person to pass over to Canada, and obtain correct information. On the morning of the 4th he wrote to me that he had procured the man who bore his letter to go over; instructions were given him, he passed over and obtained such information as warranted an immediate attack. This was confidentially communicated to several of my first officers, and produced great zeal to act; more especially, as it might have a controlling effect upon the movements at Detroit, where it was supposed General Brock was gone, with all the force he dared spare from the Niagara frontier; the best preparations in my power were therefore made, to dislodge the enemy, from the heights of Queenstown, and possess ourselves of the village, where the troops might be sheltered from the distressing inclemency of the weather.—Lieut. Col. Fenwick's flying artillery, and a detachment of regular troops under his command,

were ordered to be up in season from fort Niagara ; orders were also sent to Gen. Smyth, to send down from Buffalo, such a detachment of his brigade, as existing circumstances in that vicinity might warrant ; the attack was to have been made at 4 o'clock on the morning of the 11th, by crossing over in boats, from the old ferry, opposite the heights ; to avoid any embarrassment in crossing the river, (which is here a sheet of violent eddies,) experienced boatmen were procured, to take the boats from the landing below, to the place of embarkation ; Lieut. Sim was considered the man of greatest skill for this service ; he went ahead, and, in the extreme darkness, passed the intended place far up the river, and there, in a most extraordinary manner, fastened his boat to the shore, and abandoned the detachment. In this front boat, he had carried nearly every oar, which was prepared for all the boats : in this agonizing dilemma stood officers and men, whose ardour had not been cooled by exposure, through the night, to one of the most tremendous N. East storms, which continued unabated for twenty-eight hours, and deluged the whole camp : the approach of daylight extinguished every prospect of success, and the detachment returned to camp. Col. Van Rensselaer was to have commanded the detachment.

After this result, I had hoped the patience of the troops would have continued until I could submit the plan, suggested in my letter of the 8th, that I might act under, and in conformity to the opinion which might be then expressed ; but my hope was idle :—the previously excited ardour seemed to have gained new heat from the late miscarriage—the brave were mortified to stop short of their object, and the timid thought laurels half won by the attempt.

Viewing the affairs at Buffaloe as yet unsettled, I had immediately countermanded the march of Gen. Smyth's brigade, upon the failure of the first expedition ; but having now determined to attack Queenstown, I sent

new orders to Gen. Smyth, to march; not with a view of his aid in the attack, (for I considered the force detached sufficient) but to support the detachment, should the conflict be obstinate and long continued.

Lieut. Col. Christie, who had arrived at 4 mile creek, had, late in the night of the first contemplated attack, gallantly offered me his own and his men's service, but he got my permission too late:—he now again came forward, had a conference with Col. Van Rensselaer, and begged that he might have the honor of a command in the expedition: the arrangement was made; Col. Van Rensselaer was to command one column of 300 militia, and Lieut. Col. Christie a column of the same number of regular troops.

Every precaution was now adopted, as to boats; and the most confidential and experienced men to manage them. At an early hour in the night, Lieut. Col. Christie marched his detachment, by the rear road, from Niagara to camp: at 7 in the evening, Lieut. Col. Stranahan's regiment moved from Niagara falls; at 8 o'clock, Mead's; at 9, Lieut. Col. Blan's regiment marched from the same place—all were in camp in good season. Agreeably to my orders, issued on this occasion, the two columns were to pass over together; and, as soon as the heights should be carried, Lieut. Col. Fenwick's flying artillery was to pass over; then Major Mullany's detachment of regulars, and the other troops, to follow in order.

At dawn of day the boats were in readiness, and the troops commenced embarking under the cover of a commanding battery, mounting 2 eighteen pounders, and 2 sixes. The movement was soon discovered, and a brisk fire of musquetry was poured from the whole line of the Canada shore. Our battery then opened to sweep the shore; but it was, for some minutes, too dark to direct much fire with safety. A brisk cannonade was now opened upon the boats, from three different batteries; our battery returned their fire, and oc-



asionally threw grape upon the shore, and was itself served with shells from a small mortar of the enemy's. Col. Scott, of the artillery, by hastening his march from Niagara falls, in the night, arrived in season to return the enemy's fire with 2 six pounders.

The boats were somewhat embarrassed by the eddies, as well as with a shower of shot; but Col. Van Rensselaer, with about one hundred men, soon effected his landing amidst a tremendous fire, directed upon him from every point; but to the astonishment of all who witnessed the scene, this van of the column advanced slowly against the fire. It was a serious misfortune to the van, and indeed to the whole expedition, that in a few minutes after landing, Col. Van Rensselaer received four wounds; a ball passed through his right thigh, entering just below the hip bone—another shot passed through the same thigh, a little below; the third through the calf of his left leg, and a fourth contused his heel. This was quite a crisis in the expedition; under so severe a fire, it was difficult to form raw troops. By some mismanagement of the boatmen, Lieut. Col. Christie did not arrive until sometime after this, and was wounded in the hand in passing the river. Col. Van Rensselaer was still able to stand; and, with great presence of mind, ordered his officers to proceed, and storm the fort: this service was gallantly performed, and the enemy driven down the hill in every direction. Soon after this, both parties were considerably reinforced, and the conflict was renewed in various places; many of the enemy took shelter behind a stone guard-house, where a piece of ordnance was now briskly served. I ordered the fire of our battery directed upon the guard-house; and, it was so effectually done, that, with eight or ten shot, the fire was silenced. The enemy then retreated behind a large store-house; but, in a short time, the rout became general, and the enemy's fire was silenced, except from a one gun battery, so far down the river as to be out of the reach of our

heavy ordnance, and our light pieces could not silence it. A number of boats now passed over unannoyed, except from the one unsilenced gun. For some time after I had passed over, the victory appeared complete; but, in the expectation of further attacks, I was taking measures for fortifying my camp immediately: the direction of this service I committed to Lieut. Totten, of the engineers; but very soon the enemy were reinforced by a detachment of several hundred Indians, from Chippewa—they commenced a furious attack, but were promptly met, and routed by the rifle and bayonet. By this time I perceived my troops were embarking very slowly; I passed immediately over, to accelerate their movements; but to my utter astonishment, I found that, at the very moment when complete victory was in our hands, the ardor of the unengaged troops had entirely subsided. I rode in all directions—urged men, by every consideration, to pass over; but in vain. Lieut. Col. Bloom, who had been wounded in action, returned, mounted his horse, and rode through the camp; as did also Judge Peck, who happened to be here, exhorting the companies to proceed; but all in vain. At this time a large reinforcement from Fort George were discovered coming up the river. As the battery on the hill was considered an important check against their ascending the heights, measures were immediately taken to send them a fresh supply of ammunition, as I had learnt there were only left twenty shot, for 18 pounders. The reinforcements, however, obliqued to the right from the road, and formed a junction with the Indians, in the rear of the heights. Finding, to my infinite mortification, that no reinforcement would pass over—seeing that another severe conflict would soon commence; and knowing that the brave men on the heights were quite exhausted, and nearly out of ammunition, all I could do was to send them a fresh supply of cartridges.

At this critical moment, I despatched a note to Gen. Wadsworth, acquainting him with our situation—leaving the course to be pursued much to his own judgment, with assurance that, if he thought best to retreat, I would send as many boats as I could command, and cover his retreat by every fire I could safely make:—but the boats were dispersed; many of the boatmen had fled, panic strack, and but a few got off. But my note could but have little more than reached Gen. Wadsworth, about 4 o'clock, when a severe and obstinate conflict commenced, and continued about half an hour, with a tremendous fire of cannon, flying artillery, and musquetry. The enemy succeeded in repossessing their battery, and gaining advantage on every side; the brave men who had gained the victory, exhausted of strength and ammunition, and grieved at the unpardonable neglect of their soldiers, gave up the conflict.

I can only add, that the victory was really won—but lost for the want of a small reinforcement; one third of the idle men might have saved all!

I cannot, in justice, close this, without expressing the very great obligation I am under to Brig. Gen. Wadsworth, Col. Van Rensellaer, Lieut. Col. Christie and Fenwick, and Capt. Gibson. Many others have also behaved most gallantly. As I have reason to believe that many of our troops fled to the woods, with the hope of crossing the river, I have not been able to learn the probable number of killed, wounded, and prisoners: the slaughter of our troops must have been very considerable, and the enemy have suffered severely; Gen. Brock is among their slain, and his aid-de-camp mortally wounded.

I have the honor to be, &c.

STEPHEN VAN RENSELLAER,

*Major Gen.*

*Major General* DEARBORN.



Gen. Van Rensselaer soon after retired from the command, and was succeeded by Gen. Smith.

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## CHAPTER XIII.

### *Operations against Canada continued.*

On the 21st of November, the enemy commenced a desperate attack upon fort Niagara, which was repelled with unusual firmness and bravery.

#### DEFENCE OF FORT NIAGARA.

*To Brigadier General Smyth, commanding the army of the Centre.*

SIR—I beg leave to inform you, that on the morning of the 21st Nov. at 6 o'clock, a heavy cannonading opened upon this garrison, from all the batteries at, and in the neighborhood of fort George, which lasted, without intermission, until after sun-down. They had 5 detached batteries; 2 mounting 24 pounders, 1 mounting a 9 pounder, and 2 mortar batteries; one ten and a half, and the other five and a half inch—the batteries firing hot shot, which set some of our buildings on fire. But, from the extraordinary vigilance of the officers and men, particularly Major Armistead, of the U. S. corps of engineers, whose indefatigable exertions were extended to all parts of the garrison, the fires were got under, without being observed by the enemy.

Our garrison was not as well provided with artillery and ammunition, as I could have wished; however, the batteries opened a tremendous fire upon them, in return, with hot shot, admirably well directed. Several

times, during the cannonading, the town of Newark was in flames; but was extinguished by their engines, as also the centre building in fort George. Their mess-house, and all the buildings near it, were consumed. Capt. M'Keon, commanded a 12 pounder, in the S. E. block-house, and distinguished himself, by his usual gallantry and skill. Capt. Jacks, of the 7th regiment, militia artillery, commanded a 6 pounder in the north block-house; and, together with a part of his own company, though placed in a situation most exposed to the fire of the enemy, maintained their position like veterans. Lieut. Reese, of the 3d Regiment, artillery, had the command of an 18 pounder, on the S. E. battery, which was pointed at a battery, *en barbette*, mounting a 24 pounder, and also at Fort George; several well directed shot were made from this gun, which proved the skill of its commander. About 10 o'clock, Lieutenant Rees had his shoulder bruised, by a part of the parapet falling on him; which, though it did not materially injure him, obliged him to retire: and Capt. Leonard, of the 1st regiment, artillery, at that moment arriving, he took the command of this battery, during the remainder of the day. Lieut. Wendel, of the 3d regiment artillery had the command of an 18 and 4 pounder, on the west battery; and Doctor Hooper, of Capt. Jack's company of militia artillery, had the command of a 6 pounder, on the mess-house. Of these gentlemen, and their commands, I cannot speak with too much praise; they distinguished themselves highly; and from their shot all of which were hot, the town of Newark was repeatedly fired, and one of the enemy's batteries silenced for a time.

An instance of very extraordinary bravery, in a female, (the wife of one Doyle, a private in the U. States artillery, made a prisoner at Queenstown) I cannot pass over:—during the most tremendous cannonading I have ever seen, she attended the 6 pounder, on the old mess-

house, with the red hot shot, and showed fortitude equaling the Maid of Orleans.

Lieuts. Gansevoort and Harris, of the 1st regiment, United States artillery, had the command of the salt battery, at Youngstown, mounting one 18 and a 4 pounder; these two guns played upon the garrison of fort George and the buildings near it; from every observation I could make during their fire, I am happy to say, they merited my warmest thanks, for their skill in the service of these guns. Lieut. Harris, from his 4 pounder, sunk a schooner, which lay at their wharf;—these two officers, and their men, in the warmest part of the cannonading, having fired away all their cartridges, cut up their flannel waistcoats and shirts, and the soldiers their trowsers to supply their guns.—I cannot say too much in praise of all the officers and soldiers of the artillery, immediately under my observation, in this garrison; they merit the thanks and esteem of their country, for the defence of it, and I believe it never sustained so sharp and continued a bombardment.

The enemy threw more than 2000 red-hot balls into it, and a number of shells, amounting to 180, only one of which did injury to our men. Lieut. Col. Gray commanded the artillery; the unremitting attention paid to his duty, proved him an officer, whose zeal and science do honor to himself and country; to this gentleman I feel much indebted, for the manner in which he acquitted himself.

To the officers of my regiment, (particularly Captain Milligan) and the soldiers who assisted the artillery, and those employed in extinguishing the fires, and carrying off the killed and wounded, I am also much indebted—they merit my warmest thanks. To Dr. West, of the garrison, Dr. Augam, of the 14th regiment, U. States Infantry, and Dr. Craig, of the 22d regiment, U. States infantry, I offer my thanks; they were employed, during the entire day, in the most critical duties of their profession.



Our killed is 4. Wounded, 7—total 11.—From the numbers carried off (which we saw) from the enemy's batteries, I presume many more were killed and wounded, on their side. Only two of the above men were killed by the enemy's shot; the others by the bursting of a 12 pounder, in the S. E. battery.

GEORGE M'FEELEY, *Lieut. Col.*

Commanding Fort Niagara.

*Brig. Gen. Smyth.*

General Smyth reconnoitered the position of the enemy, and made great preparations to cross over and renew the combat on the shores of Canada. He accordingly issued a proclamation, calling for volunteers to join in the enterprise, and actually assembled his troops upon a given day, (November 23th) to embark upon the expedition against the enemy. The van of the army crossed over, and finding the enemy ready to receive them, they retired from the fire of their batteries, and returned; leaving a detachment of about thirty men, who had effected a landing, to fall into their hands.

Such was the resentment of the officers and troops generally, at this dastardly failure, that general Smyth was constrained to renew the attempt; and general Porter, of the New-York volunteers, took the command of the van.—December 4th. The troops were generally embarked and ready for the onset; but general Smyth, at this interesting moment, when all hearts were alive to the object before them, abandoned the enterprise, for the season, and the troops retired into winter quarters.

Such was the mortification and resentment of the army, that general Smyth thought it necessary to challenge general Porter, to vindicate his courage, and then to withdraw from the command.

amounting, on that day, to 340 men; a detachment from Gen. Tannehill's brigade; (number unknown, and little to be relied on,) there were also sundry crowds, who might have followed the army—if it was successful.

Recollecting your instructions, "to cross with 3000 men at once," and to consult some of my principal officers, in "all important movements," I called for the field officers, of the regular and twelve months volunteers, embarked; Col. Porter not being found at the moment, Capt. Gibson was called, as the next senior officer of artillery. These questions were put:—"Is it expedient now to cross over? Is the force, we have, sufficient to conquer the opposite coast?" The first question was decided in the negative, by Colonels Parker, Schuyler, Winder, Lieut. Colonels Boerstler and Coles, and Major Campbell. Col. Swift, of the volunteers, alone gave an opinion for then crossing over. The second question was not decided;—Col. Parker, Col. Schuyler, Lieut. Col. Coles, and Major Campbell, were decidedly of opinion that the force was insufficient;—Colonels Winder and Swift, Lieut. Col. Boerstler, and Capt. Gibson, deemed the force sufficient.—I determined to postpone crossing over, until more complete preparation would enable me to embark at once, according to your instructions: the next day was spent in such preparations, and the troops were ordered to be again at the place of embarkation, at 8 o'clock on the morning of the 30th November. On their arrival, they were sent into the adjacent woods, there to build fires, and remain until 3 o'clock in the morning, of the 1st of December, when it was intended to put off two hours before day-light, so as to avoid the fire of the enemy's cannon; in passing the position which, it was believed they occupied below, to land above Chippewa, assault that place, and, if successful, march through Queenstown, to fort George. The Contractor was called on, to furnish rations, for 2500 men, for four days:

when it was found, he could furnish the pork, but not the flour; sixty barrels were required, and only thirty furnished. The embarkation commenced; but was delayed by circumstances, so as not to be completed until after day-light—when it was found, the regular infantry, 688 men, the artillery, 177 men. Col. Swift's volunteers, about 230, six companies of Federal Volunteers, amounting to 276 men, about 100 militia, of Col. Dobbin's regiment, and a few men in a boat with Mr. P. B. Porter, Contractor's agent, who was to pilot the enterprize, had embarked; the whole on board, without the commissioned officers, being 1500 men; and it was now two hours later than the time fixed on for setting out.

There were some groups of men, not yet embarked; they were applied to, requested, and ordered, by the Brigade Major, to get into the boats; they did not. He estimated their number at 150—it was probably greater.

It then became a question, whether it was expedient to invade Canada, in open day-light, with 1500 men; at a point where no reinforcement could be expected for some days. I saw that the number of regular troops was declining rapidly; I knew that on them chiefly, I was to depend.

I called together officers, commanding corps of the regular army. Col. Parker being sick, those present were Col. Porter, of the artillery, Col. Schuyler, Col. Winder, and Lieut. Col. Coles. I put to them this question:—"Shall we proceed?" They unanimously decided that we ought not.—I foresaw that volunteers, who had come out for a few days, would disperse. Several of them had, on the evening of the 25th, broken their muskets, because they had not seen a battle; I foresaw that the number of regular troops would decrease; the measles has affected them generally; the constant use of fresh meat had produced dysenteries, and they were now in tents, in the month of December.



## ARMY PROCEEDINGS.

Copy of a Despatch, from Brig. Gen. Smyth, to Maj. Gen. Dearborn, transmitted to the Secretary of War. dated

*Camp, near Buffalo, 4th Dec. 1812.*

SIR—The troops, under my command, having been ordered to hut themselves for the winter, it becomes my duty to report to you the proceedings had here, since I took command on this frontier.

On or about the 26th of October, I ordered that 20 scows should be prepared, for the transportation of cavalry and artillery, and put the carpenters of the army upon that duty. By the 26th Nov. ten scows were completed; and, by bringing the boats from Lake Ontario, the number was increased to seventy.

I had issued an address, to the men of N. York; and, perhaps, 300 volunteers had arrived at Buffalo. I presumed that the regular troops, and the volunteers, under Colonels Swift and M'Clure, would furnish 2,300 men, for duty; and, of Gen. Tannehill's brigade, reporting a total of 1,650, as many as 413 had volunteered to cross over into Canada. I deemed myself ready "to cross with 3000 men at once," according to your orders. Preparatory thereto, on the night of the 27th Nov. I sent over two parties; one, under Lieut. Col. Boerstler; the other, under Capt. King, with whom Lieut. Angus, of the navy, at the head of a body of seamen, united.

The first mentioned party was to capture a guard, and destroy a bridge, about 5 miles below fort Erie; the second party were to take, and render useless the enemy's batteries, and some pieces of light artillery. The first party made some prisoners, but failed to destroy the bridge. The second party, after rendering unserviceable the light artillery, separated, by some misapprehension. Lieut. Angus, the seamen, and part of

the troops returned, with all the boats, while Capt. King, Capt. Morgan, Capt. Sproul, Lieut. Houston, and about sixty men, remained. Capt. King, notwithstanding, with those under his command, advanced to the enemy's batteries, attacked and took two of them in succession, rendered unserviceable the cannon, and took a number of prisoners. In descending the Niagara some distance, two boats were found—on board of which Capt. King sent his prisoners, all his officers, and half his men; his high sense of honour would not allow him to quit the remainder—he was captured with them.

Orders had been given, that all the troops in the neighborhood, should march at revalie, to the place of embarkation. A part of the detachment, sent in the night, having returned, and having excited apprehensions for the residue, about 250 men, under Col. Winder, put off, in boats, for the opposite shore; a part of their force had landed, when a force, with a piece of artillery, appeared:—a retreat was ordered, and Col. Winder's detachment suffered a loss of 6 killed, and 20 wounded; of whom, six were officers. The general embarkation commenced, as the troops arrived; but, this being the first time the troops had embarked, the whole of the scows were occupied by about one third part of the artillery; while about 800 regular infantry, something upwards of 200 twelve month's volunteers, and, perhaps, 200 of those militia who had volunteered their services for a few days, occupied all the boats that were ready. The troops, then embarked, moved up the stream, to Black Rock, without sustaining loss from the enemy's fire. It was now the afternoon, and they were ordered to disembark, and dine. The enemy showed a force, estimated at five or six hundred men, drawn up in a field, at some distance from the river; and had one piece of artillery, said to be a 9 pounder, ready to fire on our troops.

There remained, unembarked, a part of the artillery; a few cavalry; the volunteers, under Col. M'Clure—

I informed the officers, that the attempt to invade Canada would not be made, until the army was reinforced, and directed them to withdraw their troops, and cover them with huts immediately. The volunteers, and neighboring people, were dissatisfied, and it has been in the power of the contractor's agent to excite some clamor against the course pursued; 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.

I am sorry that the situation of the force, under my command, had not been such, as to make the propriety of a forward movement to all. Circumstanced as we were, I have thought it my duty to follow the cautious counsels of experience, and not, by precipitation, to add another to the list of our defeats.

You will perceive my motives, by my letter of the 30th Oct. wherein I said—"I would cross in three days, if I had the means; without them, it would be injustice to the nation and myself to attempt it—I must not be defeated.

I have the honor, &c.

ALEXANDER SMYTH, *Brig. Gen.*

Maj. Gen. DEARBORN.

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## CHAPTER XIV.

### *General Operations against Canada Continued.*

Previous to these operations on the northern frontier, the Indians committed such depredations and murders on the north-western frontiers, as deeply wounded the pride, and excited the resentment of the states of Kentucky and Ohio. They roused to the contest, as volunteers, and rallied round the standard of General



Harrison, in such numbers, that he was constrained to dismiss several whole regiments, as supernumeraries.

General Harrison, in September, sent several detachments of those volunteers, into the Indian country, to relieve such posts as were in immediate danger from savage war, and desperate attacks; particularly fort Harrison, upon the Wabash, which Captain Taylor was then defending with desperate valor.

#### ATTACK ON FORT HARRISON.

Letter from Z. Taylor, commanding Fort Harrison, (In Territory.)  
to General Harrison.

*Dated, Fort Harrison, September 10th, 1812.*

SIR,

On Thursday evening, the 3d inst. after retreat beating, four guns were heard to fire in the direction where two young men (citizens who resided here,) were making hay, about 400 yards distant from the fort; I was immediately impressed with an idea that they were killed by the Indians, as the Miamies or Waes had that day informed me, that the Prophet's party would soon be here for the purpose of commencing hostilities; and that they had been directed to leave this place, which they were about to do. I did not think it prudent to send out at that late hour of the night to see what became of them; and their not coming in, convinced me that I was right in my conjecture; I waited until 8 o'clock next morning, when I sent out a corporal, with a small party, to find them, if it could be done without running too much risque of being drawn into an ambuscade: he soon sent back to inform me that he had found them both killed, and wished to know my further orders; I sent the cart and oxen, and had them brought in and buried; they had been each shot with two balls, scalped and cut in the most shocking manner. Late in the evening of the 4th inst. Joseph Lenar, and between 30 and 40 Indians.

arrived from Prophet's town with a white flag, among whom were about 10 women, and the men were composed of chiefs of the different tribes that compose the Prophet's party.

A Shawone man, that spoke good English, informed me that old Lenar intended to speak to me next morning, and try to get something to eat; at retreat beating, I examined the men's arms, and found them all in good order, and completed their cartridges to 16 rounds per man—as I had not been able to mount a guard of more than 6 privates and two non-commissioned officers, for some time past, and sometimes part of them every other day, from the unhealthiness of the company, I had not conceived my force adequate to the defence of this post, should it be vigorously attacked, for some time past; as I had just recovered from a very severe attack of the fever, I was not able to be up much through the night after tattoo, I cautioned the guards to be vigilant, and ordered one of the non-commissioned officers, (as the centinels could not see every part of the garrison,) to walk around the inside, during the whole night, to prevent the Indians taking any advantage of us, provided they had any intention of attacking us. About eleven o'clock I was awakened by the firing of the centinels; I sprang up, ran out and ordered the men to their posts, when my orderly serjant, who had charge of the block-house, called out that the Indians had fired the lower block-house, which contained the property of the contractor, which was deposited in the lower part, the upper having been assigned to a corporal and 10 privates, as an alarm post; the guns had begun to fire pretty smartly from both sides—I directed the buckets to be got ready, and water brought from the well, and the fire extinguished immediately, as it was hardly perceivable at that time; but from debility, or some other cause, the men were very slow in executing my orders, the word appeared to throw them all into confusion, and by the time they had got the water, and broke open the

door, the fire had communicated to a quantity of whiskey ; and in spite of every exertion we could make use of, in less than a moment, it ascended to the roof, and baffled every effort we could make to extinguish it. As that block-house adjoined the barracks that make part of the fortifications, most of the men immediately gave themselves up for lost, and I had the greatest difficulty in getting any of my orders executed, and sir, from the raging of the fire, the yelling and howling of several hundred Indians, the cries of 9 women and children who had taken shelter in the fort, and the desponding of so many of the men, (which was worse than all,) I can assure you, that my feelings were unpleasant, indeed there were not more than 10 or 15 men able to do a great deal, the others being either sick or convalescent, and to add to our misfortunes, two of the stoutest men of the fort, and that I had every confidence in, jumped the picket and left us. But my presence of mind did not for a moment forsake me ; I saw by throwing off part of the roof that joined the block-house that was on fire, and keeping the end perfectly wet, the whole row of buildings might be saved, and leave only an entrance of 18 or 20 feet for the Indians to enter after the house was consumed ; and that a temporary breast-work might be erected, to prevent even their entering there. I convinced the men that this could be accomplished, and it appeared to inspire them with new life, and never did men act with more firmness or desperation ; those that were able, (while the others kept up a fire from the other block-house and the two bastions,) mounted the roofs of the houses, with Doctor Clarke, at their head (who acted with the greatest firmness and presence of mind, the whole time the attack lasted, which was eight hours under a shower of bullets,) and in a moment threw off as much of the roof as was necessary, this was done with the loss of one man only, and two wounded, neither of them dangerously, the man that was killed was a little deranged, and did not get off the house as



soon as directed, or he would not have been hurt; and although the barracks were several times in a blaze, the men used such exertions, that they kept it under and before day light, raised a temporary breastwork as high as a man's head, although the Indians continued to pour in a heavy fire of ball, and an innumerable quantity of arrows, during the whole time the attack lasted, in every part of the parade.

I had but one other man killed, nor any other wounded inside the fort, and he lost his life by being too anxious; he got into one of the gallies in the bastions and fired over the pickets, and called to his comrades that he had killed an Indian, and neglecting to stoop down, in an instant he was shot dead; one of the men that jumped the picket, returned an hour before day, and running towards the gate, begged for God's sake it might be opened; I suspected it to be a stratagem of the Indians to get in: as I did not recollect the voice, I directed the men in the bastion where I happened to be, to shoot him, let him be who he would, and one of them fired at him, but fortunately he ran up to the other bastion, where they knew his voice, and Doctor Clarke directed him to lie down close to the pickets behind an empty barrel that happened to be there, and at daylight I had him let in; his arm was broke in a most shocking manner, which he says was done by the Indians, and which I suppose was the cause of his returning.

The other man they caught about 120 yards from the garrison, and cut him all to pieces. After keeping up a constant fire, until about six o'clock the next morning, which we began to return with some effect after day light, they removed out of the reach of our guns; a party of them drove up the horses that belonged to the citizens here, and as they could not catch them very readily, shot the whole of them, in our sight, as well as a number of their hogs; they drove off the whole of the cattle which amounted to 65 head, with the public oxen. I had the vacancy filled up before night, (which was oc-

casioned by the burning of the block-house,) with a strong row of pickets, which I got by pulling down the guard house. We lost the whole of our provisions, but must make out to live upon green corn until we can get a supply, which I hope will not be long. I believe the whole of Miamies or Waes, were with the prophet's party, as one chief gave his orders in that language, which resembled Stone-eater's voice, and I believe Negro-legs, was there likewise; a Frenchman here understands their different languages, and several of the Waes that have been frequently here, were recognized by the soldiers next morning; the Indians suffered smartly, but were so numerous as to take off all that were shot; they continued with us until the next morning, but made no further attempt on the fort, nor have we seen any thing more of them since.

Z. TAYLOR.

HIS EX. GOV. HARRISON.

(Captain Taylor received a Majority for his bravery in the above affair.)

In those expeditions, generals Hopkins and Tupper, with colonels Campbell and Russell, distinguished themselves, in giving relief and security to the forts and frontier generally.

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## CHAPTER XV.

### *General operations against Canada, continued.*

Soon after these movements, general Winchester detached a strong party, from fort Winchester, under the command of colonel Lewis, to give assistance to the village of Frenchtown, upon the river Raisin. Colonel Lewis, with his 500 Kentucky, volunteers and regulars,

reached the Raisin, on the 18th of January, 1813; and by a bold and decisive movement, attacked, routed and dispersed the enemy.

General Harrison, having arrived at fort Winchester, at this time, sent forward general Winchester, at the head of 200 men, to support his detachment, and take the command. He arrived safe, and encamped for the night, contiguous to the fortified camp of colonel Lewis; but the enemy collected his forces, and, supported by a strong reinforcement, on the night of the 22d, commenced a desperate attack upon the camp of general Winchester, killed and took the whole party, together with the general and colonel Lewis. This opened the way for an attack upon the fortified camp; but a firm resistance, and desperate conflict ensued, until about 11 o'clock, then a parley commenced. The enemy proffered an honorable capitulation, if the party would surrender prisoners of war; but threatened savage vengeance if they refused. His arts prevailed; the whole detachment laid down their arms, and submitted as prisoners of war.

General Proctor violated his engagements, and gave up the prisoners to indiscriminate massacre as well as cruel savage torture; and the wounded were the next day, to the number of sixty, all consumed in the general conflagration of the village.

To attempt to paint the horrors of this scene, would exceed the powers of my pen; language would fail; humanity stand appalled, and even Brittania herself would blush at the deed.

### WINCHESTER'S AFFAIR.

Copy of a letter from Brig. Gen. Winchester, (now a prisoner of War,) to the Secretary of War.

*Malden, January 23, 1813.*

SIR,

A detachment from the left wing of the N. W. Army under my command, at Frenchtown, on the river Rai-



sin, was attacked on the 22d inst, by a force, greatly superior in number, aided by several pieces of artillery. The action commenced at the dawn of day; the picket guards were driven in, and a heavy fire opened on the whole line, by which a part thereof was thrown into disorder; and, being ordered to retire a small distance, in order to form on more advantageous ground, I found the enemy doubling our left flank, with force and rapidity.

A destructive fire was sustained for some time; at length, borne down by numbers, the few of us that remained, with the party that retired from the lines, submitted.

The remainder of our force, in number about 400, continued to defend themselves, with great gallantry, in an unequal contest, against small arms and artillery, until I was brought in as a prisoner, to that part of the field occupied by the enemy.

At this latter place, I understood that our troops were defending themselves, in a state of desperation, and was informed by the commanding officer of the enemy, that he would afford them an opportunity of surrendering themselves, prisoners of war; to which I acceded. I was the more ready to make the surrender, that, unless done quickly, the buildings adjacent would be immediately set on fire, and that no responsibility would be taken for the conduct of the savages, who were then assembled in great numbers. In this critical situation, being desirous to preserve the lives of a number of our brave fellows, who still held out, I sent a flag to them, and agreed with the commanding officer of the enemy, that they should be surrendered, prisoners of war, on condition of being protected from the savages, allowed to retain their private property, and having their side-arms returned to them. It is impossible for me to ascertain, with certainty, the loss we have sustained in this action, from the impracticability of knowing the number who made their escape.

Thirty-five officers, and about 487 non-commissioned officers and privates, are prisoners of war—our loss, in killed, is considerable.

However unfortunate may seem the affair of yesterday, I am flattered by a belief, that no material error is chargeable upon myself, and that still less censure is deserved by the troops I had the honor of commanding.

With the exception of that portion of our force which was thrown into disorder, no troops have ever behaved with a more determined intrepidity. The Indians have, still, a few prisoners in their possession, which, I hope will be given up to Col. Proctor, at Sandwich.

I have the honor, &c.

JAS. WINCHESTER, *Brig. Gen.*

*Secretary of War.*

### FURTHER REPORT.

Copy of a letter from Gen. Winchester to the Secretary of War,  
dated

*Fort George, U. Canada, 11th Feb. 1813.*

SIR,

The first charge which my troops received, on the 22d ult. at the river Raisin, was from the 41st regiment of British regulars; out of 300 of these troops 30 fell dead on the field, and about one hundred wounded were removed from the ground. It is impossible to say how many of the Canadian militia, and his majesty's allies, fell; but the number must have been very great, as they were exposed for 4 hours to a continued and heavy fire from our musquets and rifles, our men being behind a breast-work. The action had endured about a quarter of an hour, when the right division of our troops, who were less secured by a breast-work, and exposed to a heavy fire from a body of Indians and militia, who had

possessed themselves of some out-houses within their reach, were obliged to retreat from their lines in the encampment, for the purpose of occupying ground less exposed. This retreat being discovered by the enemy, the whole Indian force, together with a portion of the militia bore down upon them with redoubled violence, and prevented, by their superiority of numbers, and the severity of their fire, the practicability of ever again forming this portion of our troops in order of battle. It was from this division that our principal loss was sustained, few indeed having escaped. Every effort, in vain, was employed to form them in some order of action, as affording the only means of either repelling the pursuers, or regaining the temporary breast-work, from behind which, the remaining part of our troops still gallantly defended themselves; but every exertion was in vain employed, and the very few who survived, of the party, surrendered as prisoners to the enemy.

Our loss, in this action, will be ascertained by the list herewith enclosed. Among the killed, I have to lament several brave and valuable officers, some of whom had distinguished themselves in the action of the evening of the 18th, and fell on the 22d, while unavailingly engaged in rallying the troops, who retreated in disorder from the lines. Among those the loss of Col. John Allen and Major Elijah M'Clannahan, is to be particularly regretted, also Capt. John H. Woolfolk, one of my aids-de-camp; their exertions were unsuccessful, notwithstanding every possible exertion was employed; they bravely fell in discharge of their respective duties. While I regret the fate of those who bravely fell upon this occasion, I should do injustice to pass over, without notice, the few partakers in their danger, who were fortunate to survive them. To Lieut. Col. William Lewis, who commanded on the 18th, and to Capt. John Overton, my aid-de-camp, who attended my person on the field, my thanks are particularly due, for their prompt and willing exertion, during every period of the



conflict. To the officers and soldiers, who bravely maintained their ground in the temporary fortifications, too much praise cannot be bestowed. Assailed by numbers greatly superior, supported by six pieces of artillery, constantly employed, they gallantly defended with small arms alone, for near four hours of constant battle. No troops ever behaved with more cool and determined bravery; from the commanding officer down to the private soldier, there was scarce a single abandonment of duty; and at the last, when their ammunition was nearly exhausted, and surrounded by the enemy, greatly superior in number and the means of war, surrendered with a reluctance rarely to be found upon similar occasions. The officers commanding in the breast-work, and who deserve particular notice, if distinction could easily be drawn, were Majors Benjamin Graves and George Madison; Captains Hightower, Hart, Williams, Cholier, Sebree, Hamilton, Keleby, Bledsoe, Ballard, and James; Brigade-major James Garrard, Adjutant John M'Calla, and Qr. Master Pollard Keen; they defended themselves to the last, with great gallantry, and merit my warmest gratitude, as well as the highest praise of their country.

With sentiments of the highest respect, &c.

J. WINCHESTER, *Brig. Gen. U. S. A.*

*Hon. Sec. at War.*

Our loss in killed and missing is 397—the wounded being included in the list of prisoners forwarded.

## CHAPTER XVI.

*Subject Continued.*

General Harrison, upon the first intelligence of this defeat, constructed hastily, a stockade upon the Miami of the Lake, for the protection of his troops, which he called fort Meigs. \*

General Proctor followed up his victory; advanced to meet general Harrison, and invested him in fort Meigs. He commenced his attacks upon this fort, with great fury, which continued for several days, until general Clay and colonel Dudley advanced for the relief of the fort, and put the enemy to flight. Colonel Dudley, in his unguarded pursuit of the enemy, fell into an ambush, and suffered severely, in the loss of his whole party.

General Clay, in co-operation with the garrison, succeeded in raising the siege, and dispersing the enemy; and thus fort Meigs was relieved, after a siege of thirteen days.

## GEN. HARRISON'S ARMY

Copy of a letter from Gen. Harrison, to the Secretary of War, dated:

*Head-Quarters, Camp Meigs, 9th May, 1813.*

SIR—I have the honor to inform you, that the enemy, having been several days making preparations for raising the siege of this post, accomplished this day the removal of their artillery, from the opposite bank, and about 12 o'clock left their encampment below, were soon embarked, and out of sight.—I have the honor to

\* In honor of the then governor of the state of Ohio.

enclose you an agreement between Gen. Proctor and myself, for the discharge of the prisoners of the Kentucky militia, in his possession, and for the exchange of the officers and men of the regular troops, which were respectively possessed by us. My anxiety to get the Kentucky troops released, as early as possible, induced me to agree to the dismissal of all the prisoners I had, although there was not as many of ours, in Gen. Proctor's possession; the surplusage is to be accounted for, and an equal number of ours released from their parole, whenever the government may think proper to direct it.

The two actions on this side of the river, on the 5th, were infinitely more important, and more honorable to our arms, than I had at first conceived. In the sortie made upon the left flank, Capt. Waring's company of the 19th regiment, a detachment of 12 months volunteers, under Major Alexander, and three companies of Kentucky militia, under Col. Boswell, defeated, at least, double the number of Indians and British militia. The sortie on the right was still more glorious. The British batteries, in that direction, were defended by the grenadier and light infantry companies, of the 41st regiment, amounting to 200 effectives, and two companies of militia, flanked by a host of Indians. The detachment sent to attack these, consisted of all the men off duty, belonging to the companies of Croghan and Bradford, of the 17th regiment, Langham, Elliott's (late Graham's) and Waring's, of the 19th, about 80 of Major Alexander's volunteers, and a single company of Kentucky militia, under Capt. Sebry, amounting, in the whole, to not more than 340. Yet the event of the action was not a moment doubtful, and, had not the British troops been covered in their retreat, by their allies, the whole of them would have been taken.

It is not possible for troops to behave better than our's did, throughout; all the officers exerted themselves to execute my orders, and the enemy, who had a



full view of our operations, from the opposite shore, declared that they had never seen so much work done, in so short a time.

To all the commandants of corps, I feel particular obligations; these were Col. Miller, of the 19th infantry, Col. Mills, of the Ohio militia, Major Stoddart, of the artillery, Major Ball, of the dragoons, and Major Johnson, of the Kentucky militia.

Captain Gratiot, of the engineers, having been, for a long time, much indisposed, the task of fortifying this post devolved on Captain Wood; it could not have been placed in better hands. Permit me to recommend him to the President, and to assure you that any mark of his approbation, bestowed on Captain Wood, would be highly gratifying to the whole of the troops who witnessed his arduous exertions.

From Major Hukill, my aid-de-camp Major Graham, Lieutenant O'Fallon, and my volunteer aid-de-camp, John Johnson, Esq. I received the most useful assistance.

I have the honor to enclose you a list of the killed and wounded, during the siege, and in the two sorties; those of the latter were much greater than I had at first expected.

Want of sleep, and exposures to the continued rains which have fallen almost every day, for some time past, renders me incapable of mentioning many interesting particulars; amongst others, a most extraordinary proposition of Gen. Proctor's, on the subject of the Indians, within our boundary; this shall form the subject of a communication, to be made to-morrow or next day, and for which I will provide a safer conveyance than that which carries this.

All the prisoners and deserters agree in saying, that the information given to Major Stoddard, by Ryland, of the British having launched a sloop of war, this spring,

is incorrect; the most of them say, that the one now building will not be launched for many weeks.

I am, &c.

W. H. HARRISON.

Hon. J. ARMSTRONG.

In the siege, and the several sorties of the 5th instant, there were 81 killed, and 189 wounded—total, killed and wounded, 270.

### FURTHER PROCEEDINGS.

Copy of a Despatch from Maj General Wm. H. Harrison, to the Secretary of War, dated

*Head Quarters, Lower Sandusky, May 13, 1813.*

SIR—

Having ascertained that the enemy (Indians as well as British), had entirely abandoned the neighborhood of the Rapids, I left the command of Camp Meigs with General Clay, and came here last night. It is with the greatest satisfaction I inform you, Sir, that I have every reason to believe that the loss of the Kentucky troops, in killed, on the north side of the river, does not exceed fifty. On the 10th and 11th inst. I caused the ground, which was the scene of action, and its environs, to be carefully examined; and, after the most diligent search, 45 bodies only, of our men, were discovered; amongst them was the leader of the detachment, Col. Dudley. No other officer of note fell in the action. I have strong reason to believe, that a considerable number of Kentuckians effected their retreat up the river, to fort Winchester. General Proctor did not furnish me with a return of the prisoners in his possession, although repeatedly promised.

His retreat was as precipitate as it could properly be, leaving a number of cannon balls, a new and elegant sling for cannon, and other valuable articles. The night before his departure, two persons that were em-

ployed in the British gun-boats, (Americans by birth) deserted to us—the information they gave me was very interesting; they say that the Indians, 1600, or 2000, left the British, the day before their departure, in a high state of dissatisfaction, from the great loss which they had sustained in the several engagements of the 5th, and the failure of the British, in accomplishing their promise, of taking the post at the Rapids. From the account given by these men, my opinion is confirmed of the great superiority of the enemy, which were defeated by our troops in the two sallies, made on the 5th inst. That, led by Col. Miller, did not exceed 350 men; and it is very certain that they defeated 200 British regulars, 150 militiamen, and 4 or 500 Indians. That American regulars, (although they were raw recruits,) and such men as compose the Pittsburgh, Penn. and Petersburg, Va. volunteers, should behave well, is not to be wondered at; but that a company of militia should maintain its ground, against four times its numbers, as did Captain Sebre's, of the Kentucky, is truly astonishing. These brave fellows were at length, however, entirely surrounded by Indians, and would have been entirely cut off, but for the gallantry of Lieut. Gwynne, of the 19th regiment, who, with a part of Captain Elliott's company, charged the enemy, and released the Kentuckians. You will receive, herewith, a monthly return of the troops, at Meigs, for the last month; the communication with the other posts being cut off, the returns were not received. A copy of Gen. Clay's report to me, of the manner of his executing my order, for the attack on the enemy's batteries, is likewise forwarded, by which it will be seen that my intentions were perfectly understood; and the great facility with which they might have been executed, is apparent to every individual who witnessed the scene; indeed, the cannon might have been spiked, the carriages cut to pieces, the magazine destroyed, and the retreat effected to the boats, without the loss of a man, as none were killed in taking the batteries—so complete was the surprize.



An extensive open plain intervenes, between the river and the hill, upon which the batteries of the enemy were placed; this plain was raked by 4 of our 18 pounders, a 12, and a 6; the enemy, even before their guns were spiked, could not have brought one to bear upon it. So perfectly secured was their retreat, that 150 men, who came off, effected it without loss, and brought off some of the wounded, one of them upon the backs of his comrades. The Indians followed them to the woods, but dared not enter into the plain.

I am unable to form a correct estimate of the enemy's force. The prisoners varied much in their accounts; those who made them least, stated the regulars at 550, and the militia at 800, but the number of Indians were beyond comparison greater than have ever been brought into the field before; numbers arrived after the siege commenced. I have caused their camps, on the S. E. side of the river, to be particularly examined, and the general opinion is, that there could not have been fewer on that side, than 10 or 1200—they were, indeed, the efficient force of the enemy.

I am sorry to inform you, that Major Stoddard died the night before I left the Rapids, of a lock-jaw, produced by a slight wound, from a fragment of a shell, which struck him on the thigh; several have died in this way, from their great and unavoidable exposure to the cold; but, perhaps, there were never so many instances of desperate wounds being likely to do well. The gallant Captain Bradford will recover.

I shall go from here to Upper Sandusky, and shall take my station at Delaware, or Franklinton, until the troops are assembled. Gen. Clay, who commands at the Rapids, is a man of capacity, and entirely to be relied upon.

I have the honor, &c.

WM. H. HARRISON.

Hon. J. ARMSTRONG,

*Sec'y of War.*

## GENERAL CLAY'S REPORT.

Copy of a letter from Gen. Clay to Gen. Harrison.

*Camp at Fort Meigs, May—, 1813.*

SIR,

On the 5th instant, about 8 o'clock, A. M. descending the Miami, of the lake, about midway of the Rapids, with 1200 of the Kentucky troops, in eighteen flat bottomed boats, I was met by Capt. Hamilton, and a subaltern, who delivered me (as he said) the orders of Maj. Gen. Harrison, to the following effect:

“ You must detach about 800 men from your brigade, who will land at a point I will show, about one, or one and a half miles above the fort, and I will conduct them to the British batteries, on the left bank of the river—they must take possession of the enemy's cannon, spike them, cut down the carriages, and return to their boats,” observing that the British force, at their large batteries, was inconsiderable; but that their main force was at the old garrison, about one and a half miles below, on the same side of the river—“ the balance of the men, under your command, must land on the right bank, opposite the first landing, and will fight their way, through the Indians, to the fort”—observing that the route thus to be taken would be shown by a subaltern officer there, in company with Captain Hamilton, who would land the perouge at the point on the right bank at which the boats would land.

The order of descending the river in boats, was the same as the order of march, in line of battle, in solid column, each officer taking position according to his rank. Col Dudley, the eldest Colonel, led the van, and in this order, the river had been descended. As soon as Captain Hamilton had delivered these orders, being in the thirteenth boat from the front, I directed him to proceed immediately to Col. Dudley, and order

him to take the men in the 12 front boats, and execute Gen. Harrison's orders, on the left bank of the river ; and post his (Capt. Hamilton's) subaltern on the right bank, to conduct myself, with the men in the six rear boats, to the fort. I ordered the five boats in the rear to fall in a line, and follow me. High winds, and the rapidity of the current, drove four of the rear boats ashore, in the attempt to follow on according to order, where they remained a short time ; sufficient, however, to detain them one half, or three fourths of a mile in the rear.—To land, according to order, I kept close along the right bank, until opposite Col. Dudley's landing ; there I found no guide left, to conduct me to the fort, as Captain Hamilton had promised. I then made an attempt to cross the river, and join Col. Dudley ; but, from the rapid current on the falls, I was unable to land on the point with him. Being nearly half way across the river, and the waves running too high to risque the boat, then driven down the current sidewise, veered about, and rowed the best way we could, to save the boats. My attempt to cross the river, to Col. Dudley, occasioned all the boats, (I presume in the rear of me,) and which were then out of hailing distance, to cross over, and land with Col. Dudley. Having been defeated in a landing on the left, we then endeavored to effect one on the right, even without a guide ; but, before a landing could be effected, we received a brisk fire from the enemy on shore, which was returned, and kept up on both sides ; and I was, in this unavoidable situation, compelled to make to F. Meigs, with no other force than about 50 men on board, (the other boats being still in the rear) and to receive the enemy's fire, until we arrived under the protection of the fort. Col. Boswell's command (except the men in my boat, having landed, to join Col. Dudley, were, as I have been informed, ordered, by Captain Hamilton, immediately to embark, and land on the right hand shore, about a mile above the fort, and prepare to fight his way through to the



garrison. The Colonel embarked, landed, as he conceived, at the proper point, pursuant to Captain Hamilton's order, and was forming his men in order of battle, when he was met by Captain Shaw, and ordered to march into the garrison, at open order, the safest route.

When my own boat landed, we were met by two men, who took charge of the boat, as we understood, to bring her under the protection of the fort batteries; believing our baggage to be thus made safe, we forbid our servants to carry any portion of it; but loaded them with cannon balls, which they bore to the fort. Our baggage was, however, taken by the Indians, in a very short time after we left the boat. In receiving the orders of Capt. Hamilton, I asked if he had brought spikes, to spike the enemy's cannon? to which he replied, that he had plenty. Captain Hamilton, on delivering the orders of General Harrison, observed that the object of landing, and marching a portion of the troops on the right bank, was to draw the attention of the Indians; and by thus engaging them, afford an opportunity to the garrison to make a sally; and, by a circuitous route, surprize and carry the batteries, and cannon of the enemy, below the fort, on the right bank.

I am, respectfully, &c.

GREEN CLAY, *Brig. Gen.*

His Ex. Maj. Gen. HARRISON.

(A true Copy)

G. CROGHAN, A. D. C.

## CHAPTER XVII.

*Naval Operations Renewed.*

These gloomy and distressing scenes of the forest, served as so many shades to the brilliant scenes on the ocean, where the American flag continued to wave victorious.

On the 24th of February, 1813, captain Lawrence, in the *Hornet*, of sixteen guns, fell in with, and captured his Britannic majesty's brig *Peacock*, of eighteen guns, after an action of fifteen minutes. The *Peacock* went down, at the close of the action, with her brave captain Peake and the rest of her killed; but the thirty-three wounded, were all saved. The *Hornet* had one killed, four wounded, and lost three sunk in the prize.

## CAPTURE OF THE PEACOCK.

Copy of a letter from Captain James Lawrence, of the U. Sloop of War *Hornet*, to the Secretary of the Navy.

*U. S. Ship Hornet,*  
*Holmes' Hole, March 19, 1813.*

SIR,

I have the honor to inform you of the arrival at this port, of the U. S. ship *Hornet*, under my command, from a cruise of 145 days; and to state to you, that, after Com. Bainbridge left the coast of Brazils, (January 6,) I continued off the harbor of St. Salvadore, blockading the *Bonne Citoyenne*, until the 24th, when the *Montague*, 74, hove in sight, and chased me into the harbor;

but, night coming on, I wore, and stood out to the southward.

Knowing that he had left Rio Janeiro, for the express purpose of relieving the Bonne Citoyenne, and the Packet (which I had also blockaded 14 days, and obliged her to send her mail to Rio in a Portuguese smack,) I judged it most prudent to shift my cruising ground, and hauled by the wind to the westward, with a view of cruising off Pernambuco, and, on the 4th of February, captured the English brig Resolution, of 10 guns, from Rio Janeiro, bound to Maranham, with coffee, jerked beef, flour, fustic, and butter, and about 23,000 dollars in specie. As she sailed dull, and I could ill spare hands to man her, I took out the money and set her on fire. I then ran down the coast for Maranham, and cruised there a short time; from thence run off Surriam. After cruising off that coast from the 15th until the 22d February, without meeting a vessel, I stood for Demarara, with an intention, should I not be fortunate on that station, to run through the W. I. on my way to the U. States; but on the 24th, in the morning, I discovered a brig to leeward, to which I gave chase; run into quarter less four, and not having a pilot, was obliged to haul off the fort, at the entrance of Demarara river, bearing S. W. distant two and a half leagues. Previous to giving up the chase, I discovered a vessel at anchor, without the bar, with English colours flying, apparently a brig of war. In beating round Carobana bank, in order to get to her, at half past 3, P. M. I discovered another sail on my weather quarter, edging down for us—at 4, 20, she hoisted English colours, at which time we discovered her to be a large man of war brig—beat to quarters, and cleared ship for action, and kept close by the wind, in order, if possible, to get the weather-guage—at 5, 10, finding I could weather the enemy, I hoisted American colours, and tacked—at 5, 25, in passing each other, exchanged broadsides, within half pistol shot. Observing the enemy in the act of



wearing, I bore up, received his starboard broadside, run him close on board on the starboard quarter, and kept up such a heavy and well-directed fire, that in less than 15 minutes she surrendered, (being totally cut to pieces) and hoisted an ensign union down from his fore rigging, as a signal of distress. Shortly after, her main mast went by the board—despatched Lieut. Shubrick on board, who soon returned with her 1st Lieut. who reported her to be his B. M. late brig Peacock, commanded by Capt. William Peake, who fell in the latter part of the action; that a number of her crew were killed and wounded, and that she was sinking fast, she having then six feet water in her hold—despatched the boats immediately for the wounded, and brought both vessels to anchor. Such shot-holes as could be got at, were then plugged, guns thrown overboard, and every possible exertion used to keep her afloat, until the prisoners could be removed, by pumping and bailing—but without effect, as she unfortunately sunk, in five and a half fathoms water, carrying down 13 of her crew, and three of my brave fellows, viz. John Hart, Joseph Williams, and Hannibal Boyd. Lieut. Conner and Midshipman Cooper, and the remainder of my men, employed in removing the prisoners, with difficulty saved themselves, by jumping into a boat that was lying on the booms, as she went down. Four men, of the 13 mentioned, were so fortunate as to gain the fore-top, and were afterwards taken off by our boats. Previous to her going down, four of her men took to her stern boat, that had been much damaged during the action, who, I sincerely hope, reached the shore; but, from the heavy sea running at that time, the shattered state of the boat, and difficulty of landing on the coast, I am fearful they were lost.—I have not been able to ascertain, from her officers, the exact number of killed. Capt. Peake, and 4 men, were found dead on board; the Master, one Midshipman, Carpenter and Captain's Clerk, and 29 men wounded, most of them very severely, 3 of which died of their

wounds after being removed, and 9 drowned.—Our loss was trifling, in comparison; John Place killed, Samuel Coulson, and Jos. Dalrymple, slightly wounded; our rigging and sails were very much cut; one shot through the foremast, and bowsprit slightly injured. Our hull received little or no damage.

At the time I brought the Peacock to action, the Espei-  
gle, (the brig mentioned as being at anchor,) mounting 16  
32lb. carronades, and 2 long nines, lay about 6 miles in  
shore of me, and could plainly see the whole of the ac-  
tion.—Apprehensive she would beat out to the assis-  
tance of her consort, such exertions were used by my  
officers and crew, in repairing damages, &c. that by  
nine o'clock our boats were stowed, a new set of sails  
bent, and the ship completely ready for action. At 2,  
P. M. got under way, and stood by the wind to the  
northward and westward, under easy sail. On muster-  
ing next morning, found we had 277 souls on board, (in-  
cluding the crew of the American brig Hunter, of Port-  
land, taken a few days before, by the Peacock,) and,  
as we had been on two-thirds allowance of provisions,  
for some time, and had but 3,400 gallons of water on  
board, I reduced the allowance to 3 pints a man, and de-  
termined to make the best of my way to the U. States.

The Peacock was deservedly styled one of the finest  
vessels of her class in the British navy. I should judge  
her to be about the tonnage of the Hornet; her beam was  
greater, by 5 inches, but her extreme length not so  
great, by 4 feet. She mounted sixteen 24 pr. carron-  
ades, 2 long nines, one 12 pr. carronade on her top-gal-  
lant forecastle, as a shifting gun, and one 4, or 6 pound-  
er, and 2 swivels, mounted aft. I find, by her quarter  
bill, that her crew consisted of 134 men, four of whom  
were absent in a prize.

The cool and determined conduct of my officers and  
crew, during the action, and their almost unexampled  
exertions afterwards, entitle them to my warmest ac-

knowledgments ; and I beg leave, most earnestly, to recommend them to the notice of government.

By the indisposition of Lieut. Stewart, I was deprived of the services of an excellent officer ; had he been able to stand on the deck, I am confident his exertions would not have been surpassed by any one on board. I should be doing injustice to the merits of Lieut. Shubrick, and acting Lieutenants Conner and Newton, were I not to recommend them particularly to your notice. Lieut. Shubrick was in the actions with the *Guerriere* and *Java*—Captain Hull, and Commodore Bainbridge can bear testimony as to his coolness and good conduct on both occasions.

With the greatest respect, I am, &c.

JAS. LAWRENCE.

Hon. W. JONES,

*Sec'y of Navy.*

In April, Capt. Lawrence returned to port, and was promoted to the command of the *Chesapeake*, then lying at Boston, and ready for sea.

The British frigate *Shannon*, (Capt. Broke), with the *Tenedos* in company, appeared off the harbor of Boston, and invited the *Chesapeake* to the contest. Captain Lawrence accepted the invitation, promptly, and put to sea—June 1st. The *Shannon* manœvered for the combat, and the ships were soon in action, and along side. A short, but desperate conflict ensued ; Captain Lawrence was wounded early in the action, but kept his station until the fatal ball pierced his body, and he was carried below. He then exclaimed, “ *Don't give up the ship.*”

Captain Broke seized the favorable moment ; boarded the *Chesapeake* and carried her, after all her officers were either killed or wounded ; and seventy of her crew were killed and eighty wounded. The *Shannon* had twenty-three killed and fifty-six wounded.



The Shannon sailed for Halifax, with her prize, where Captain Lawrence and Lieutenant Ludlow, were honorably interred, with the honors of war.

### THE CHESAPEAKE TAKEN.

Copy of a Letter from Lieut. Budd to the Secretary of the Navy.

*Halifax, June 15, 1813.*

SIR,

The unfortunate death of Capt. James Lawrence, and Lieut. Augustus C. Ludlow, has rendered it my duty to inform you of the capture of the late United States frigate Chesapeake.

On Tuesday, June 1st, at 8, A. M. we unmoored ship, and at meridian got under way from President Roads, with a light wind from the southward and westward, and proceeded on a cruise. A ship was then in sight, in the offing, which had the appearance of a ship of war; and which, from information received from pilots, we believed to be the British frigate Shannon. We made sail in chase, and cleared ship for action. At half past 4, P. M. she hove too, with her head to the southward and eastward—At 5, P. M. took in the royal and top-gallant sails; and at half past 5, hauled the courses up. About 15 minutes before 6, the action commenced, within pistol shot. The first broadside did great execution on both sides; damaged our rigging; killed among others, Mr. White, the sailing-master; and wounded Capt. Lawrence. In about 12 minutes, after the commencement of the action, we fell on board the enemy; and immediately after, one of our armed chests, on the quarter-deck, was blown up, by a hand grenade, thrown from the enemy's ship. In a few minutes, one of the Captain's aids came on the gun-deck, to inform me that the boarders were called. I immediately called the boarders away, and proceeded to the spar-deck, where I

found that the enemy had succeeded in boarding us, and had gained possession of our quarter-deck. I immediately gave orders to haul on board the fore-tack, for the purpose of shooting the ship clear of the other, and then made an attempt to regain the quarter-deck, but was wounded, and thrown down on the girt-deck. I again made an effort to collect the boarders; but, in the mean time, the enemy had gained complete possession of the ship. On my being carried down to the cockpit, I there found Capt. Lawrence, and Lieut. Ludlow, mortally wounded; the former had been carried below, previously to the ship's being boarded—the latter was wounded in attempting to repel the boarders. Among those who fell, early in the action, was Mr. Ed. J. Ballard, 4th Lieutenant, and Lieut. James Broome, of Marines. I herein enclose, to you, a return of the killed and wounded; by which you will perceive, that every officer, upon whom the charge of the ship would devolve, was either killed or wounded, previously to her capture. The enemy report the loss of Mr. Watt, their 1st Lieutenant, the Purser, the Captain's Clerk, and 23 seamen, killed; Captain Broke, a Midshipman, and 56 seamen wounded.

The Shannon had, in addition to her full complement, an officer, and 16 men, belonging to the Belle Poule, and a part of the crew belonging to the Tene-  
dos.

I have the honor, &c.

GEO. BUDD.

Hon. W. Jones, Sec'y Navy.

In this action, we had 49 killed—97 wounded—total  
146.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

*Naval Operations, Continued.*

On the morning of April 29th, 1814, the United States sloop of war Peacock, fell in with his Britannic majesty's brig Epervier, of eighteen guns, and 128 men, captain Wales, and captured her, after an action of forty-five minutes, and took from her 120,000 dollars. The Epervier lost in the action, eight killed and fifteen wounded. The Peacock had none killed and only two wounded.

When the Epervier struck, she had five feet water in her hold, forty-five shot in her hull, and her spars and rigging very much wounded, and shot away; but the damages of the Peacock were repaired, and she was ready for action again, in fifteen minutes.

## PEACOCK AND E'ERVIER.

Extract of a letter from Capt. Charles Morris, commanding the U. S. Ship Adams at Savannah, to the Secretary of the Navy.

*Savannah, May 2, 1814.*

SIR,

I have the honor to inform you, that a fine brig of 13 guns, prize to the United States sloop Peacock, anchored here this morning. She is much shattered in her hull, and damaged in her rigging, having fought 45 minutes—her loss 8 killed and 15 wounded. The Peacock, 2 slightly wounded. She was chased on the 30th April, by a frigate, but escaped by running close in the shore in the night. Lieut. Nicholson, prize master, will forward you a more detailed account of this handsome affair.—I am &c.

C. MORRIS.

Hon. W. Jones &c.



Letter from Lieut. Nicholson to the Secretary of the Navy.

*Savannah, May 1, 1814.*

SIR—I have the honour to inform you of my arrival here, in late his Britannic majesty's brig *Epervier*, of eighteen 32 pound carronades, Capt. Wales, captured by the sloop *Peacock*, on Friday morning the 29th, off Cape Carnaveral, after an action of 45 minutes, in which time she was much cut up in hull, spars, rigging, and sails, with upwards of five feet of water in her hold, having the weathergage.

She has lost 8 killed and 15 wounded; among the latter her first Lieutenant, who has lost his arm. I am happy to say, the *Peacock* received no material injury—her fore-yard and two men slightly wounded—she received not one shot in her hull. The brig had upwards of 100,000 dollars in specie on board.

I have the honor to be, &c.

JOHN B. NICHOLSON.

HON. WILLIAM JONES,  
*Sec'y. of the Navy.*

Copies of letters from Captain Warrington to the Secretary of the Navy.

*U. S. Sloop Peacock, at sea, lat. 27° 47', long. 80° 9',  
29 April, 1814.*

I have the honour to inform you that we have this morning captured, after an action of 45 minutes, his majesty's brig *Epervier*, rating and mounting 18 thirty-two pound carronades with 128 men, of whom 8 were killed and 15 wounded (according to the best information we could obtain :) among the latter is her 1st lieutenant, who has lost an arm, and received a severe splinter wound on the hip. Not a man in the *Peacock* was killed and only two wounded; neither dangerously so.

The fate of the *Epervier* would have been determined in much less time, but for the circumstance of our fore-yard being totally disabled by two round shot in the starboard quarter from her first broadside, which entirely deprived us of the use of our fore and fore-top sail, and compelled us to keep the ship large throughout the remainder of the action. This, with a few top-mast and top-gallant back-stays cut away, and a few shot through our sails, is the only injury the *Peacock* has sustained. Not a round shot touched her hull; our masts and spars are as sound as ever. When the enemy struck, he had five feet water in his hold, his main top-mast was over the side, his main-boom shot away, his fore-mast cut nearly in two and tottering, his fore rigging and stays shot away, his bowsprit badly wounded, and 45 shot holes in his hull, 20 of which were within a foot of his water line. By great exertions we got her in sailing order just as dark came on.

In fifteen minutes after the enemy struck, the *Peacock* was ready for another action, in every respect but her fore-yard, which was sent down, fished, and had the fore-sail set again in 45 minutes—such were the spirit and activity of our gallant crew. The *Epervier* had under convoy an English hermaphrodite brig, a Russian and a Spanish ship, all which hauled their wind and stood to the E. N. E. I had determined upon pursuing the former, but found it would not answer to leave our prize in her then crippled state, and the more particularly so, as we found she had \$120,000 in specie, which we soon transferred to this sloop. Every officer, seaman, and marine did his duty, which is the highest compliment I can pay them.

I am respectfully,

L. WARRINGTON.

P. S. From Lieut. Nicholson's report, who was counting up the *Epervier's* crew, there were 11 killed and fifteen wounded.

L. W.

*Savannah, May, 4, 1814.*

SIR,

I have great satisfaction in being able to report to you the arrival of the Peacock at this anchorage today, and also, the arrival of the Epervier on Monday last. I have now to detail to you the reason of our separation. We made sail as mentioned in my last, on the evening of the 29th of April. The next afternoon we were, at half past 5, abreast the centre of Amelia Island, with the vessels in sight over the land, when two large ships, which had been seen some time previous a little to the northward of the island, were clearly ascertained to be frigates, in chase of us. In this situation, at the suggestion of Lieutenant Nicholson, I took out all but himself and sixteen officers and men, and stood to the southward along shore, on a wind leaving him to make the best of his way for St. Mary's; which place I felt confident he would reach, as the weather frigate was in chase of the Peacock, and the other was too far to the leeward to fetch him; at 9 we lost sight of the chaser, but continued standing all night to the southward, in hopes to get entirely clear of him. At day light we shortened sail and stood to the northward, and again made the frigate ahead, who gave chase the second time, which he continued until 2 P. M. when finding he could not come up, he desisted. In the evening we resumed our course, and saw nothing until day light on Tuesday morning, when a large ship supposed to be the same, was again seen in chase of us, and again run out of sight.

This morning, at half past 3, we made Tybee light, and at half past 8, anchored near the United States ship Adams. As the enemy is hovering close to St. Mary's, I concluded he had received information of, and was waiting to intercept us. Accordingly we steered for this place, where we received intelligence of the Epervier's arrival, after frightening off a launch which was sent from the enemy's ship to leeward on Saturday evening to cut him off from the land.



From the 18th of April to the 24th we saw but one neutral, and two privateers, both which were chased without overhauling, although we ran one among the shoals of Cape Carnaveral, and followed him into four fathoms of water. We have been to the southward, as far as the great Isaacs, and have cruised from them to Maranilla reef, and along the Florida shore to Cape Carnaveral. Not a single running vessel has been through the Gulf in all this time. The fleet sails from Jamaica under convoy of a 74, two frigates, and two sloops, from the 1st to the 10th of May. They are so much afraid of our cruisers, that several ships in the Havanna ready for sea, which intended to *run it* (as it is called) were forced to wait the arrival of the convoy from Jamaica.

The *Epervier* and her convoy were the first English vessels we had seen.

We shall proceed in the execution of your further instructions, as soon as we can get a fore-yard, provisions, and water.

The *Epervier* is one of their finest brigs, and is well calculated for our service. She sails extremely fast, and will require but little to send her to sea, as her armament and stores are complete.

I enclose you a list of the brig's crew, as accurately as we can get it.

I am respectfully,

L. WARRINGTON.

*U. S. Sloop Peacock, Savannah, 5 May, 1814.*

SIR,

As my letter of yesterday was too late for the mail, I address you again in the performance of a duty which is pleasing and gratifying to me in a high degree, and is but doing justice to the merits of the deserving officers under my command, of whom I have hitherto refrained from speaking, as I considered it most correct to make it the subject of a particular communication.

To the unwearied and indefatigable attention of Lt. Nicholson (1st), in organizing and training the crew, the success of this action is in a great measure to be attributed. I have confided greatly in him, and have never found my confidence misplaced. For judgment, coolness, and decision in times of difficulty, few can surpass him. This is the second action in which he has been engaged this war, and in both he has been successful. His greatest pride is to earn a commander's commission by fighting for, instead of *heiring* it.

From Lieut. Henly (2d), and Lieut. Voorhees, (acting 3d, who has also been twice successfully engaged,) I received every assistance that zeal, ardour, and experience could afford. The fire from their two divisions was terrible, and directed with the greatest precision and coolness.

In Sailing Master Percival, whose great wish and pride it is to obtain a lieutenant's commission, and whose unremitting and constant attention to duty, added to his professional knowledge, entitles him to it in my opinion, I found an able, as well as willing assistant. He handled the ship as if he had been working her into a roadstead. Mr. David Cole, acting carpenter, I have also found such an able and valuable man in his occupation, that I must request in the most earnest manner that he may receive a warrant; for I feel confident, that to his uncommon exertion, we in a great measure owe the getting our prize into port. From 11 A. M. until 6 P. M. he was over her side, stopping shot holes, on a grating, and, when the ordinary resources failed of success, his skill soon supplied him with efficient ones. Mr. Philip Myres, master's mate, has also conducted himself in such a manner as to warrant my recommendation of him as a master. He is a seaman, navigator, and officer; his family in New York is respected, and he would prove an acquisition to the service. My clerk, Mr. John S. Townsend, is anxious to obtain through my means a midshipman's warrant, and has taken pains

to qualify himself for it by volunteering, and constantly performing a midshipman's duty—indeed, I have but little use for a clerk, and he is as great a proficient as any of the young midshipmen, the whole of whom behaved in a manner that was pleasing to me, and must be gratifying to you, as it gives an earnest of what they will make in time—three only have been to sea before, and one only in a man of war, yet were they as much at home, and as much disposed to exert themselves as any officer in the ship. Lieut. Nicholson speaks in high terms of the conduct of Messrs. Greeves and Rodgers, midshipmen, who were in the prize with him.

I have the honour to be,

Sir, very respectfully, your obe't serv't,  
L. WARRINGTON.

Hon. WM. JONES, &c.

### *Unofficial Particulars.*

The Epervier, being to windward, gallantly met the Peacock; but the battle would have ended very soon, had not Capt. Warrington hailed, to ascertain whether she had struck, (her colours being shot away,) by the time spent in which he lost a commanding position; for the action appeared to have ceased for the moment, and the brave Warrington would not shed blood wantonly. The force of the vessels in guns and weight of metal is the same, each rating 13, and carrying 22; but in men we had some superiority, the British having only 128, and we about 160; but the disparity of the execution done excites anew our wonder. The hull of the Peacock was not struck by a round shot, whereas on the larboard side of the Epervier between 50 and 60 took effect, many of them within a foot of the water line, and she was otherwise dreadfully mauled, and had one of her guns dismounted, with 6 feet water in her hold. She is one of the finest vessels of her class in the



British navy, built in 1812. It is said, that "when she left London, bets were three to one, that she would take an American sloop of war or small frigate."

The Peacock's length is 118 feet—breadth of beam 32 feet—depth of hold 14 feet—tonnage 509—she mounts 20 guns—had 160 men—killed none, wounded 2, shots in her hull, none. The Epervier's length—107 feet—breadth of beam 32 feet—depth of hold 14 feet—tonnage 477. She mounted 18 guns, same calibre with those of the Peacock—had 128 men—killed 11, wounded 15, shots in her hull 45!

The Epervier was sold at Savannah and purchased by government for fifty five thousand dollars.

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## CHAPTER IX.

### WASP AND REINDEER.

On the 30th, and 31st of August, 1814, the Wasp fell in with his Britannic majesty's brigs Lettice, Henry Cockburn, master, and Bon Accord, Adam Duro, master, and after short actions captured both. The Wasp on the next day succeeded in cutting out of the convoy, the British brig Mary, John D. Allen, master, laden with brass, and iron ordnance, and military stores: and after removing the prisoners, burnt her at sea.

## CAPTURE OF THE REINDEER.

Copy of a letter from Capt. Johnson Blakeley to the Secretary of the Navy.

*U. S. Sloop Wasp, L'Orient, 8th July, 1814.*

SIR,

On Tuesday the 28th ult. being then in lat. 48, 36 north, and lon. 11, 15 west, fell in with, engaged, and after an action of nineteen minutes, captured his B. M. sloop of war, the Reindeer, William Manners, Esq. commander. Annexed are the minutes of our proceedings on that day, prior to, and during the continuance of the action.

Where all did their duty, and each appeared anxious to excel, it is very difficult to discriminate. It is, however, only rendering them their merited due, when it is declared of Lieutenants Reily and Bury, 1st and 3d of this vessel, and whose names will be found among those of the conquerors of the Guerriere and Java, and Mr. Tillinghast, 2d Lieutenant, who was greatly instrumental in the capture of the Boxer; that their conduct and courage on this occasion, fulfilled the highest expectation, and gratified every wish. Sailing-master Carr is also entitled to great credit, for the zeal and ability with which he discharged his various duties.

The cool and patient conduct of every officer and man, while exposed to the fire of the shifting gun of the enemy, and without an opportunity of returning it, could only be equalled by the animation and ardor exhibited, when actually engaged, or by the promptitude and firmness with which every attempt of the enemy, to board, was met, and successfully repelled. Such conduct may be seen, but cannot well be described.

The Reindeer mounted sixteen 24 pr. carronades, 2 long 6 or 9 prs. and a shifting 12 pr. carronade, with a complement (on board) of 118 men. Her crew were said to be the pride of Plymouth.

Our loss, in men, has been severe, owing, in part, to the proximity of the two vessels, and the extreme smoothness of the sea—but chiefly in repelling boarders; that of the enemy, however, is infinitely more so, as will be seen by the list of killed and wounded, on both sides.—Six round shot struck our hull, and many grape, which did not penetrate far. The foremast received a 24 pr. shot, which passed through its centre, and our rigging and sails were a good deal injured. The Reindeer was literally cut to pieces, in a line with her masts; her upper works, boats, spare spars, were one column. A breeze springing up, next afternoon, her foremast went by the board.

Having received all the prisoners on board, which, from the number of wounded, occupied much time, together with their baggage, the Reindeer was, on the evening of the 29th, set on fire, and in a few hours blew up.

I have the honor, &c.

J. BLAKELY.

Hon. W. JONES,

*Sec'y Navy.*

#### MINUTES OF THE ACTION,

*Between the U. S. S. Wasp, and his B. M. S. Reindeer,  
on the 28th June, 1814.*

At 4, A. M. light breezes, and cloudy; at a quarter after 4, discovered two sails, two points before the lee beam—kept away in chase; shortly after, discovered one sail, on the weather beam; altered the course, and hauled by, in chase of the sail to windward;—at 8, sail to windward bore E. N. E. wind very light; at 10, the stranger sail, bearing E. by N. hoisted an English ensign and pendant, and displayed a signal at the main, (blue and yellow diagonally);—at half past 12, the enemy showed a blue and white flag, diagonally, at the



fore, and fired a gun—1 h. 15 minutes, called all hands to quarters, and prepared for action—1 h. 22 minutes, believing we could weather the enemy, tacked ship, and stood for him—1 h. 50 minutes, the enemy tacked ship, and stood from us—1 h. 56 minutes, hoisted our colors, and fired a gun to windward, which was answered by the enemy, with another to windward—2 h. 20 minutes, the enemy standing from us—set the royals—2 h. 25 minutes, set the flying jib—2 h. 29 minutes, set the upper stay-sails. Finding the enemy did not get sufficiently on the beam, to enable us to bring our guns to bear, put the helm a-lee, and, at 26 minutes after 3, commenced the action, with the after carronade, on the starboard side, and fired in succession—3 h. 40 minutes, the enemy having his larboard bow in contact with our larboard quarter, endeavored to board us; but was repulsed in every attempt—at 3 h. 44 minutes, orders were given to board in turn, which were promptly executed, when all resistance immediately ceased, and, at 3 h. 45 minutes, the enemy hauled down his flag.

J. BLAKELY.

Return of killed and wounded, on board the U. S. S. Wasp, in the above action.—Killed, 5—wounded, 21—total, 26.

Return of killed and wounded, on board H. B. M. S. Reindeer, in the above action.—Killed, 25—wounded, 42—total, 67.

J. BLAKELY.

On or about the 1st of September, 1814, the Wasp fell in with his Britannic majesty's sloop of war Avon, supposed eighteen guns, Captain Arbuthnot, and after a desperate action of nearly two hours, the Avon struck her colors, a complete wreck, and soon after went down. Her crew were saved by the British brig Castilian, which was also in company with the Avon.

## THE WASP'S CRUISE.

Copy of a letter from Johnson Blakely, Esq. Commander of the U. S. Sloop of War Wasp, to the Secretary of the Navy, dated

*U. S. Sloop Wasp, at Sea, 11th Sept. 1814.*

SIR,

After a protracted, and tedious stay at L'Orient, I had, at last, the pleasure of leaving that place, on Saturday the 27th August. On the 30th, captured the British brig Lettice—and 31st August, the British brig Bon Accord. On the morning of the 1st September, discovered a convoy of 10 sail to leeward, in charge of the Armada 74, and a bomb ship—stood for them, and succeeded in cutting out the British brig Mary, laden with brass cannon, taken from the Spaniards; iron cannon, and military stores; from Gibraltar to England—removed the prisoners, set her on fire, and endeavored to capture another of the convoy, but was chased off by the Armada. On the evening of the same day, at half past 6, while going free, discovered 4 vessels, nearly at the same time; two on the starboard, and two on the larboard bow—hauled for the one most on the starboard bow, being the farthest to windward—at 7, the chase (a brig) commenced making signals, with flags, which could not be distinguished for want of light; and soon after, made various ones, with lanterns, rockets, and guns—at 26 minutes after 9, having the chase under our lee bow, the 12 pr. carronade was directed to be fired into him, which he returned: ran under his lee, to prevent his escaping, and, at 29 minutes past 9, commenced the action—at 10 o'clock, believing the enemy to be silenced, orders were given to cease firing, when I hailed, and asked if he had surrendered; no answer being given to this, and his fire having recommenced, it was again returned—at 12 minutes after, 10, the enemy having suffered greatly, and having made no return to our two last broadsides, I hailed him a second time, to

know if he had surrendered, when he answered in the affirmative. The guns were then ordered to be secured, and the boats lowered down, to take possession—in the act of lowering the boat, a second brig was discovered, a little distance astern, and standing for us—sent the crew to their quarters, prepared every thing for another action, and awaited his coming up;—at 36 minutes after 10, discovered two more sail standing for us: I now felt myself compelled to forego the satisfaction of destroying the prize—our braces having been cut away, we kept off the wind until others could be rove, and with the expectation of drawing the second brig from his companions; but, in this last, we were disappointed: the second brig continued to approach us, until she came close to our stern, when she hauled by the wind, fired her broadside, (which cut our rigging and sails considerably, and shot away our lower main cross-trees,) and retraced her steps to join her consorts. When we were necessitated to abandon the prize, she appeared, in every respect, a total wreck; he continued, some time, firing guns of distress, until, probably, delivered by the two last vessels who made their appearance. The second brig could have engaged us, if he had thought proper, as he neared us fast; but contented himself with firing a broadside, and immediately returned to his companions.

It is with real satisfaction I have again the pleasure of bearing testimony to the merits of Lieutenants Reily, Tillinghast, Baury, and sailing-master Carr; and to the good conduct of every officer and man on board the Wasp. Their divisions and departments were attended and supplied, with the utmost regularity and abundance; which, with the good order maintained, together with the vivacity and precision of their fire, reflects on them the greatest credit. Our loss is two killed, and one slightly wounded with a wad. The hull received four round shot, and the foremast many grape shot; our rigging and sails suffered a great deal—every dam-



age has been repaired, the day after, with the exception of our sails.

Of the vessel with whom we are engaged, nothing positive can be said, with regard to her name or force.\* While hailing him, previous to his being fired into, it was blowing fresh, (10 knots,) and the name was not distinctly heard. Of her force, the 4 shot which struck us are all 32lbs. in weight, being one and three quarter lbs. heavier than any belonging to this vessel; from this circumstance, the number of men in her tops, her general appearance, and great length, she is believed to be one of the largest brigs in the British navy.

I have the honor, &c.

J. BLAKELY.

Hon. Sec'y of Navy.

These captures were the result of desperate conflicts. Many of these prizes were stripped of every spar; and several so cut to pieces as to become unmanageable, and were burnt at sea. Others sunk in the action, or immediately after.

#### CONSTITUTION, CYANE AND LEVANT.

Letter from Lieut. Hoffman to the Secretary of the Navy.

*His Britannic Majesty's late ship Cyane.*

*New York, April 10, 1815.*

SIR,

I have the honour to inform you, that on the evening of the 28th of February last, while cruising off Madeira, the United States frigate Constitution fell in with his Britannic Majesty's ships Cyane and Levant, which she captured after an action of 40 minutes.

\*It is known by the British prints, that the brig, engaged above, was the AYON, of 18 guns—and that she sunk soon after the Wasp left her.

The *Cyane* is a frigate built ship, mounting 34 carriage guns, viz. twenty-two 32lb. carronades on the main deck, eight 18lb. carronades on the quarter deck, two 18lb. carronades and two long 9s on the forecastle, and from the best information I could obtain, carrying a complement of 175 men, commanded by Gordon Falcon Esq. ; the *Levant* mounting twenty-one carriage guns, viz. eighteen 24lb. carronades, two long 9s and a shifting 12 pounder on the top-gallant forecastle, with a complement of 150 men, commanded by the Hon. George Douglass—both ships suffered severely in their masts, rigging and sails. The *Constitution* received but trifling injury, having only 4 men killed and 10 wounded. As to the loss of the enemy, I cannot possibly ascertain, but should presume it was very severe.

On the 9th of March the *Constitution*, with her two prizes in company, anchored off the Isle of May, (one of the Cape de Verd Islands.) On the 10th at 5 A. M. got under way and made sail for St Jago, where we anchored at 45 minutes past 10. On the 12th, at 1-2 past meridian, discovered three sail in the offing—at 10 minutes past 1, made them to be frigates—at which time the *Constitution* made signal to get under way. At 20 minutes past 1, cut our cable and made sail to the southward and eastward, close on a wind. At 30 minutes past 1, the forts on shore commenced firing on us. At 2, the *Constitution* made signal to tack, which I did to be northward and westward. At 5 minutes past 2, the foremost frigate commenced firing on us, and hoisted English colours, distance about two miles. At 20 minutes past 2, lost sight of the *Constitution* and *Levant*, who were standing on a wind to the southward and eastward; the frigates in chase. At 35 minutes past 2, lost sight of the enemy. At 3, heard a heavy cannonading, which continued at intervals until half past 4. At sun low shaped my course for the United States. For the further particulars of our cruise, I beg to refer you to

Capt. Stewart's official account, on his arrival in the United States.

I cannot conclude my letter without particularly recommending to your notice Midshipman Joseph Cross, for whose unremitting attention and exertions I feel myself greatly indebted ; and he is a young man who, I think, would do honour to a commission.

As to Midshipmen James Delany, and James F. Curtis, and the few men I have under my command, words would be insufficient to express my gratitude towards them.

Very respectfully, I have the honour  
to be, your obedient servant,  
B. V. HOFFMAN.

Copy of a letter from Lieutenant Ballard to the Secretary of the Navy.

*Baltimore, May 2, 1815.*

SIR,

I have the honour to make known to you my arrival at this place with a part of the officers and crew of the U. S. frigate Constitution, captured in a prize, the Levant, in the harbour of Porto-praya, in the island of St. Jago, by a squadron of his Britannic Majesty's ships, consisting of the Leander, Sir George Collier ; the Newcastle, Lord George Stuart ; and the Acasta, Capt. Kerr. For the particulars of my recapture, I beg leave to refer you to the enclosed extract from the log-book of the Levant.

Having caused the destruction of my own papers, as well as those of the officers with me, I can only say to you relative to the Constitution, that after leaving the port of Boston, she successively cruised off the islands of Bermuda and Madeira, in the Bay of Biscay, and for some time in sight of the Rock of Lisbon, without having met with but two of the enemy's vessels, one of



which was destroyed, the other ordered in ; and that, on the evening of the 20th February, the island of Madeira bearing W. S. W. distant 70 leagues, fell in with, engaged, and after a close action of 40 minutes, captured, his Britannic Majesty's ships Cyane, Capt Gordon Falcon, and Levant, Hon. Capt. Douglass.

It would, sir, be deemed presumption in me to attempt to give you particular details respecting the nature of this action. I shall, therefore, only remark generally, that every officer, seaman and marine on board did their duty. I cannot however, deny myself the pleasure, that this opportunity affords me, of noticing the brilliant management of Capt. Charles Stewart, through whose unerring judgement every attempt of an ingenious enemy to gain a raking position was frustrated.

I have the honour to be,  
 very respectfully, sir, your obe't serv't,  
 HENRY E. BALLARD.

The Cyane mounted on her main deck twenty-two 32lb. carronades—on her upper decks, ten 18lb. carronades, two long 9s, and one 12lb. carronade on a travelling carriage, with a complement of 175 men. The Levant mounted eighteen 32lb. carronades, two long 9s, and one 12lb. carronade, with 138 men on board. The Constitution had 4 killed and 10 wounded—the Cyane 7 killed and 17 wounded—the Levant 9 killed and 17 wounded.

Copy of a letter from Captain Stewart to the Secretary of the Navy.

*U. S. Frigate Constitution, May —, 1815.*

SIR,

On the 20th of February last, the island of Madeira bearing about W. S. W. distant 60 leagues, we fell in with his Britannic Majesty's two ships of war, the Cy-

ane and Levant, and brought them to action about 6 o'clock in the evening, both of which, after a spirited engagement of 40 minutes, surrendered to the ship under my command.

Considering the advantages derived by the enemy, from a divided and more active force, as also their superiority in the weight and number of guns, I deem the speedy and decisive result of this action the strongest assurance which can be given to the government, that all under my command did their duty, and gallantly supported the reputation of American seaman.

Enclosed you will receive the minutes of the action, and a list of the killed and wounded on board this ship; also enclosed you will receive for your information a statement of the actual force of the enemy, and the number killed and wounded, on board their ships, as near as could be ascertained.

I have the honour to remain, very respectfully,  
sir, your most obedient servant.

CHARLES STEWART.

Statement of the actual force of his Britannic Majesty's ships Levant, Capt. the Hon. George Douglass commander—and Cyane, Capt. Gordon Falcon commander; with the number killed and wounded on board each ship, on the 20th Feb. 1815, as near as could be ascertained, while engaged with the United States frigate Constitution:—

*Levant*.—Eighteen 32 pounders, carronades; one 12 pounder, do.; two 9 pounders, long guns. Total 21 guns, 156 officers, seaman, and marines. Prisoners, 133 officers, seamen and marines. Killed, 23; wounded, 16. Total killed and wounded, 39.

*Cyane*.—Twenty-two 32 pounders, carronades; ten 18 pounders, do.; two 12 pounders, long guns. Total 34 guns (besides 2 brass swivels,) 180 officers, seamen,

and marines. Prisoners, 168 officers, seamen, and marines. Killed, 27; wounded, 26. Total killed and wounded, 53.

Minutes of the action between the United States frigate Constitution and his Majesty's ships Cyane and Levant, on the 20th February 1815.

Commences with light breezes from the east, and cloudy weather. At 1 P. M. discovered a sail two points on the larboard bow—hailed up, and made sail in chase. At 1-4 past 1 made the sail to be a ship; at 3-4 past 1, discovered another sail ahead; made them out, at 2, to be both ships, standing close hauled, with their starboard tacks on board; at 4, the weathermost ship made signals, and bore up her consort, then about ten mile, to leeward; we bore up after her, and set lower top-mast, top-gallant and royal studding sails, in chase; at half past 4, carried away our main royal-mast; took in the sails, and got another prepared. At 5, commenced firing on the chase from our two larboard bow guns; our shot falling short, ceased firing: at 1-2 past 5, finding it impossible to prevent their junction, cleared ship for action, then about 4 miles from the two ships: at 40 minutes past 5, they passed within hail of each other, and hauled by the wind on the starboard tack, hauled up their courses, and prepared to receive us: at 45 minutes past 5, they made all sail close hauled by the wind, in hopes of getting to windward of us: at 55 minutes past 5, finding themselves disappointed in their object, & we were closing with them fast, they shortened sail, & formed on a line of wind, about half a cable's length of each other: at 6, having them under command of our battery, hoisted our colours, which was answered by both ships hoisting English ensigns: at 5 minutes past 6, ranged up on the starboard side of the sternmost ship, about 300 yards distant, and commenced the action by broadsides, both ships returning our fire with great spirit for about 15 minutes; then the fire of the enemy bet



ginning to slacken, and the great column of smoke collected under our lee, induced us to cease our fire to ascertain their positions and conditions : in about three minutes, the smoke clearing awny, we found ourselves abreast of the headmost ship, the stearnmost ship luffed up for our larboard quarter ; we poured a broadside into the headmost ship, and then braced aback our main and mizen top-mast ship, and then braced aback our main and mizen topsails, ad backedastern under cover of the smoke, abreast the sternmost ship, when the action was continued with spirit and considerable effect, until 35 minutes pest 6, when the enemy's fire again slackened, and we discovered the headmost bearing up ; filled our topsails, shot ahead, and gave her two stern rakes ; we then discovered the sternmost ship wearing also ; woreship immediately after her, and gave her a stern rake ; she luffed to on our starboard bows, and gave us her larboard broadside : we ranged up on her larboard quarter, within hail, and were about to give her our starboard braodside, when she struck her colours, fired a lee gun, and yielded. At 50 minutes past 6, took possession of his majesty's ship Cyane, Capt. Gordon Falcon, mounting 34 guns. At 8, filled away after her consort, which was still in sight to leeward. At 1-2 past 8, found her standing towards us, with her starboard tacks close hauled, with top-gallant sails set, and colours flying. At 5 minutes past 8, ranged close along side to windward of her, on opposite tacks, and exchanged broadsides—wore immediately under her stern, and raked her with a broadside : she then crowded all sail, endeavored to escape by running—hauled on board our tacks, set spanker, and flying jib in chase. At 1-2 past 9, commenced firing on her from our starboard bow chaser ; gave her several shot, which cut her spars and rigging considerably. At 10, finding she could not escape, fired a gun, struck her colours, and yielded. We immediately took possession of his majesty's ship Levant, Hon. Capt. George Douglass,

mounting 21 guns. At 1 A. M. the damages of our rigging were repaired, sails shifted, and the ship in fighting condition.

Minutes of the chase of the U. S. frigate Constitution, by an English squadron of three ships, from out the harbour of Port Praya, Island of St. Jago:—

Commences with fresh breezes and thick foggy weather. At 5 minutes past 12, discovered a large ship through the fog, standing in for Port Praya. At 8 minutes past 12, discovered two other ships astern of her, also standing in for the port. From their general appearance supposed them to be one of the enemy's squadrons, and from the little respect hitherto paid by them to neutral waters, I deemed it most prudent to put to sea. The signal was made to the Cyane and Levant to get under way. At 12 minutes past 12, with our top-sails set, we cut our cable and got under way, (when the Portuguese opened a fire on us from several of their batteries on shore) the prize ships following our motions, and stood out of the harbour of Port Praya, close under East Point, passing the enemy's squadron about gun-shot to windward of them; crossed our top gallant yards, and set foresail, mainsail, spanker, flying jib and top-gallant sails. The enemy seeing us under way, tacked ship and made all sail in chase of us. As far as we could judge of their rates, from the thickness of the weather, supposed them two ships of the line and one frigate. At 1-2 past 12, cut away the boats towing astern—first cutter and gig. At 1 P. M. found our sailing about equal with the ships on our lee quarter, but, the frigate luffing up, gaining our wake, and rather dropping astern of us; finding the Cyane dropping astern and to leeward, and the frigate gaining on her fast, I found it impossible to save her if she continued on the course, without having the Constitution brought to ac-

tion by their whole force. I made the signal at 10 minutes past 1, to her to tack ship, which was complied with. This manœuvre, I conceived, would detach one of the enemy's ships in pursuit of her, while at the same time, from her position, she would be enabled to reach the anchorage at Port Praya, before the detached ship could come up with her; but if they did not tack after her, it would afford her an opportunity to double their rear, and make her escape before the wind. They all continued in full chase of the *Levant* and this ship; the ship in our lee quarter firing broadsides, by divisions—her shot falling short of us. At 3, our having dropped the *Levant* considerably, her situation became (from the position of the enemy's frigate) similar to the *Cyane*. It became necessary to separate also from the *Levant*, or risk this ship being brought to action to cover her. I made the signal at 5 minutes past 3 for her to tack, which was complied with. At 12 minutes past 3, the whole of the enemy's squadron tacked in pursuit of the *Levant*, and gave up the pursuit of the ship. This sacrifice of the *Levant* became necessary for the preservation of the *Constitution*. Sailing Master Hixon, Midshipman Varnum, one boatswain's mate, and 12 men, were absent on duty in the 5th cutter, to bring the cartel brig under our stern.

### ANECDOTES.

The *Constitution* is so deservedly a favorite with the public, that a few anecdotes of her last cruise will not be uninteresting. The modest, plain letter of Capt. Stewart, with the accompanying extracts from the log-book, has given the clearest official accounts of the action. The masterly manœuvering of his ship so as to prevent either of the enemy's ships from raking him, and the final capture of them both, in such a neat and workmanlike manner, the prompt decision at Port



Praya, when in 7 minutes after the British squadron were first discovered, the whole of the ships had cut their cables and were at sea; the judgment in the time of giving orders to the prizes to tack, which secured the Cyane first; and afterwards the Constitution, speak for themselves, and are fully appreciated by the public. It should not be forgotten, that this same Cyane engaged a French 44 gun frigate last year, and kept her at bay, till a ship of the line came up and captured her; and a few years since in the bay of Naples, that she engaged a frigate, a brig of 44 guns, and 5 gun boats, and beat them off, for which Capt. Benton, who commanded her, was knighted; yet, with the known skill of British officers, this same vessel, and a sloop of war of the largest class, with full crews of picked men, were captured by an American frigate, after a short action.

But it is not only to skilful officers that praise is due; to be successful, they must be aided by brave and excellent seamen. The crew of the Constitution were all yankee seamen, as docile and obedient to the ordinary discipline of the service, as they were intripied in action. It would be easy to mention a number of anecdotes of the heroic character of our common sailors. There are two in this action that are particularly striking. A man by the name of Tobias Fernell, of Portsmouth, had his arm shattered by a ball; after the surgeon had amputated it, when he had taken up the arteries, and before the dressing was completed, the cheers on deck were heard for the surrender of the Cyane; the brave fellow twitched the stump from the surgeon, and waved it, joining the cheers! He is since dead. Another, John Lancey, of Cape Ann, was brought below, one thigh shattered to pieces, and the other severely wounded; the surgeon said to him, "my brave fellow, you are mortally wounded;" "yes, sir, I know it, I only want to hear, that the other ship is struck." Soon after the cheers were given for the surrender of the Levant; he raised his head, echoed the cheer, and

expired a minute after. The wounds were generally severe, and much credit is due to the skill and humanity of Mr. Kearney, the surgeon, for saving so many of the wounded.

The *Cyane* was first discovered at the distance of three or four leagues; the *Levant*, Capt. Douglass, the senior, being to the leeward. The first signal from the *Cyane* was, that it was an American sloop of war; afterwards, when they came within four miles of the *Constitution*, and the course was so altered, that she discovered her broadside, she made a signal that it was a heavy American frigate, superior to one of them, but inferior to both. The signal from the *Levant* to her consort was to join company. The *Constitution* was not able to prevent their junction. The action was invited on the part of the *Constitution*, by firing a signal shot across the bow of the *Cyane*. The two ships cheered, and fired their broadsides; after receiving both she returned it, and such was the eagerness of the men to fire, that when the word was given, they discharged the whole broadside, at the same instant. In commencing the action, there was perfect silence on board the *Constitution*—the cheers were returned when the ships surrendered. The weight of shot, fired by the British ships, was superior by about 90 pounds, taking their shot at their nominal weight, though it was found, on weighing some of the English shot, that came on board, that they weighed full 82lbs. while the American of the same rate weighed only 29lb.; the action was so close, that their carronades had their full power. One of their shot came through the side of the ship, killed one and wounded four men, and lodged in the galley; another killed two men in the waist, went through a boat in which two tigers were chained, and lodged in the head of a spar in the chains. In the action of the *Guerriere* the *Constitution* was hulled three times; in that of the *Java*, four times; and in this engagement, thirteen times. The British ships were fully officered, and

manned with picked men, and fired better than they have usually done in their engagements with our ships.

During the chase by Sir George Collier's squadron, when the *Cyane* was ordered to tack, all the three ships kept after the *Constitution* and *Levant*. After sufficient time had been allowed to the *Cyane* to make her escape, as none of the enemy pursued her, orders were given to the *Levant* to tack. The *Leander*, Sir George Collier, who was the most astern, then made signal to the *Acasta* to tack, and the *Newcastle*, Lord George Stewart, to continue the chase. The *Acasta* sailed faster than the *Constitution*, and was gaining on her; the *Newcastle* about the same rate of sailing, and the latter fired several broadsides, but the shot fell short from one to two hundred yards. After the other ships tacked, the *Newcastle* made a signal that her fore-top-sail yard was sprung, and tacked also. The British officers on board, who had expressed the most perfect confidence that the *Constitution* would be taken in an hour, felt the greatest vexation and disappointment, which they expressed in very emphatic terms. The *Levant* ran into port so as to run her jib-boom over the battery; the *Acasta* and *Newcastle* came in, and, though her colours were hauled down, fired at her a number of times. They were obliged to hoist and lower their colours twice; yet not a gun was fired from the *Levant*. Lieut. Ballard, who commanded, had ordered his men to lay on the decks, by which they all escaped injury, though considerable damage was done to the town. It seemed unnecessary for two heavy frigates to fire into one sloop of war, who neither did nor could make any resistance. After the escape of the *Constitution* from this squadron, till she arrived at the Brazils, the greatest watchfulness was necessary. With a very diminished crew, she had on board 240 prisoners, and the number of British officers was more than double her own.

It is known, that sailors are apt to be superstitious. Lieut. Hoffman had a fine terrier, who was a great fa-



avourite on board the ship: when he was transferred to the Cyane, he took the dog with him. At Port Praya, the dog, being much attached to Old Ironsides, jumped over to swim to her. A boat was lowered down from the Constitution to try to save him; but the poor animal was drowned. The sailors then said, that they should have a fight, or a run in twenty-four hours. The next morning the British squadron hove in sight. This was not likely to lessen their belief of omens.

At Maranham all the principal people asked leave to visit the Constitution. They had heard much of her, and had been told by the English, that she was a ship of the line. They were requested to examine and count her guns, which they found to be 52, as she carried two less than her former cruise. The American character was most highly respected at Porto-Rico, where a boat was sent in. The governor made the most earnest entreaties, that the ship would come into port, that he might see her, and offered every kind of refreshment, and expressed the highest regard for our country. (How much has our little navy done to elevate the character of the nation!)

In a hurricane, when the ship made much water, a petty officer called on Lieut. Shubrick, who was the officer on the deck, and said, "Sir, the ship is sinking" — "well, sir," said this cool and gallant officer, "as every thing in our power is made tight, we must patiently submit to the fate of sailors, and all of us sink or swim together."

When the officer from the British squadron, which retook the Levant, went on board of her he advanced briskly towards the quarter deck, and observed, that he presumed he had the proud satisfaction of receiving the sword of Capt. B. commander of the American sloop of war the wasp. No, sir, was the reply; but if there is any pride in the case, you have the honour of receiving the sword of Capt. Ballard, 1st of the Constitution

frigate, and now prize officer of his Britannic Majesty's ship the *Levant*.

According to the British mode of calculation, the *Constitution* ought to have been captured. The *Cyane* and *Levant* could discharge from all their cannon at once, 1514lbs. of shot. The *Constitution* 1424. Difference, 90lbs.

The *Constitution* has captured, in her three victories, 154 gun carriages; made upwards of 900 prisoners; killed and wounded 298 of the enemy; and the value of property captured, including the stores, provisions, &c. cannot be estimated at less than 1,500,000.

The first escape of the *Constitution* in 1812, was from a British squadron, consisting of the *African* 64, *Shannon* 38, *Guerriere* 38, *Belvidere* 38, and *Æolus* 32. The chase continued 51 hours. Her last escape was from the *Leander* 50, *Newcastle* 50, and *Acasta* 40.

In 1804, the *Constitution* made several daring attacks on the batteries before the town of Tripoli, mounting 115 pieces of heavy cannon. She repeatedly, and for hours, engaged their forts, within musket shot, and her movements and destructive fire most essentially assisted in wresting from captivity 300 of our countrymen, as the Bashaw was compelled to submit to terms of peace.

#### HORNET AND PENGUIN.

Copy of a letter from Capt. Biddle to Com. Decatur.

*United States Sloop Hornet, off Tristan d' Acuna,*

*March 25, 1815.*

SIR,

I have the honor to inform you, that on the morning of the 23d inst. at half past 10, when about to anchor off the north end of the island of Tristan d' Acuna, a

sail was seen to the southward and eastward, steering to the westward, the wind fresh from S. S. W. In a few minutes, she had passed on to the westward so far that we could not see her for the land. I immediately made sail for the westward, and shortly after getting in sight of her again perceived her to bear up before the wind. I hove to for him to come down to us. When she had approached near, I filled the main-top-sail, and continued to yaw the ship, while she continued to come down, wearing occasionally to prevent her passing under our stern. At 40 minutes past 1 P. M. being within nearly musket shot distance, she hauled her wind on the starboard tack, hoisted English colours, and fired a gun. We immediately luffed to, hoisted our ensign, and gave the enemy a broadside. The action being thus commenced, a quick and well directed fire was kept up from this ship, the enemy gradually drifting nearer to us, when at 55 minutes past 1, he bore up apparently to run us on board. As soon as I perceived he would certainly fall on board, I called the boarders so as to be ready to repel any attempt to board us. At the instant every officer and man repaired to the quarter-deck, when the two vessels were coming in contact, and eagerly pressed me to permit them to board the enemy; but this I would not permit, as it was evident from the commencement of the action, that our fire was greatly superior both in quickness and in effect. The enemy's bowsprit came in between our main and mizzen rigging, on our starboard side, affording him an opportunity to board us, if such was his design; but no attempt was made. There was a considerable swell on, and as the sea lifted us ahead, the enemy's bowsprit carried away our mizzen shrouds, stern davits, and spanker boom, and he hung upon our larboard quarter. At this moment an officer, who was afterwards recognized to be Mr. M'Donald, the 1st lieutenant and the then commanding officer, called out that they had surrendered. I directed the marines musketry-men to cease firing, and



while on the taffril, asking if they had surrendered, I received a wound in the neck. The enemy just then got clear of us, and his foremast and bowsprit being both gone, and perceiving us wearing to give him a fresh broadside, he again called out, that he had surrendered. It was with difficulty I could restrain my crew from firing into him again, as he had certainly fired into us after having surrendered. From the firing of the first gun, to the last time the enemy cried out he had surrendered, was exactly twenty-two minutes by the watch. She proved to be his Britannic Majesty's brig Penguin, mounting sixteen 32lb. carronades, two long 12s, a 12lb. carronade on the top gallant fore castle, with a swivel on the capstern in the tops. She had a spare port forward, so as to fight both her long guns of a side. She sailed from England in September last. She was shorter upon deck than this ship by two feet, but she had a greater length of keel, greater breadth of beam, thicker sides, and higher bulwarks than this ship, and was in all respects a remarkably fine vessel of her class. The enemy acknowledged a complement of 132; 12 of them supernumerary marines from the Medway 74, received on board in consequence of their being ordered to cruise for the American privateer Young Wasp. They acknowledge also a loss of 14 killed and 28 wounded; but Mr. Mayo, who was in charge of the prize, assures me, that the number of killed was certainly greater. Among the killed are Capt. Dickenson, who fell at the close of the action, and the boatswain; among the wounded are the 2d lieutenant, purser, and two midshipmen. Each of the midshipmen lost a leg. We received on board, in all, 113 prisoners, 4 of whom have since died of their wounds. Having removed the prisoners, and taken on board such provisions and stores as would be useful to us, I scuttled the Penguin, this morning, before day light, and she went down. As she was completely riddled by our shot, her foremast and bowsprit both gone, and her mainmast so crippled

as to be incapable of being secured, it seemed inadvisable, at this distance from home, to attempt sending her to the United States.

This ship did not receive a single round shot in her hull, nor any material wound in her spars; the rigging and sails were very much cut; but having bent a new suit of sails, and knotted and secured our rigging, we are now completely ready in all respects, for service. We were 8 men short of a complement, and had 9 upon the sick list the morning of the action.

Enclosed is a list of killed and wounded. I lament to state, that Lieut. Conner is wounded dangerously. I feel great solicitude on his account, as he is an officer of much promise, and his loss would be a serious loss to the service.

It is a most pleasing part of my duty to acquaint you, that the conduct of Lieutenants Conner and Newton, Mr. Mayo, acting Lieut. Brownlow of the marines, Sailing Master Romney, and the other officers, seamen, and marines, I have the honor to command, was in the highest degree creditable to them, and calls for my warmest recommendation. I cannot indeed do justice to their merits. The satisfaction which was diffused throughout the ship, when it was ascertained, that the stranger was an enemy's sloop of war, and the alacrity with which every one repaired to his quarters, fully assured me, that their conduct in action would be marked with coolness and intrepidity.

I have the honor to be  
your obedient servant,

J. BIDDLE.

Loss on board the Hornet, 1 killed and 11 wounded.

Extract of a letter from an officer on board the sloop of war Peacock,  
off Tristan d'Acuna.

April 10, 1815.

The *Hornet* separated in chase, two days out, and we fell in, off here, a few days since. We are delighted to hear of her good fortune—so superior to our own. She had captured, two days previous, his Britannic Majesty's brig *Penguin*, after an action of 20 1-2 minutes. The *Penguin* was fitted out by Admiral Tyler at the Cape of Good Hope, expressly to capture the privateer *Young Wasp*, who had captured an Indiaman in that neighborhood, and landed the prisoners; and was supposed to have brought her prize here to strip her and refresh. The *Penguin* was commanded by Capt. Dickenson, a distinguished young man in their chronicles; and it appears from some of his papers, of respectable connexions, and a great favorite in the navy. Admiral Tyler loaned him 12 marines from the *Medway*, and was very minute in his instructions, and grave to a degree, in his injunctions, upon Dickenson, as to the manner of engaging the privateer: to get close enough was the great desideratum. What a man seeks earnestly he is almost sure to find, and Capt. Dickenson supposed he had the *Wasp*, when he only saw the *Hornet*, a vessel considerably smaller in all her dimensions, and decidedly inferiour in her armament to the privateer. The *Hornet* on perceiving that the brig bore up for her, laid all aback; the brig came stern on, lest the *Hornet* might discover her guns and be off, and brushing close along side of her, fired a gun, and ran up her *St. George*. An entire broadside from the *Hornet*, every shot of which told, opened the eyes of John Bull upon a yankee man of war; just what they had been wishing ever since they left England. In 20 minutes the *Penguin* had her fore-mast over the side—her bowsprit in two pieces—her broadside nearly driven in—20 men killed, including the captain, and one of Lord Nelson's boatswains,



and 35 wounded, including the 2d lieutenant, 2 midshipmen, and master's mate, &c. The *Hornet*, untouched in her hull, was severely cut up in her rigging, especially about her main and fore-top-gallant masts, her mizzen being a vast deal too low for British gunnery—one marine killed, the captain and 1st lieutenant Conner, (severely) and 9 others wounded. The officers of the *Penguin* ascribed their misfortune entirely to the superiority of the men belonging to the *Hornet*; and have repeatedly said they would be glad to try it again with her, if the *Penguin* were manned with such men.

Now these gentlemen left England last September, and the prisoners are as stout, fine looking fellows, as I ever saw. One fact, which is probable, is worth all speculation in such an inquiry. On examining her guns after the action, a 32lb. carronade, on the side engaged, was found with his tompion as nicely puttied and stopped in as it was the day she left Spithead! Capt. Dickenson, towards the close of the fight, told his 1st lieutenant, M'Donald, that "the fellows are giving it to us like hell; we must get on board;" and on being asked by Biddle why he did not, as there never had been a better opportunity—he said, "he did try, but found the men rather backward—and so, you know, we concluded to give it up." After M'Donald had repeatedly called out that they had surrendered, and Biddle had ceased his fire, two fellows on board the *Penguin* fired upon him and the man at the wheel. Biddle was struck on the chin, and the ball passing round the neck, went off through the cape of his surtout, wounded him, however, severely, but not dangerously; the man escaped, but the ruffians did not, for they were observed by two of Biddle's marines, who levelled and laid them dead upon the deck in an instant.

## ANECDOTES.

In this action a private marine of the *Hornet*, named Michael Smith (who had served under the gallant Porter in the *Essex*) received a shot through the upper part of the thigh, which fractured the bone, and nearly at the same moment had the same thigh broken immediately above the knee by the spanker-boom of the *Hornet*, which was carried away by the enemy's bowsprit, while afoul of her. In this situation, while bleeding upon the deck and unable to rise, he was seen to make exertions to discharge his musket at the enemy on the top-gallant fore-castle of the *Penguin*—this, however, the poor fellow was unable to accomplish; and was compelled to be carried below.

The officers of the *Penguin* relate, that, during the action with the *Hornet*, a 32lb. shot came in at the after port of the *Penguin*, on the larboard side carried away six legs, killed the powder boy of the division, capsized the opposite gun on the starboard side, passed through the port, and “sunk in sullen silence to the bottom.”

## ESCAPE OF THE HORNET.

Copy of a letter from Capt. Biddle to Com. Decatur.

*U. S. Sloop Hornet, St. Salvador, June 10, 1815,*

SIR,

I have the honour to report, that the *Peacock* and this ship, having continued off *Tristan d'Acuna* the number of days directed by you in your letter of instructions, proceeded in company to the eastward on the 12th of April, bound to the second place of rendezvous. Nothing of any importance occurred to us until the 27th of April, when at 7 A. M. in lat. 38 deg. 30 min. S. and lon. 83 deg. E. we made a strange sail in the S. E. to

which we gave chase. The wind was from the N. E. by N. and light throughout the day, and by sun-down we had neared the chase considerably. It was calm during the night, and at day-light on the 28th, he was yet in sight. A breeze springing from the N. W. we crowded sail with steering sails on both sides; the chase standing to the northward upon a wind. At 45 minutes past 2 P. M. the Peacock was about six miles ahead of this ship; and observing that she appeared to be suspicious of the chase, I took in starboard steering sails, and hauled up for the Peacock—I was still, however, of opinion that the chase was an Indiaman, though indeed the atmosphere was quite smoky and indistinct, and I concluded, as she was very large, that Capt. Warrington was waiting for me to join him, that we might together go along side of her. At 22 minutes past 3 P. M. the Peacock made the signal, that the chase was a ship of the line, and an enemy. I immediately took in all steering sails, and hauled upon a wind; the enemy then upon our lee-quarter, distant about 8 miles. By sun-down I had perceived, that the enemy sailed remarkably fast, and was very weatherly.

At 9 P. M. as the enemy was gaining upon us, and as there was every appearance that he would be enabled to keep sight of us during the night, I considered it necessary to lighten this ship. I therefore threw overboard 12 tons of kentledge, part of our shot, some of our heavy spars, cut away the sheet anchor and cable, and started the wedges of the masts. At 2 A. M. the enemy being rather before our lee-beam, I tacked to the westward; the enemy also tacked, and continued in chase of us. At day light on the 29th, he was within gun-shot, upon our lee-quarter. At 7 A. M. having hoisted English colours, and a rear admiral's flag, he commenced firing from his bow guns. As his shot went over us, I cut away the remaining anchor and cable, threw overboard the launch, six of our guns, more of our shot, and every heavy article that was at hand;



the enemy fired about thirty shot, not one of which took effect, though most of them passed over us. While he was firing, I had the satisfaction to perceive, that we slowly dropt him, and at 9 A. M. he ceased his fire.

At 11 A. M. the enemy was again coming up with us. I now, therefore, threw overboard all our remaining guns but one long gun, nearly all our shot, all our spare spars, cut away the top-gallant fore-castle, and cleared every thing off deck, as well as from below, to lighten as much as possible. At noon the enemy again commenced firing. He fired many shot, only three of which came on board ; two striking the hull, and one passing through the jib. It is, however, extraordinary, that every shot did not take effect ; for the enemy, the second time he commenced firing, was certainly within three quarters of a mile of the ship, and the sea quite smooth.

I perceived from his sails that the effect of his fire was to deaden his wind, and at 2 P. M. the wind which had previously, and greatly to our disadvantage, backed to the southeast, hauled to the westward, and freshened up. At sun-down the enemy was about four miles astern. The wind was fresh, and we went at the rate of nine knots throughout the night. We saw the enemy at intervals through the squalls during the night, and at day light, on the 30th, he was about 12 miles astern, still in chase of us. At 30 minutes after 9 A. M. he took in steering-sails, reefed his top-sail and hauled to the eastward, and at 11 he was entirely out of sight.

During the chase the enemy appeared to be very crank, and I therefore concluded he must have been lightened while in chase of us. I did not at any time fire our stern chasers, because it was manifest that the enemy injured his sailing by his firing.

As we had now no anchor, no cable, no boat, and but one gun, there was of course an absolute necessity of relinquishing our intended cruise ; and as in our then condition, it would have been extremely hazardous on ac-

count of the enemy's cruisers, to approach our own coast, I considered it most advisable to proceed for this port. I arrived here yesterday, and on my arrival I received information of the peace between the United States and Great Britain. Permit me to state, that it was with the most painful reluctance, and upon the fullest conviction that it was indispensable, in order to prevent a greater misfortune, that I could bring my mind to consent to part with my guns; and I beg leave to request, that you will be pleased to move the honourable secretary of the navy, to call a court of inquiry to investigate the loss of the armament of this ship. It will be very satisfactory to me to have such an investigation.

I have the honour to be,

respectfully, your obe't serv't.

J. BIDDLE.

Com. DECATUR.

Narrative of the escape of the Hornet from a British 74, after a chase of 42 hours—extracted from a private journal of one of the officers on board the Hornet.

*U. S. Ship Hornet, off the Cape of Good Hope,  
May 9, 1815.*

*April 27, 1815.*—At 7 P. M. the Peacock made a signal for a strange sail, bearing S. E. by S. We immediately made all sail in chase. Friday 28th commenced with light breezes and pleasant weather, all sail set in chase; at sun down we had neared the stranger considerably, when it fell perfectly calm, and remained so during the whole of the night; the stranger ahead, and could just discern his top-sails out of the water. At day light the sail not to be seen from the deck; at 5 A. M. a breeze sprung up from the N. W. we immediately crowded all sail, in order if possible to get sight of the chase again; soon after descried him standing to the northward and eastward on a wind.

Saturday 29th, at 3-4 past 2 P. M. the Peacock was about 10 miles ahead of the Hornet; we observed Capt. Warrington approaching the stranger with much precaution; we therefore took in all our larboard steering-sails, set the stay sails, and hauled up for the Peacock, still under the impression the sail in sight was an English Indiaman, and from the apparent conduct of the commander of the Peacock, we were under the impression (as the ship looked very large) that Capt. W. was waiting until we came up with him in order to make a joint attack. At half past 3, the Peacock made the signal, that the chase was a line-of-battle ship, and an enemy; our astonishment may easily be conceived; we took in all steering-sails and hauled upon the wind, bringing the enemy upon our lee-quarter, and about 3 leagues distant; the Peacock on his weather bow and apparently not more than 3 miles from the enemy. At sun-down the enemy bore E. 1-2 S. the Peacock E. by N. We soon perceived the enemy sailed remarkably fast, but the Peacock left him running off to the eastward. The enemy continued by the wind and evidently chase of us, at 6, loosed the wedges of the lower mast; at 8, we discovered the enemy weathered upon us fast, and that there was every appearance he would, if not come up with us, continue in sight all night. It was thought necessary to lighten the ship; at 9 we cut away the sheet-anchor, and hove overboard the cable, a quantity of rigging, spars, &c. At half past 9, scuttled the wardroom deck to get at the kentledge, hove overboard 90 pieces, weighing about 50 tons. At 2 A. M. tacked ship to the southward and westward, which the enemy no sooner discovered, than he tacked also. At day-light he was within shot distance, on our lee-quarter; at 7, he hoisted English colours and a rear admiral's flag at his mizzen-top-gallant masthead, and commenced firing from his bow guns, his shot overreaching us about a mile. We therefore commenced again to lighten the ship, by cutting away our re-



maining anchors and throwing overboard the cable, cut up the launch and hove it overboard, a quantity of provisions with more kentledge, shot, capstern, spars, all rigging, sails, guns, and in fact every heavy article that could possibly tend to impede the ship's sailing. The enemy continued to fire very heavy and in quick succession; but his British thunder could neither terrify the yankee spirit, diminish yankee skill, nor compel us to show him the yankee stripes, which must have irritated him excessively. None of his shot as yet had taken effect, although he had been firing for near 4 hours incessantly, his shot generally passing between our masts. We thought at this period we discovered that we were dropping him, as his shot began to fall short; this stimulated our gallant crew to fresh exertion. At 11, his firing ceased, and the breeze began to freshen; we discovered the enemy was again coming up with us fast, which induced a general belief he had made some alteration in the trim of his ship. At meridean squally and fresh breezes, wind from the westward. Sundry (30th) fresh breezes and squally, the enemy still gaining on the Hornet; at 1 P. M. being within gun-shot distance, he commenced a very spirited and heavy fire with round and grape, the former passing between our masts, and the latter falling all around us. The enemy fired shells, but were so ill directed as to be perfectly harmless.

From 2 to 3, threw overboard all the muskets, cutlasses, forge, &c. &c. and broke up the bell—also cut up the top-gallant fore-castle. It was now our capture appeared inevitable—the enemy 3-4 of a mile on the lee-quarter, pouring in his shot and shells in great numbers all around us—continued to lighten the ship, by heaving every thing overboard that could either be of service to the enemy, or an impediment to the Hornet's sailing. The men were ordered to lay down on the quarter-deck, in order to trim ship, and facilitate the ship's sailing. At 4, one of the shot from the enemy

struck the jib-boom, another struck the starboard bulwark, just forward of the gangway, and a third struck on the deck forward of the main hatch, on the larboard side, glanced off and passed through the foresail. At 1-2 past 4, we again began to leave the enemy, and to appearance, by magick—set the larboard lower steering sail, the wind drawing more aft. At 5, the enemy's shot fell short. At 6, fresh breezes—the enemy hull down in our wake. At 7, could just see his lower steering sail above horizon—from 8 to 12, descried him at intervals, with night glasses. At day light, discovered the enemy astern of us, distant 5 leagues. At 9 A. M. the enemy shortened sail, reefed his top-sail, and hauled upon a wind to the eastward, after a chase of 42 hours. During this tedious and anxious chase, the wind was variable, so as to oblige us to make a perfect circle round the enemy. Between 2 and 3 o'clock yesterday not a person on board had the most distant idea that there was a possibility of escape. We all packed up our things, and waited until the enemy's shot would compel us to heave to and surrender, which appeared certain. Never has there been so evident an interposition of the goodness of a Divine Father—my heart with gratitude acknowledges his supreme power and goodness. On the morning of the 28th it was very calm, and nothing but murmurs were heard throughout the ship, as it was feared we should lose our anticipated prize—many plans had been formed by us for the disposal of our plunder. The seamen declared they would have the birth deck carpeted with East India silk, supposing her an Indiaman from India; while the officers, under the impression she was from England, were making arrangements how we should dispose of the money, porter, cheese, &c. &c. Nothing perplexed us more than the idea that we should not be able to take out all the good things before we should be obliged to destroy her. We were regretting our ship did not sail faster, as the Peacock would certainly capture her first,

and would take out many of the best and most valuable articles before we should get up—(this very circumstance of our not sailing as fast as the Peacock, saved us in the first instance from inevitable capture, for when Capt. W. made the signal for the sail to be an enemy of superiour force, we were 4 leagues to windward.) We all calculated our fortunes were made, but alas, “we caught a Tartar.” During the latter part of the chase, when the shot and shells were whistling about our ears, it was an interesting sight to behold the varied countenances of our crew. They had kept the deck during all the preceding night, employed continually in lightening the ship, were excessively fatigued, and under momentary expectation of falling into the hands of a barbarous and enraged enemy. The shot that fell on the main deck, (as before related) struck immediately over the head of one of our gallant fellows, who had been wounded in our glorious action with the Penguin, where he was lying in his cot, very ill with his wounds; the shot was near coming through the deck, and it threw innumerable splinters all around this poor fellow, and struck down a small paper American Ensign, which he had hoisted over his bed—destruction apparently stared us in the face, if we did not soon surrender, yet no officer, no man, in the ship shewed any disposition to let the enemy have the poor little Hornet. Many of our men had been impressed and imprisoned for years in their horrible service, and hated them and their nation with the most deadly animosity; while the rest of the crew, horror-struck by the relation of the sufferings of their ship-mates, who had been in the power of the English, and now equally flushed with rage, joined heartily in execrating the present authors of our misfortune. Capt. Biddle mustered the crew, and told them he was pleased with their conduct during the chase, and hoped still to perceive that propriety of conduct which had always marked their character, and that of the American tar generally; that we might soon expect to be captured,



&c. Not a dry eye was to be seen at this mention of capture; the rugged hearts of the sailors, like ice before the sun, warmed by the divine power of sympathy, wept in unison with their brave commander. About 2 o'clock, the wind, which had crossed us, and put to the test all our nautical skill to steer clear of the enemy, now veered in our favour (as before stated) and we left him. This was truly a glorious victory over the horrors of banishment and the terrors of a British floating dungeon. Quick as thought, every face was changed from the gloom of despair to the highest smile of delight, and we began once more to breathe the sweets of liberty—the bitter sighs of regret were now changed, and I put forth my expression of everlasting gratitude to him, the supreme Author of our being, who had thus signally delivered us from the power of a cruel and vindictive enemy.

### COURT OF INQUIRY.

A naval court of inquiry was held by order of the secretary of the navy, on board the U. S. ship *Hornet*, in the harbour of New York, on the 23d of August 1815, to investigate the causes of the return of that ship into port, and to enquire into the circumstances attending the loss of armament, stores, &c. during her cruise; and the following opinion has been pronounced by the court:

The court, after mature deliberation on the testimony adduced, are of opinion, that no blame is imputable to Capt. Biddle, on account of the return of the *Hornet* into port, with the loss of her armament, stores, &c. and that the greatest applause is due to him for his perse-

vering gallantry and nautical skill, evinced in escaping, under the most disadvantageous circumstance, after a long and arduous chase by a British line-of-battle ship.

SAMUEL EVANS, *Prest.*

HENRY WHEATON,

*Special Judge Advocate.*

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## CHAPTER XIX.

### *General Operations Continued.*

#### LOSS OF THE ARGUS.

About the 1st of June, the United States, brig Argus, captain Allen, sailed for France, with the American minister, Mr. Crawford, and from thence on a cruise in the British channel, where her success led the British government to despatch several frigates to check her career. The Argus fell in with one of those frigates, the Pelican, and after a sharp action of forty-seven minutes, was captured and carried into port. Captain Allen fell, mortally wounded, at the first broadside; his lieutenant, soon after, and his wheel being shot away, the brig became a wreck; yet she maintained a brave and obstinate conflict until all resistance became ineffectual, then surrendered—August 14th, 1813. The loss upon both sides, was nearly equal.

#### *British Official Account.*

The British official account of the capture of the U. S. brig Argus, on the 14th of August, has been received. In that account, the Pelican, which took the Argus, states the force of the two vessels, as follows, viz:—Ar-

gus, eighteen 24lb. carronades, and two 12's—127 men. Pelican, sixteen 32 pounders, and three 6's—116 men.—The action lasted 43 minutes. The American loss was 30, killed and wounded; that of the British 6.

On the 5th of September, the United States brig *Enterprise*, of sixteen guns, Captain Burrows, fell in with, and captured his Britannic majesty's brig *Boxer*, of eighteen guns, captain Blythe, after an action of forty five minutes. The *Enterprise* lost nine, the *Boxer* forty five, both captains fell in the action.

#### CAPTURE OF THE BOXER.

Copy of a letter from Lieut. Ed. R. M'Call, of the U. S. Brig *Enterprise*, to Capt. Isaac Hull, dated

*U. S. Brig Enterprise, Portland, 7th Sept. 1813.*

SIR,

In consequence of the unfortunate death of Lieut. Commandant William Burrows, late commander of this vessel, it devolves on me to acquaint you with the result of our cruise.—On the morning of the 4th, weighed anchor, and swept out, and continued our course to the eastward. Having received information, of several privateers being off Manhagan, we stood for that place; and, on the following morning, in the bay near Penguin-point, discovered a brig getting under way, which appeared to be a vessel of war, and to which we immediately gave chase: she fired several guns, and stood for us, having four ensigns hoisted. After reconnoitering, and discovering her force, and the nation to which she belonged, we hauled upon a wind, to stand out of the bay; and, at 3 o'clock, shortened sail, tacked, and run down, with an intention to bring her to close action. At 20 minutes past 3, P. M. when within half pistol shot, the firing commenced from both;



and, after being warmly kept up, and with some manœuvring, the enemy hailed, and said they had surrendered, about 4, P. M.—their colours being nailed to the masts, could not be hauled down. She proved to be his B. M. brig Boxer, of 14 guns, Samuel Blythe, Esq. commander, who fell in the early part of the engagement, having received a cannon shot through the body; and, I am sorry to add, that Lieut. Burrows, who had gallantly led us to action, fell, also, about the same time, by a musquet ball, which terminated his existence in eight hours.

The Enterprize suffered much, in spars and rigging; and the Boxer both in spars, rigging, and hull, having many shots between wind and water.

It would be doing injustice to the merit of Mr. Tillinghast, 2d Lieutenant, were I not to mention the able assistance I received from him, during the remainder of the engagement, by his strict attention to his own division, and other departments; and the officers and crew, generally: I am happy to add, their cool and determined conduct have my warmest approbation and applause. As no muster-roll, that can be fully relied on, has come into my possession, I cannot exactly state the number killed, on board the Boxer; but from information received from the officers of that vessel, it appears that there were between 20 and 25 killed, and 14 wounded. On board the Enterprize, there was 1 killed, and 13 wounded, among whom was Lieut. Burrows, (since dead,) and Midshipman Warters, mortally.—Sixty-six prisoners.

I have the honor, &c.

EDWARD R. M'CALL, *Sen. Officer.*

Isaac Hull, Esq. Comg. Naval Officer,  
on the Eastern station.

## CHAPTER XX.

*General operations of the War continued.*

*British War continued—General operations upon the Sea board—against Canada, Louisiana, &c.—Peace.*

Early in the spring of 1813, a British squadron entered the Delaware bay, under the command of Admiral Beresford, and commenced their operations on the American sea board, and Lewistown suffered severely. Admiral Cockburn, at the same time, with his squadron, entered the Chesapeake, where he committed the most cruel ravages; Frenchtown, Havre-de-Grace, Fredericktown, Georgetown, and Norfolk, all felt the ruthless hand of the marauders, and several of those places were wholly destroyed.

Admiral Warren made an unsuccessful attack upon Craney Island—June 24, (near Norfolk.) The next day the enemy made a descent upon Hampton, and gave it up to indiscriminate plunder, licentiousness and brutality; such brutality as was never alleged against a savage, and such as would make a savage blush.

During these operations, three American frigates which had been blockaded in the port of New-York, made their escape through the sound, and were chased into the port of New-London, where they were blockaded through the remainder of the war.

The enemy attempted to bombard Stonington, about this time; but the borough was so valiantly defended, that it suffered very little damage.

General Dearborn, who had succeeded General Smyth, in the command of the northern army, commenced his operations early in the spring of 1813, to carry the war into Canada. He detached general Pike, with 2000 men, to make a descent upon York, and

seize on the naval and military stores, as well as the vessels on the stocks.

General Pike embarked his troops on the 25th of April, crossed over the lake, and executed his commission promptly. The enemy were driven from their redoubts, and general Pike had halted his troops to give them a moment's repose, when he was astonished by the explosion of a terrible magazine, which overwhelmed his troops with a shower of stone, timber, &c. that killed and wounded more than two hundred men. The indignation of the soldiers soon recovered them from their surprise, and rallied them again to the charge.—Their brave general animated their courage, as he lay expiring under a severe contusion from the awful explosion with this solemn charge: "*Revenge the death of your general.*"

Colonel Pease led on the troops to the conquest of York, without further opposition, and the town surrendered by capitulation.

The enemy lost about 750 men in killed, wounded and prisoners, and the American loss in killed and wounded did not exceed 300.

It is recorded of York, "that a human skull was found in the hall of the assembly, placed over the mace of the speaker."

General Dearborn secured the stores, prisoners, &c. and abandoned the place.

#### BATTLE OF YORK.

Copies of letters from Major General Dearborn, to the Secretary of War, dated

*Head-Quarters, York, Capital of U. C.*  
*April 27, 1813—8 o'clock, P. M.*

SIR,

We are in full possession of this place, after a sharp conflict, in which we lost some brave officers and sol-



diers. Gen. Sheaffe commanded the British troops, militia and Indians, in person.—We shall be prepared to sail for the next object of the expedition, the first favourable wind. I have to lament the loss of the brave and active Brig. Gen. Pike.

I am, &c.

H. DEARBORN.

Hon. J. Armstrong.

*Head-Quarters, York, Capital of U. C.*  
*April 28, 1813.*

SIR,

After a detention of some days, by adverse winds, we arrived at this place yesterday morning, and at eight o'clock commenced landing the troops, about three miles westward from the town, and one and a half from the enemy's works. The wind was high, and in an unfavorable direction for the boats, which prevented the landing the troops at a clear field, the scite of the ancient French fort Tarento; it prevented, also, many of the armed vessels from taking positions, which would have, most effectually, covered our landing—but every thing that could be done was effected.

The riflemen, under Major Forsyth, first landed, under a heavy fire from the Indians, and other troops. General Sheaffe commanded in person: he had collected his whole force in the woods, near the point where the wind compelled our troops to land; his force consisted of 700 regulars and militia, and 100 Indians. Major Forsyth was supported as promptly as possible; but the contest was sharp and severe for nearly half an hour, and the enemy were repulsed by a number far inferior to theirs. As soon as Gen. Pike landed with 7 or 800 men, and the remainder of the troops were pushing for the shore, the enemy retreated to their works. Our troops were now formed on the ground, originally intended for their landing, advanced through

a thick wood, and after carrying one battery by assault, were moving in columns towards the main work; when within 60 rods of this, a tremendous explosion took place, from a magazine previously prepared, and which threw out such immense quantities of stone, as most seriously to injure our troops. I have not yet been able to collect the returns of the killed and wounded; but our loss will, I fear, exceed 100; and among these, I have to lament the loss of that brave and excellent officer, Brig. Gen. Pike, who received a contusion from a large stone, which terminated his valuable life within a few hours.—Previously to this explosion, the enemy had retired into town, excepting a party of regulars, to the number of forty, who did not escape the shock, and were destroyed. Gen. Sheaffe moved off, with the regular troops, and left directions with the commanding officer of the militia, to make the best terms he could. In the mean time, all further resistance, on the part of the enemy, ceased; and the outlines of a capitulation were agreed on.

As soon as I learned that Gen. Pike had been wounded, I went on shore; to the General, I had been induced to confide the immediate attack, from a knowledge that it was his wish, and that he would have felt mortified had it not been given to him.

Our loss in the morning, and in carrying the first battery, was not great; perhaps 40 or 50 killed and wounded, and of them a full proportion of officers.—Notwithstanding the enemy's advantage in position, and numbers, in the commencement of the action, their loss was greater than ours, especially in officers.

I am under the greatest obligations to Com. Chauncey, for his able and indefatigable exertions, in every possible manner which could give facility and effect to the expedition; he is equally estimable for sound judgment, bravery and industry; the government could not have made a more fortunate selection.

Unfortunately the enemy's armed ship, Prince Regent, left this place, for Kingston, a few days before we arrived. A large ship, on the stocks, and nearly planked up, and much naval stores, were set fire to by the enemy, soon after the explosion of the magazine; a considerable quantity of military stores, and provisions, remain, but no vessels fit for use.

We have not the means of transporting the prisoners, and must, of course, leave them on parole.

I hope we shall so far complete what is necessary to be done here, as to be able to sail to-morrow for Niagara, whither I send this, by a small vessel, with notice to Gen. Lewis, of our approach.

I have the honor, &c.

H. DEARBORN.

Hon. Sec. War.

#### TRANSPORTATION OF TROOPS TO YORK.

Copy of a letter from Commodore Chauncey, to the Secretary of the Navy.

*U. S. Ship Madison, at anchor,  
Off York, 23th April, 1813.*

SIR,

Agreeably to your instructions, and arrangements, made with Major-General Dearborn, I took on board the squadron, under my command, the General and suite, and about 1700 troops, and left Sackett's Harbor on the 25th inst. for this place. We arrived here yesterday morning, and took a position about one mile to the south and westward of the enemy's principal fort, and as near the shore as we could, with safety to the vessels. The place fixed upon, by the Maj. Gen. and myself, for landing the troops, was the scite of the old French fort, Taranta. The debarkation commenced about 8 o'clock, A. M. and was completed about 10;



the wind blowing heavy from the eastward, the boats fell to leeward of the position fixed upon, and were, in consequence, exposed to a galling fire from the enemy who had taken a position in a thick wood, near where the first troops landed ; however, the cool intrepidity of the officers and men, overcame every obstacle. Their attack upon the enemy was so vigourous, that he fled in every direction, leaving a great many of his killed and wounded upon the field. As soon as the troops were landed, I directed the schooners to take a position near the forts, in order that the attack upon them, by the army and navy might be simultaneous. The schooners were obliged to beat up to their position, which they did in very handsome order, under a very heavy fire from the enemy's batteries, and took a position within about 600 yards of their principal fort, and opened a heavy cannonade upon the enemy, which did great execution, and very much contributed to their final destruction.

The troops, as soon as landed, were formed under the immediate orders of Gen. Pike, who led, in a most gallant manner, the attack upon the forts, and after having carried two redoubts, in their approach to the principal work, (the enemy having previously laid a train,) blew up his magazine, which, in its effects upon our troops, was dreadful, having killed and wounded many ; and among the former, the ever to be lamented Brig. Gen. Pike. His death, at this time, is much to be regretted, as he had the perfect confidence of the Major-General ; and his own activity, zeal, and experience, make his loss a national one.

In consequence of the fall of Gen. Pike, the command of the troops devolved, for a time, upon Col. Pierce, who soon after took possession of the town. At about 2, P. M. the American flag was substituted for the British, and, at about 4, our troops were in quiet possession of the town.

As soon as Gen. Dearborn learnt the situation of Gen. Pike, he landed, and assumed the command.—I have the honor of enclosing a copy of the capitulation, which was entered into, and approved by General Dearborn, and myself.

The enemy set fire to some of his principal stores, containing large quantities of naval and military stores, as well as a large ship, upon the stocks, and nearly finished. The only vessel found there, is the Duke of Gloucester, undergoing repairs; the Prince Regent left here, on the 24th, for Kingston. We have not yet had a return made of the naval and military stores, consequently can form no correct idea of the quantity, but have made arrangements to have all taken on board, that we can receive—the rest will be destroyed. I have to regret the death of Midshipmen Tompson and Hatfield, and several seamen killed; the returns from the different vessels have not yet been made.

I cannot speak in too much praise of the cool intrepidity of the officers and men, generally, under my command; and I feel myself particularly indebted to the officers commanding vessels, for their zeal in seconding all my views.

I have the honor, &c.

ISAAC CHAUNCEY.

Hon. W. JONES.

On board the squadron, there were 4 killed, and 8 wounded—total, 12.

### TERMS OF CAPITULATION.

Entered into, on the 27th of April, 1813 for the surrender of the town of York, in Upper Canada, to the Army and Navy of the United States, under the command of Maj. Gen. Dearborn, and Commodore Chauncey.

That the troops, regular and militia, at this post, and the naval officers and seaman, shall be surrendered prisoners of war—the troops regular and militia, to ground their arms, immediately on parade, and the naval officers and seaman be immediately surrendered.

That all public stores, naval and military, shall be immediately given up, to the commanding officers of the army and navy of the United States ; all private property shall be guaranteed to the citizens of the town of York.

That all papers belonging to the civil officers, shall be retained by them ;—that such surgeons, as may be procured to attend the wounded of the British regulars, and Canadian militia, shall not be considered prisoners of war.

That 1 Lieut. Colonel, 1 Major, 13 Captains, 9 Lieutenants, 11 Ensigns, 1 Quarter-master, 1 Dep. Adj. General, of the militia, 19 sergeants, 4 corporals, and 204 rank and file ; of the field train department, 1 ; of the provincial navy, 1 Captain, 1 Lieutenant, 2 Midshipmen, 1 Captain's Clerk, 1 Boatswain, 15 naval artificers. Of his majesty's regular troops, 1 Lieutenant, 1 Sergeant-Major ; and of the royal artillery, 1 Bombardier, and 3 Gunners, shall be surrendered as prisoners, of war, and accounted for in the exchange of prisoners, between the United States and Great Britain.

(Signed)

G. S. MITCHELL, Lieut. Col. 3d, A. U. S.  
SAML. S. CONNER, Maj. and Aid to Gen. D.  
WM. KING, Major, 15 U. S. Infantry.  
JESSE D. ELLIOT, Lieut. U. S. Navy.

W. CHEWITT, Lieut. Col. comg. 3d Reg. Y. M.  
W. ALLEN, Maj. 3d Reg. York Militia,  
F. GAURREAU, Lieut. M. Dpt.

Our loss was, 14 killed in battle, and 38 by the explosion—32 wounded in battle, and 222 by the explosion ; total, killed and wounded, 306.



## FURTHER ACCOUNT.

Extract of a letter from Maj. General Henry Dearborn, to the Secretary of War, dated

*Niagara, May 3d.*

As nearly as I have been able to ascertain, the loss of the enemy, in the late affair of York, amounted to 100 killed, 200 prisoners, and 300 wounded. I have not been able to ascertain, precisely, the amount of militia put on their parole ; I presume it could not be less than 500. There was an immense depot of naval and military stores. York was a magazine for Niagara, Detroit, &c. and, notwithstanding the immense amount which was destroyed by them, we found more than we could bring off. Gen. Sheaffe's baggage and papers fell into my hands. The papers are a valuable acquisition. A SCALP was found in the Executive and Legislative Council Chamber, suspended near the speaker's chair, in company with the mace.

H. DEARBORN.

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CHAPTER XXI.

*General Operations Continued.*

On the 22d of May, the general embarked his army and proceeded against the British forts on the Niagara, under cover of Commodore Chauncey's fleet. General Lewis led on the troops to victory and conquest, during the illness of General Dearborn. The British forts, and more than 500 Canada militia, surrendered prisoners of war. The Americans lost 39 killed and 111 woun-

ded. The next day the British blew up fort Erie, and all remaining fortifications, and returned to the head of Burlington bay.

### TAKING OF FORT GEORGE.

Copies of letters from Commodore Chauncey, to the Secretary of the Navy.

*U. S. Ship Madison,*

*Niagara River, 27th May, 1813.*

SIR,

I am happy to have it in my power to say, that the American flag is flying upon fort George. We were in quiet possession of all the forts at 12 o'clock.

I have the honor, &c.

I. CHAUNCEY.

*U. S. S. Madison, 28th May 1813.*

SIR,

Agreeably to arrangements, which I have already had the honor of detailing to you, I left Sackett's Harbor, with this ship, on the 22d inst. with about 350 of Col. M'Comb's regiment on board; the winds being light from the westward, I did not arrive in the vicinity of Niagara, before the 25th; the other parts of the squadron had arrived, several days before, and landed their troops. The Fair American, and Pert, I had ordered to Sackett's Harbor, for the purpose of watching the enemy's movements at Kingston. I immediately had an interview with Gen. Dearborn, for the purpose of making arrangements to attack the enemy, as soon as possible; and it was agreed, between him and myself, to make the attack the moment that the weather was such as to allow the vessels and boats to approach the shore with safety. On the 26th, I reconnoitered the position for landing the troops, and at night sounded

the shore, and placed buoys to sound out the stations for the small vessels. It was agreed, between the General and myself, to make the attack the next morning, (as the weather had moderated, and had every appearance of being more favorable.) I took on board of the Madison, Oneida, and Lady of the Lake, all the heavy artillery, and as many troops as could be stowed; the remainder were to embark in boats, and follow the fleet. At 3, yesterday morning, the signal was made for the fleet to weigh, and the troops were all embarked on board the boats before 4, and soon after Gens. Dearborn and Lewis came on board this ship, with their suites. It being however, nearly calm, the schooners were obliged to sweep into their positions. Mr. Trant, in the Julia, and Mr. Mix, in the Growler, I directed to take a position in the mouth of a river, and silence a battery, near the light-house, which, from its position, commanded the shore where our troops were to land. Mr. Stevens, in the Ontario, was directed to take a position to the north of the light-house, so near in shore as to enfilade the battery, and cross the fire of the Julia and Growler. Lieutenant Brown, in the Governor Tompkins, I directed to take a position near to Two Mile Creek, where the enemy had a battery, with a heavy gun. Lieutenant Pettigrew, in the Conquest, was directed to anchor to the S. E. of the same battery, so near in, as to open on it in the rear, and cross the fire of the Governor Tompkins. Lieutenant M'Pherson in the Hamilton, Lieut. Smith, in the Asp, and Mr. Osgood, in the Scourge, were directed to anchor close to the shore, and cover the landing of the troops; and to scour the woods and plain, whenever the enemy made his appearance. All these orders were most promptly and gallantly executed; All the vessels anchored within musquet-shot of the shore, and in ten minutes after they opened the batteries, they were completely silenced and abandoned. Our troops then advanced in three brigades, the advance led by Colonel Scott, and



landed near the fort, which had been silenced by Lieut. Brown.

The enemy, who had been concealed by a ravine, now advanced, in great force, to the edge of the bank, to charge our troops; the schooners opened such a well-directed and tremendous fire of grape and canister, that the enemy soon retreated from the bank. Our troops formed as soon as they landed, and immediately ascended the bank—charged, and routed the enemy in every direction, the schooners keeping up a constant and well-directed fire upon him, in his retreat to the town. Owing to the wind having sprung up very fresh from the eastward, which caused a heavy sea, directly on shore, I was not able to get the boats off, to land the troops from the Madison and Oneida, before the first and second brigades had advanced. Captain Smith, with the marines, landed with Col. M'Comb's regiment, and I had prepared 400 seamen, which I intended to land with myself, if the enemy had made a stand; but our troops pursued him so rapidly into the town, and fort George, that I found there was no necessity for more force; moreover, the wind had increased so much, and hove such a sea on shore, that the situation of the fleet had become dangerous and critical. I, therefore made signal for the fleet to weigh, and ordered them into the river, where they anchored, immediately after the enemy had abandoned fort George. The town and forts, were in quiet possession of our troops at 12 o'clock, and the enemy retreated in a direction towards Queenstown.

Where all behaved so well, it is difficult to select any one for commendation; yet, in doing justice to Lieut. Macpherson, I do not detract from the merits of others. He was fortunate in placing himself in a situation, where he rendered very important service, in covering the troops so completely, that their loss was trifling. Captain Perry joined me, from Erie, on the evening of the 25th, and very gallantly volunteered his

services ; and I have much pleasure in acknowledging the great assistance which I received from him, in arranging and superintending the debarkation of the troops ; he was present at every point where he could be useful, under showers of musquetry ; but fortunately, escaped unhurt. We lost but one killed, and two wounded, and no injury done to the vessels.

I have the honor, &c.

ISAAC CHAUNCEY.

#### FURTHER REPORT.

Copies of letters from Maj. General Dearborn, to the Secretary of War, dated

*Head-Quarters, Fort George,  
U. Canada, May 27, 1813.*

SIR,

The light troops, under the command of Col. Scott and Maj. Forsyth, landed this morning, at nine o'clock. Maj. Gen. Lewis' division, with Col. Porter's command of light artillery, supported them. Gen. Boyd's brigade landed immediately after the light troops, and Generals Winder and Chandler followed in quick succession. The landing was warmly and obstinately disputed by the British forces ; but the coolness and intrepidity of our troops, soon compelled them to give ground in every direction.

General Chandler, with the reserve, (composed of his brigade, and Col. M'Comb's artillery) covered the whole.—Com. Chauncey had made the most judicious arrangements for silencing the enemy's batteries, near the point of landing. The army is under the greatest obligations to that able naval commander, for his co-operation in all its important movements, and especially in its operations this day. Our batteries succeeded in rendering fort George untenable ; and when the enemy had been beaten from his positions, and found it no

cessary to re-enter it, after firing a few guns, and setting fire to the magazines, which soon exploded, he moved off rapidly by different routes; our light troops pursued them several miles. The troops having been under arms, from one o'clock in the morning, were too much exhausted for any further pursuit. We are now in possession of fort George, and its immediate dependencies; to-morrow we shall proceed further on. The behaviour of our troops, both officers and men, entitle them to the highest praise; and the difference in our loss, with that of the enemy, when we consider the advantages his position afforded him, is astonishing:—we had 17 killed, and 45 wounded—the enemy had 90 killed, and 160 wounded, of the regular troops. We have taken 100 prisoners, exclusively of the wounded. Col. Meyers, of the 49th, was wounded and taken prisoner; of ours, only one commissioned officer was killed—Lieut. Hobart, of the light artillery. Enclosed is the report of Major-General Lewis.

I have the honor, &c.

H. DEARBORN.

Hon. Gen. J. Armstrong.

### GEN. LEWIS' REPORT.

*On the Field, 1 o'clock, 27th May, 1813.*

DEAR SIR,

Fort George and its dependencies are ours; the enemy, beaten at all points, has blown up his magazines, and retired. It is impossible, at this time, to say any thing of individual gallantry; there was no man who did not perform his duty in a manner which did honor to himself and country. Scott's and Forsyth's commands, supported by Boyd's and Winder's brigades, sustained the brunt of the action. Our loss is trifling;



not more than 20 killed, and twice that number wounded. The enemy has left in the hospital 124, and I sent several on board of the fleet. We have also made about 100 prisoners of the regular forces.

I am, &c.

MORGAN LEWIS.

Maj. Gen. Dearborn.

#### FURTHER PROCEEDINGS.

*Head Quarters, Fort George, May 29th, 1813.*

SIR,

Gen. Lewis was ordered to march yesterday morning, with Chandler's and Winder's brigades, the light artillery, dragoons, and riflemen, in pursuit of the enemy, by way of Queenstown. I had received satisfactory information that the enemy had made a stand on the mountain, at a place called Beaver-dam, where he had a deposit of provisions and stores; and that he had been joined by 300 regulars, from Kingston, landed from some small vessels, near the head of the lake.

I had ascertained that he was calling in the militia, and had presumed he would confide in the strength of his position, and venture an action, by which an opportunity would be afforded to cut off his retreat. I have been disappointed. Although the troops, from fort Erie and Chippewa, had joined the main body, at Beaver-dam, he broke up yesterday, precipitately, continued his route along the mountains, and will reach the head of the lake by that route.

Lieut. Col. Preston took possession of fort Erie, and its dependencies, last evening; the post had been abandoned, and the magazine blown up.

I have ordered Gen. Lewis to return, without delay, to this place; and, if the winds favor us we may yet cut off the enemy's retreat. I was, last evening, hou-

ored with your despatch of the 15th inst. I have taken measures in relation to the 23 prisoners, who are to be put in close confinement.

I have the honor, &c.

H. DEARBORN.

Hon. J. Armstrong, Sec'y of War.

#### DEFENCE OF SACKETT'S HARBOR.

Extract of a letter from Brig. Gen. Jacob Brown, to his Ex. Gov. Tompkins, dated

*Sackett's Harbor, May 29 1813.*

We were attacked at the dawn of this day, by a British regular force, of at least 900 men, (and most probably 1200;) they made good their landing at Horse-Island. The enemy's fleet consisted of two ships, 4 schooners, and 30 large open boats. We are completely victorious; the enemy lost a considerable number in killed and wounded, on the field; among the number, several officers of distinction. After having re-embarked, they sent me a flag, desiring to have their killed and wounded attended to: I made them satisfied on that subject—Americans will be distinguished for humanity and bravery. Our loss is not numerous, but serious from the great worth of those who have fallen. Col. Mill was shot dead at the commencement of the action; and Col. Backus, of the light dragoons, nobly fell at the head of his regiment, as victory was declaring for us. I will not presume to praise this regiment;—much gallant conduct on this day, deserves more than praise. The new ship, and Com. Chauncey's prize, the Duke of Gloucester, are yet safe in Sackett's Harbor. Sir George Prevost landed, and commanded in person. Sir James L. Yeo commanded the enemy's fleet.

In haste—Yours, &c.

JACOB BROWN.

## FURTHER ACCOUNT.

Extract of a letter from Gen. Brown, to the Secretary of War, dated  
*Sackett's Harbor, June 1, 1813.*

SIR,

In the course of the 20th, and during the 28th and 29th ult. a considerable militia force came in, and were ordered to the water-side, near Horse-Island, on which was Lieut. Col. Mills, and his volunteers. Our strength, at this point, was now 500 men, all anxious for battle, as far as profession would go.

The moment it was light enough to discover the approach of the enemy, we found his ships in line, between Horse-Island and Stoney-point, and, in a few minutes afterwards, 53 large boats, filled with troops, came off to the larger Indian or Garden-Island, under cover of the fire of his gun-boats.

My orders, were, that the troops should lie close, and reserve their fire, until the enemy had approached so near that every shot might hit its object. It is, however, impossible to execute such orders with raw troops, unaccustomed to subordination. My orders were, in this case, disobeyed; the whole line fired, and not without effect; but, in the moment while I was contemplating this, to my utter astonishment, they rose from their cover and fled. Col. Mills fell gallantly, in brave, but in vain endeavors to stop his men. I was, personally, more fortunate:—gathering together about 100 militia, under the immediate command of Capt. M'Nitt, of that corps, we threw ourselves on the rear of the enemy's left flank, and, I trust, did some execution;—it was during this last movement that the regulars, under the command of Col. Backus, first engaged the enemy; nor was it long before they defeated him. Hurrying to this point of action, I found the battle still raging, but with obvious advantage on our side. The result of the action so glorious for the officers and soldiers of the regular army,



has already been communicated, in my letter of the 29th. Had not Gen. Prevost retreated, most rapidly under the guns of his vessels, he would never have returned to Kingston.

One thing, in this business, is to be seriously regretted; in the midst of the conflict, fire was ordered to be set to the navy barracks, and stores. This was owing to the infamous conduct of those who brought information to Lieut. Chauncey, that the battle was lost; and that, to prevent the stores from falling into the enemy's hands, they must be destroyed. The enemy's force consisted of 1000 picked men, led by Sir George Prevost, in person; their fleet consisted of the new ship *Wolf*, the *Royal George*, *Prince Regent*, *Earl Moira*, 2 armed schooners, and their gun and other boats. Of the officers who distinguished themselves, I cannot but repeat the name of Lieut. Col. Backus, who, praised be God! yet lives. Captain M'Nitt's conduct was noble; he well deserves to be placed in the regular army. Major Swan, of the army, served as my Adjutant-General, and was highly useful. Lieutenant Chauncey is a brave and honorable man; to him no blame can attach, for what happened at Navy-point; he was deceived. Lieut. Col. Tuttle was in march for this post; but with every exertion, was unable to reach it, in time to take part in the action; this is felt, by the Colonel, and every officer in his detachment, as a misfortune. At the moment I am closing this communication, Commodore Chauncey has arrived with his squadron; this renders my longer stay here unnecessary; I shall, therefore, immediately return to my home.

I have the honor, &c.

J. BROWN.

Our loss, in the above action was 154, killed, wounded and missing. The enemy's loss, according to his own account, in killed and wounded, was 150.

## ROYAL PROPERTY CAPTURED.

Copy of a letter from Com. Isaac Chauncey, to the Secretary of the  
Navy.

*U. S. Ship Madison,*

*Sackett's Harbor, 4th June, 1813.*

SIR,

I have the honor to present to you, by the hands of Lieut. Dudley, the British standard, taken at York, on the 27th of April last, accompanied by the mace, over which was hung a *human scalp*! These articles were taken from the Parliament-house, by one of my officers, and presented to me. The scalp I caused to be presented to General Dearborn, who, I believe, still has it in his possession. I also send, by the same gentleman, one of the British flags, taken at fort George, on the 27th of May.

I have the honor, &c.

ISAAC CHAUNCEY.

Hon. W. Jones, Sec. of the Navy.

## INDIAN DECLARATION OF WAR.

[TRANSLATION.]

*July, 1813.*

## DECLARATION OF WAR, BY THE SIX NATIONS.

WE, the Chiefs and Councillors 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 do hereby command, and advise all the War-Chiefs 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.

(Signed)

BY THE GRAND COUNCILLORS.

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## CHAPTER XXII.

### *General Operations Continued.*

On the 1st of June, Generals Chandler and Winder were detached with a force of 2600 men, (just double the number of the enemy,) destroy this British force. They advanced to Stormy Creek, to prepare for the attack; but the enemy anticipated their views; commenced a furious attack upon their camp, in dead of night, and after a severe conflict, carried their two generals into captivity.

The Americans lost in this action, 16 killed, 38 wounded, and 100 missing, including their two generals.

The British loss in killed and wounded could never be correctly ascertained, but was supposed to be much greater, as the Americans took 100 prisoners.

In this action the Americans were completely surprised; the British rushed to close combat, at the point of the bayonet, and the parties were commixed, in desperate conflict, under cover of thick darkness. The two generals, with undaunted bravery, in attempting to rally and form their troops, were surprised and taken by the enemy.

Both parties withdrew from the field, and both claimed the victory.



## GEN'S. CHANDLER AND WINDER TAKEN.

Copy of a letter from Major-General Henry Dearborn, to the Secretary of War, dated

*Head-Quarters, Fort George,*

*June 6th, 1813.*

SIR,

I have received an express from the head of the lake, this evening, with intelligence that our troops, commanded by Brig. Gen. Chandler, were attacked, at 2 o'clock this morning, by the whole of the British and Indian forces—and by some fatality ; (though our loss did not exceed 30,) and the enemy completely routed, and driven from the field—both Generals Chandler and Winder, were taken prisoners ; they had advanced to ascertain the situation of a company of artillery, when the attack commenced. General Vincent is reported to be among the killed of the enemy. Colonel Clark was mortally wounded, and fell into our hands, with 60 prisoners of the 49th British regiment. The whole loss of the enemy is 250 ; they sent in a flag, with a request to bury their dead. Gen Lewis, accompanied by Gen. Boyd, goes on to take the command of the advanced troops.

I have the honor, &c.

H. DEARBORN.

Hon. Gen. J. ARMSTRONG.

## HONOR TO THE BRAVE.

Copy of a letter from Major-General Henry Dearborn, to the Secretary of War, dated

*Head-Quarters, June 8th, 1813.*

SIR,

I hasten to state to you, that the whole of our officers and men discovered, in the action of the 27th ult. that

readiness and ardor for action, which evinced a determination to do honor to themselves, and their country. The animating examples, set by Gen. Boyd and Col. Scott, deserve particular mention. I am greatly indebted to Col. Porter, of the light artillery; to Major Armistead, of the 3d reg. artillery; and to Lieut. Totten, of the engineer corps, for their judicious and skilful execution, in demolishing the enemy's fort and batteries. The officers of the artillery, who had the direction of the guns, generally, are very deserving.

I have the honor, &c.

H. DEARBORN.

Hon. J. ARMSTRONG.

Our loss in the above action, was 150, in killed and wounded. The enemy's, loss, in killed, wounded, and taken, was 393.

#### FURTHER, OF CHANDLER AND WINDER.

Copy of a letter from Maj. Gen. Lewis, to the Secretary of War.

*Niagara, June 14, 1813.*

SIR,

You will perceive, by the enclosed copy of orders, marked I. that Gen. Dearborn, from indisposition, has resigned his command, not only of the Niagara army, but of the district. I have doubts whether he will ever again, be fit for service. He has repeatedly been in a state of convalescence, but relapses on the least agitation of mind.

In my last, I mentioned the unfortunate circumstances of the capture of our two Brigadiers, Chandler and Winder; the particulars are detailed in the report of Col. Burn, which he gives from the best information he could collect; his corps lay a considerable distance from the scene of active operation, as you will perceive

by the enclosed diagram, which is on a scale of 100 yards to the inch. The light corps, spoken of, were Captains Hindman's, Biddle's, and Nicholas' companies, of the 2d artillery, serving as infantry. These three gentlemen, and Capts. Archer and Towson, of the same regiment, and Leonard of the light artillery, are soldiers, who would honor any service; their gallantry, and that of their companions, was equally conspicuous, on this occasion, as in the affair of the 27th ult. A view of Gen. Chandler's encampment will be sufficient to show, that his disaster was owing to its arrangement—its centre being its weakest point, and that being discovered by the enemy, in the evening, received the combined attack of his whole force, and his line was completely cut. The gallantry of the 5th, 25th, and part of the 23d, and light troops, saved the army. Of the 5th, it is said, that, when the day broke, not a man was missing; and, that a part of the 23d, under Major Armstrong, was found sustaining its left flank; their fire was irresistible, and the enemy was compelled to give way. Could he have been pressed, the next morning, his destruction was inevitable; he was dispersed in every direction, and even his commanding general was missing, without his hat or horse. I understand he was found the next morning, at a distance of four miles from the scene of action.

Lieut. M'Chesney's gallantry recovered a piece of artillery, and prevented the capture of others;—he merits promotion for it.

On the evening of the 6th of June, I received the order No. 4, and joined the army at 5 in the afternoon of the 7th. I found it at the Forty Mile Creek, 10 miles in the rear of the ground on which it had been attacked, encamped on a plain, of about a mile in width, with its right flank on the lake, and its left on a creek, which skirts a perpendicular mountain, of a considerable height.—On my route, I received Nos. 5 and 6, enclosed.



At 6 in the evening, the hostile fleet hove in sight, though its character could not be ascertained with precision. We lay on our arms all night—at dawn of day, struck our tents, and descried the hostile squadron abreast of us, about a mile from the shore. Our boats, which transported the principal part of our baggage, and camp equipage, lay on the beach—it was a dead calm; and, about 6, the enemy towed in a large schooner, which opened her fire on our boats. As soon as she stood for the shore, her object being evident, I ordered down Archer's and Towson's companies, with four pieces of artillery, to resist her attempts; I, at the same time, sent Capt. Totten, of the engineers, (a most valuable officer,) to construct a temporary furnace, for heating shot; which was prepared, and in operation, in less 30 minutes. Her fire was returned with vivacity and effect (excelled by no artillery in the universe,) which soon compelled her to retire.

A party of savges now made their appearance, on the brow of the mountain, (which, being perfectly bald, exhibited them to our view,) and commenced a fire on our camp. I ordered Col. Chrtstie to dislodge them, who entered on the service with alacrity—but found himself anticipated by Lieut. Eldridge, the adjutant of his regiment, who, with a promptness and gallantry highly honorable to that young officer, had already gained the summit of the mountain, with a party of volunteers, and routed the barbarian allies of the defender of the Christian faith;—this young man merits the notice of government.

These little affairs cost us not a man. Sir James L. Yeo, being disappointed of a tragedy, next determined, in true dramatic style, to amuse us with a farce:—an officer, with a flag, was sent to me, from his ship, advising me, that, as I was invested with savages in my rear, a fleet in my front, and a powerful army on my flank, he, and the officers commanding his Britannic majesty's land forces, thought it their duty to de-

mand a surrender of my army. I answered, that the message was too ridiculous to merit a reply.

No. 7 was delivered to me, at about 6, this morning.—Between 7 and 8 o'clock, the four waggons we had, being loaded first with the sick, and next with ammunition, &c. the residue of camp equipage and baggage was put in the boats, and a detachment of 200 men, of the 6th regiment, detailed to proceed in them. Orders were prepared, to be given them, to defend the boats; and, if assailed by any of the enemy's small vessels, to carry them by boarding; by some irregularity, which I have not been able to discover, the boats put off without the detachments, induced, probably, by the stillness of the morning. When they had progressed about three miles, a breeze sprung up, and an armed schooner overhauled them:—those who were enterprising, kept on, and escaped; others ran to the shore, and deserted their boats—we lost 12 of the number, principally containing the baggage of the officers and men.

At 10, I put our army in motion, on our return to this place; the savages, and incorporated militia, hung on our flanks and rear, throughout the march, and picked up a few stragglers. On our retiring, the British army advanced, and, now occupies the ground we left.

The enemy's fleet is constantly hovering on our coast, and interrupting our supplies. The night before last, having been advised that they had chased into Eighteen Mile Creek, two vessels laden with hospital stores, &c. I detached, at midnight, 75 men, for their protection. The report of the day is, though not official, that they arrived too late for their purpose, and that the stores are lost.

I have the honor, &c.

MORGAN LEWIS.

Hon. J. Armstrong,

NUMBERS 5—Referred to in the Report of GEN. LEWIS—viz:

*Niagara, Jne 6, 1813.*

DEAR GENERAL,

A ship having appeared this morning, steering towards the head of the lake, which is undoubtedly one of the enemy's ships; and, as others are appearing, you will please to return with the troops, to this place, as soon as possible.

Yours, with esteem.

H. DEARBORN.

P. S. The object of the enemy's fleet must be, either to cover the retreat of their troops, or to bring on a reinforcement.

H. D.

Maj. Gen. Lewis.

In an action of the 6th of June, at Stoney Creek, there was 17 killed, and 38 wounded, and 50 missing—making a total of 105, killed wounded, and missing.



## CHAPTER XXIII.

### *General Operations Continued.*

General Dearborn, detached Colonel Boerstler with 500 men, to dislodge the British at La Louvre House, (so called;) but unfortunately, he fell into an Indian ambuscade, and was taken with all his party.



## COL. BOERSTLER'S SURRENDER.

Copy of a letter from Maj. Gen. Henry Dearborn, to the Secretary of War, dated

*Head-Quarters, Fort George,*

*June 25, 1813.*

SIR,

I have the mortification of informing you of an unfortunate and unaccountable event, which occurred yesterday. On the 23d. at evening, Lieut. Col. Boerstler, with 570 men, (Infantry, artillery, cavalry, and riflemen, in due proportion,) was ordered to march, by way of Queenstown, to a place called the Beaver-Dams, on the high ground, about 8 or 9 miles from Queenstown, to attack and disperse a body of the enemy, collected there for the purpose of procuring provisions, and harassing those inhabitants who are considered friendly to the U. States.

Their force was, from the most direct information, composed of one company of the 104th regiment, above 80 strong; from 150 to 200 militia, and from 50 to 60 Indians. At 8 o'clock yesterday morning, when within about two miles of the Beaver-Dams, our detachment was attacked from an ambuscade, but soon drove the enemy some distance into the woods, and then retired to a clear field, and sent an express for a reinforcement; saying, he would maintain his position, until reinforced. A reinforcement of 300 men marched immediately, under the command of Col. Chrystie; but, on arriving at Queenstown, Col. Chrystie received authentic information, that Lieut. Col. Boerstler, with his command had, surrendered to the enemy, and the reinforcement returned to camp. A man who belonged to a small corps of mounted volunteer riflemen, came in this morning, who states, that the enemy surrounded our detachment in the woods; and, towards 12 o'clock,

commenced a general attack; that our troops fought more than two hours, until the artillery had expended all its ammunition, and then surrendered; and, at the time of the surrender, the informant made his escape.

Why it should have been deemed proper to remain, several hours in a position surrounded with woods, without either risking a decisive action, or effecting a retreat, remains to be accounted for, as well as as the project of waiting for a reinforcement, from a distance of 15 miles. No information has been received of the killed or wounded. The enemy's fleet has again arrived in our neighborhood.

I am, &c.

H. DEARBORN.

Hon. J. ARMSTRONG.

*Sec. War.*

### ESCAPE OF MAJOR CHAPIN.

Copy of a letter from Major Chapin to Gen. Dearborn, dated

*Fort George, July 13, 1813.*

SIR,

I have just returned from my confinement in Canada, without parole. Our return happened in the following manner:—I received orders at Burlington Heights, on Monday morning, to go to Kingston; we set off accordingly, under the care of 16 men; I had, with me, 28 men. We all went on very quietly, till 4 o'clock in the afternoon; at which time, I gave a signal to attack the guard, which were stationed in the following order: a sergeant, and one man, in the boat with my men; a Lieutenant, and 13 men, in the boat with me and two officers. At the signal, my men ran along side of the boat I was in; Lieut. Showers ordered them to fall astern—I ordered them on board; at which time the officer attempted to draw his sword: I seized him by

the neck, and threw him on his back ; two of his men drew their bayonets upon me : I immediately seized both bayonets, at the same instant, and threw them on top of the officer—and kept all down together ; at the same moment, my men seized the guard, and wrested from them their arms. We then, having possession of the arms, changed our course, and arrived here this morning, all safe. We have brought two boats with us.

I have the honor, &c.

CYRENUS CHAPIN.

Maj. Gen. DEARBORN.

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## CHAPTER XXIV.

### *General Operations Continued.*

General Dearborn, by reason of indisposition, retired from the command at this time, and was succeeded by Gen. Lewis. The following official reports will shew the movements that followed under his command.

#### PROCEEDINGS ON LAKE ONTARIO.

Extract of a letter from Major-General Lewis, to the Secretary of War, dated

*Sackett's Harbor, July 20, 1813.*

Our fleet has gone out of the inner harbor, and appearances are in favor of its going to sea, in 48 hours, at farthest.—A little expedition, of volunteers from the country, to which, by the advice of Commodore Chauncey, I lent 40 soldiers, sailed from hence three days since, on board of two small row-boats, with a 6 pounder, each, to the head of the St. Lawrence, where they captured a fine gun boat, mounting a 24 pounder ; 14



batteaux, loaded; 4 officers, and 16 men. Two of our schooners have gone out to convoy them in; the prisoners have been landed, and are coming on, under charge of a detachment of dragoons.

I have the honor, &c.

M. LEWIS.

#### FURTHER PROCEEDINGS.

Copy of a letter from Commodore Chauncey, to the Secretary of the Navy, dated

*U. S. S. Gen. Pike, at anchor, off Niagara, Aug. 4, 1813.*

SIR,

After leaving Sackett's Harbor, I stretched over for the enemy's shore, and from thence stood up the lake. The winds being light, I did not arrive off this port until the evening of the 27th ult. On the 24th, I fell in with the *Lady of the Lake*, on her return to Sackett's Harbor, with prisoners, from fort George. I transferred the prisoners to the *Raven*, and ordered her to Sackett's Harbor; the *Lady of the Lake*, I despatched to fort George for guides, for the head of the lake. Gen. Boyd having informed me, that the enemy had a considerable deposit of provisions and stores at Burlington Bay, I was determined to attempt their destruction. On the 25th, I was joined by the *Pert*, and on the 27th, by the *Lady of the Lake*, with guides, and Capt. Crane's company of artillery, and Col. Scott, who had very handsomely volunteered for the service. After conversing with Col. Scott on the subject, it was thought advisable to take on board 250 infantry—which were embarked by 6 o'clock next morning, and the fleet immediately proceeded for the head of the lake; but, owing to light winds, and calms, we did not arrive to an anchorage before the evening of the 29th. We sent two parties on shore, and surprized and took some of the inhabitants; from whom we learned, that the ene-

my had received considerable reinforcements, within a day or two; and that his force, in the regulars, was from 600 to 800 men. We, however, landed the troops and marines, and some sailors, next morning, and reconnoitered the enemy's position—found him posted upon a peninsula of very high ground, strongly entrenched, and his camp defended by about 8 pieces of cannon. In this situation, it was thought not advisable to attack him, with a force scarcely half his numbers, and without artillery; we were also deficient in boats, not having a sufficient number to cross the bay, with all the troops at the same time. The men were all re-embarked, in the course of the afternoon; and, in the evening, we weighed, and stood for York—arrived, and anchored in that harbor, at about 3, P. M. on the 31st ult.—run the schooners into the upper harbor; landed the marines and soldiers, under command of Col. Scott, without opposition; found several hundred barrels of flour, and provisions, in the public store-house; five pieces of cannon, eleven boats, and a quantity of shot, shells, and other stores; all which were either destroyed or brought away. On the 1st instant, just after having received on board all that the vessels could take, I directed the barracks, and public stores, to be burnt; we then re-embarked the men, and arrived at this place yesterday. Four or five hundred men left York, for the head of the lake, two days before we arrived there. A few prisoners were taken; a part of them were paroled—the others were left at fort George.

I have the honor, &c.

I. CHAUNCEY.

Hon. Sec'y. Navy.

General Proctor at the same time, at the head of a strong party of regulars, Canadians and Indians, attempted to surprise fort Meigs, on the Miami of the

lake, and port Stephenson, on the Sandusky, both of which failed; but at the latter, the enemy met with defeat and disgrace.

#### DEFENCE OF LOWER SANDUSKY.

Copy of a letter from Major Croghan, to Gen. Harrison, dated.

*Lower Sandusky, August 5, 1813.*

DEAR SIR,

I have the honor to inform you, that the combined force of the enemy, amounting to, at least, 500 regulars, and as many Indians, under the immediate command of Gen. Proctor, made its appearance before this place, early on Sunday evening last; and, so soon as the General had made such dispositions of his troops, as would cut off my retreat, (should I be disposed to make one,) he sent Col. Elliot, accompanied by Major Chambers, with a flag, to demand the surrender of the fort, as he was anxious to spare the effusion of blood; which he should probably not have in his power to do, should he be reduced to the necessity of taking the place by storm. My answer to the summons was, that I was determined to defend the place, to the last extremity and that no force, however large, should induce me to surrender it. So soon as the flag had returned, a brisk fire was opened upon us, from the gun-boats, in the river, and from a five and a half inch howitzer, on shore, which was kept up with little intermission, throughout the night. At an early hour, the next morning, three sixes, (which had been placed, during the night, within 250 yards of the pickets,) began to play upon us—but with little effect. About 4 o'clock, P. M. discovering that the fire, from all his guns, was concentrated against the N. W. angle of the fort, I became confident that his object was to make a breach, and attempt to storm the works at that point: I, therefore, ordered out as many men, as could be employed, for the purpose of strengthening that part—



which was so effectually secured, by means of bags of flour, sand, &c. that the picketing suffered little or no injury; notwithstanding which, the enemy, about 500, having formed in close column, advanced to assault our works, at the expected point; at the same time making two feints on the front of Capt. Hunter's lines. The column, which advanced against the north-western angle, consisting of about 350 men, was so completely enveloped in smoke, as not to be discovered, until it had approached within 18 or 20 paces of the line; but, the men being all at their posts, and ready to receive it, commenced so heavy and galling a fire, as to throw the column a little into confusion; being quickly rallied, it advanced to the outworks, and began to leap into the ditch; just at that moment, a fire of grape was opened, from our 6 pounder, (which had been previously arranged, so as to rake in that direction,) which, together with the musquetry, threw them into such confusion, that they were compelled to retire, precipitately, to the woods.—During the assault, which lasted about half an hour, an incessant fire was kept up by the enemy's artillery, (which consisted of five sixes, and a howitzer,) but without effect. My whole loss, during the siege, was one killed, and seven slightly wounded. The loss of the enemy, in killed, wounded and prisoners, must exceed 150. One Lieut. Colonel, a Lieutenant, and 50 rank and file were found in and about the ditch, dead or wounded; those of the remainder, who were not able to escape, were taken off, during the night, by the Indians. Seventy stand of arms, and several brace of pistols, have been collected near the works. About 3, in the morning, the enemy sailed down the river, leaving behind them a boat, containing clothing, and considerable military stores.

Too much praise cannot be bestowed on the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, under my com-

mand, for their gallantry, and good conduct, during the siege.

Yours, with respect,

G. CROGHAN, Maj. 17th U. S. Inf. Comg.

Governor Huntington, in a letter to the P. Master General, states the force of Maj. Croghan to have been but 160 men!

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## CHAPTER XXV.

### *General Operations Continued.*

### PERRY'S VICTORY.

The general movements for the reduction of Canada, were now completed; the fleets on lake Erie and Ontario, were about equal, and ready for action. The American forces under general Harrison, moved towards Detroit. An action commenced at the same time, on lake Erie, between the American fleet, under the command of commodore Perry, and the British fleet, under the command of commodore Barclay, September 10, 1813.

The fleets were nearly equal.\* Commodore Barclay, an old, experienced officer, in the school of Nelson, had seen much service. Commodore Perry was a young officer, and without much experience.

The conflict commenced on the part of the enemy, about noon; the action soon became general and desperate. Commodore Perry's ship, (Lawrence) being disabled, he changed his flag on board the Niagara, in

\*The British force consisted of five vessels and 63 guns. The American force of nine vessels and 54 guns.

an open boat, in the heat of the action, and at once bore down upon the enemy ; broke through their line, and the fleets were closely engaged. The action was short and terrible. The whole British squadron surrendered to commodore Perry.

The commodore announced this victory to general Harrison, in the following style :

“ Dear general—We have met the enemy and they are ours. Two ships, two brigs and one sloop.

Yours with respect and esteem,

O. H. PERRY.

September 10th, 1813.”

#### FURTHER ACCOUNT.

Copy of a letter from Commodore Perry, to the Secretary of the Navy.

*U. States schooner Ariel,*

*Put-in-Bay, 3th, Sept. 1813.*

SIR,

In my last, I informed you that we had captured the enemy's fleet, on this lake. I have now the honor to give you the most important particulars of the action : On the morning of the 10th instant, at sun-rise, they were discovered in Put-in-Bay, when I lay at anchor, with the squadron under my command. We got under weigh, the wind light at S. W. and stood for them ;—at 10, A. M. the wind hauled to S. E. and brought us to windward ; formed the line, and bore up. At 15 minutes before 12, the enemy commenced firing ; at 3 minutes before 12 the action commenced on our part. Finding their fire very destructive, owing to their long guns, and its being mostly directed at the Lawrence, I made sail, and directed the other vessels to follow, for the purpose of closing with the enemy—every brace and bow line being soon shot away, she became un-



manageable, notwithstanding the great exertions of the sailing-master. In this situation, she sustained the action upwards of two hours, within canister distance, until every gun was rendered useless, and the greater part of the crew either killed or wounded. Finding she could no longer annoy the enemy, I left her in charge of Lieut. Yarnell, who, I was convinced, by the bravery already displayed by him, would do what would comport with the honor of the flag. At half past 2, the wind springing up, Captain Elliot was enabled to bring his vessel, the Niagara, gallantly into close action; I immediately went on board of her when he anticipated my wish, by volunteering to bring the schooners, which had been kept astern by the lightness of the wind, into close action.

It was with unspeakable pain that I saw, soon after I got on board of the Niagara, the flag of the Lawrence come down; although I was perfectly sensible that she had been defended to the last, and that to have continued to make a show of resistance, would have been a wanton sacrifice of the remains of her brave crew. But the enemy was not able to take possession of her, and circumstances soon permitted her flag again to be hoisted. At 45 minutes past 2, the signal was made for "close action;" the Niagara being very little injured, I determined to pass through the enemy's line—bore up, and passed ahead of their two ships, and a brig, giving a raking fire to them, from the starboard guns, and to a large schooner, and sloop, from the larboard side, at half pistol-shot distance. The smaller vessels, at this time, having got within grape and canister distance, under the direction of Capt. Elliot, and keeping up a well directed fire, the two ships, a brig, and a schooner surrendered; a schooner and sloop making a vain attempt to escape.

Those officers and men, who were immediately under my observation, evinced the greatest gallantry; and, I have no doubt but all others conducted themselves as

became American officers and seamen. Lieut. Yarnell, 1st of the Lawrence, although several times wounded, refused to quit the deck. Midshipman Forest, (doing duty as Lieutenant,) and sailing-master Taylor, were of great assistance to me. I have great pain, in stating to you the death of Lieut. Brook, of the marines, and Midshipman Laub, both of the Lawrence, and Midshipman John Clark, of the Scorpion; they were valuable and promising officers. Mr. Hamilton, Purser, who volunteered his services on deck, was severely wounded, late in the action. Midshipman Claxton, and Swartwout, of the Lawrence, were severely wounded. On board the Niagara, Lieutenants Smith and Edwards, and Midshipman Webster, (doing duty as sailing-master,) behaved in a very handsome manner. Captain Brevoort, of the army, who acted as a volunteer, in the capacity of a marine officer, on board that vessel, is an excellent and brave officer; and, with his musquetry, did great execution. Lieut. Turner, commanding the Caledonia, brought that vessel into action in the most able manner, and is an officer, in all situations, that may be relied on.

The Ariel, Lieut. Packet, and Scorpion, sailing-master Champlin, were enabled to get early into action, and were of great service. Capt. Elliot speaks in the highest terms of Mr. Magrath, Purser, who had been despatched in a boat, on service, previous to my getting on board the Niagara; and, being a seaman, since the action has rendered essential service in taking charge of one of the prizes.

Of Capt. Elliot, already so well known to the government, it would be almost superfluous to speak:—in this action, he evinced his characteristic bravery and judgement; and, since the close of the action, has given me the most able and essential assistance.

I have the honor to enclose you a return of the killed and wounded, together with a statement of the relative force of the squadron. The Capt. and 1st Lieut.

of the Queen Charlotte, and 1st Lieut. of the Detroit, were killed. Capt. Barclay, senior officer, and the commander of the Lady Prevost severely wounded. The commander of the Hunter and Chippewa, slightly wounded. Their loss, in killed and wounded, I have not been able to ascertain ; it must, however, have been very great.

I have caused the prisoners, taken on the 10th inst. to be landed at Sandusky ; and have requested Gen. Harrison to have them marched to Chillicothe, and there wait, until your pleasure shall be known respecting them.

The Lawrence has been so entirely cut up, it is absolutely necessary she should go into a safe harbour ; I have, therefore, directed Lieutenant Yarnell to proceed to Erie, in her, with the wounded of the fleet ; and dismantle, and get her over the bar, as soon as possible.

The two ships, in a heavy sea, this day at anchor, lost their masts, being much injured in the action. I shall haul them into the inner bay, at this place, and moor them for the present. The Detroit is a remarkably fine ship ; sails well, and is very strong built ;—the Queen Charlotte is a much superior vessel to what has been represented ;—the Lady Prevost is a large, fine schooner.

I also beg your instructions, respecting the wounded ; I am satisfied, sir, that whatever steps I might take, governed by humanity, would meet your approbation ; under this impression, I have taken upon myself to promise Capt. Barclay, who is very dangerously wounded, that he shall be landed as near Lake Ontario as possible ; and, I had no doubt, you would allow me to parole him ; he is under the impression, that nothing but leaving this part of the country will save his life. There



is, also, a number of Canadians among the prisoners—many who have families.

I have the honor, &c.

O. H. PERRY.

*Hon. W. Jones, Sec. Navy.*

The whole force of the British squadron was 63 guns and 2 swivels ;—that of the American squadron, 54 guns, and 3 swivels ; one of the guns burst early in the action.

In the above action, we had 27 killed, and 96 wounded—total, killed and wounded, 223. On the morning of the action, there were 116 unfit for duty.

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## CHAPTER XXVI.

*General Operations Continued.*

### DEFEAT OF GEN. PROCTOR.

The British immediately evacuated Detroit; Gen. Harrison advanced, took possession, and the illustrious Perry joined him and became his companion in arms. On the 23d of September, Gen. Harrison crossed over and destroyed fort Malden, and on the 9th of Oct. he gained a complete victory over Gen. Proctor, and took, or destroyed his whole army.

## MALDEN TAKEN.

Copy of a letter from Major General William H. Harrison, to the  
War Department, dated

*Head Quarters, Amherstburg,*

*Sept. 23, 1813.*

SIR,

I have the honor to inform you, that I landed the army, under my command, about three miles below this place, at 3 o'clock this evening, without opposition, and took possession of the town an hour after. General Proctor has returned to Sandwich, with his regular troops and Indians, having previously burned the fort, navy yard, barracks, and public stores; the two latter were very extensive, covering several acres of ground. I will pursue the enemy to-morrow, although there is no probability of overtaking him, as he has upwards of 1000 horses and we have not one in the army; I shall think myself fortunate to be able to collect a sufficiency to mount the general officers.—It is supposed here, that General Proctor intends to establish himself upon the river French, 40 miles from Malden.

I have the honor, &c.

WM. H. HARRISON.

## DEFEAT OF GEN. PROCTOR.

*Head-Quarters, near Moravian-Town, on the river  
Thames, 80 miles from Detroit.*

*October 5th, 1813.*

SIR,

I have the honor to inform you, that, by the blessing of Providence, the army under my command has obtained a complete victory over the combined Indian and British forces; under the command of General Proctor. I believe that nearly the whole of the enemy's regulars

are taken or killed ; amongst the former are all the superior officers, except Gen. Proctor ; my mounted men are now in pursuit of him.

Our loss is very trifling ; the brave Col. R. M. Johnson is the only officer that I have heard of, that is wounded—he badly, but I hope not dangerously.

I have the honor, &c.

W. H. HARRISON.

Hon. J. ARMSTRONG.

*Sec. of War.*

### FURTHER OF PROCTOR'S DEFEAT.

Copy of a letter from Maj. General Harrison, to the Secretary of War, dated

*Head Quarters, Detroit.*

*October, 9th, 1813.*

SIR,

In my letter from Sandwich, of the 30th. ult. I did myself the honor to inform you, that I was preparing to pursue the enemy on the following day : from various causes, however, I was unable to put the troops in motion until the morning of the 2d instant ; and then to take with me about 140 of the regular troops, Johnson's mounted regiment, and such of Gov. Shelby's volunteers as were fit for a rapid march ; the whole amounting to about 3,500 men. To Gen. M'Arthur, (with about 700 effective,) the protecting this place, and the sick, was committed. Gen. Cass's brigade, and the corps of Lieut. Col. Ball, were left at Sandwich, with orders to follow me as soon as the men received their knapsacks and blankets, which had been left on an island, in lake Erie.

The unavoidable delay at Sandwich was attended with no disadvantage to us ; General Proctor had posted himself at Dalson's, on the right bank of the Thames,



(or Trench) 56 miles from this place, where, I was informed, he intended to fortify, and wait to receive me. He must have believed, however, that I had no disposition to follow him, or that he had secured my continuance here by the reports that were circulated, that the Indians would attack and destroy this place, upon the advance of the army—as he neglected to commence the breaking up the bridges, until the night of the 2d instant ;—on that night, our army reached the river, which is 25 miles from Sandwich, and is one of four streams, crossing our route, over all of which are bridges ; and, being deep and muddy, are not fordable for a considerable distance into the country : the bridge here, was found entire ; and in the morning, I proceeded, with Johnson's regiment, to save, if possible, the others. At the second bridge, over a branch of the river Thames, we were fortunate enough to capture a Lieutenant of Dragoons, and 11 privates, who had been sent by General Proctor to destroy them. From the prisoners, I learned that the third bridge was broken up, and that the enemy had no certain information of our advance ;—the bridge, having been imperfectly destroyed, was soon repaired, and the army encamped at Drake's farm, 4 miles below Dalson's.—The river Thames, along the banks of which our route lay, is a fine deep stream, navigable for vessels of considerable burthen ; after the passage of the bar, at its mouth, there is six and a half feet water.

The baggage of the army was brought from Detroit in boats, protected by three gun-boats which Commodore Perry had furnished for the purpose, as well as to cover the passage of the army over the Thames itself, or the mouths of its tributary streams ; the banks being low, and the country generally open, (prairies,) as high as Dalson's, these vessels, were well calculated for that purpose. Above Dalson's however, the character of the river and adjacent country is considerably changed ; the former, though stil deep, is very narrow, and its banks high and woody.

The Commodore and myself, therefore, agreed upon the propriety of leaving the boats under a guard of 150 infantry ; and I determined to trust to fortune, and the bravery of my troops, to effect the passage of the river. Below a place called Chatham, and 4 miles above Dalson's, is the third unfordable branch of the Thames ; the bridge over its mouth had been taken up by the Indians, as well as that at M'Gregor's mills, one mile above. Several hundred of the Indians remained to dispute our passage, and upon the arrival of the advanced guard commenced a heavy fire from the opposite bank of the creek, as well as that of the river. Believing that the whole force of the enemy was there, I halted the army, and formed in order of battle ; and brought up our two six pounders, to cover the party that were ordered to repair the bridge ; a few shot from those pieces, soon drove off the Indians, and enabled us, in two hours, to repair the bridge, and cross the troops. Col. Johnson's mounted regiment, being upon the right of the army, had seized the remains of the bridge at the mills, under a heavy fire from the Indians. Our loss, upon this occasion, was 2 killed, and 3 or 4 wounded—that of the enemy was ascertained to be considerably greater. A house, near the bridge, containing a considerable number of musquets, had been set on fire ; but it was extinguished by our troops, and the arms saved. At the first farm, above the bridge, we found one of the enemy's vessels on fire, loaded with arms and ordnance stores ; and learned that they were a few miles ahead of us, still on the right bank of the river, with a great body of Indians. At Bowles' farm, 4 miles from the bridge, we halted for the night ; found two other vessels, and a large distillery, filled with ordnance and other valuable stores, to an immense amount, in flames ; it was impossible to put out the fire—two 24 prs. with their carriages, were taken, with a large quantity of ball and shell, of various sizes.

The army was put in motion, early on the morning

of the 5th. I pushed on, in advance, with the mounted regiment, and requested Gov. Shelby to follow, as expeditiously as possible, with the infantry; the Governor's zeal, and that of his men, enabled them to keep up with the cavalry; and, by 9 o'clock, we were at Arnold's mills, having taken, in the course of the morning, two gun boats, and several batteaux, loaded with provisions and ammunition. A rapid, at the river at Arnold's mills, affords the only fording to be met with, for a very considerable distance; but upon examination, it was found too deep for the infantry. Having, fortunately, taken two or three boats, and some Indian canoes, on the spot, and obliging the horsemen to take a footman behind each, the whole were safely crossed by 12 o'clock. Eight miles from the crossing, we passed a farm where a part of the British troops had encamped the night before, under the command of Col. Warburton; the detachment, under General Proctor, had arrived, the day before, at the Moravian towns, four miles higher up. Being now certainly near the enemy, I directed the advance of Johnson's regiment to accelerate their march for the purpose of procuring intelligence; the officer commanding it, in a short time, sent to inform me, that his progress was stopped by the enemy, who were formed across our line of march: one of the enemy's waggons also being taken prisoner, from the information received from him, and my own observation, assisted by some of my officers, I soon ascertained enough of their disposition, and order of battle to determine that, which it was proper for me to adopt.

I have the honor, herewith, to enclose to you my general order, of the 27th ult. prescribing the order of march, and of battle, when the whole army should act together; but as the number and description of the troops had been essentially changed, since the issuing the order, it became necessary to make a corresponding alteration in their disposition.



From the place where our army was last halted, to the Moravian towns, a distance of about three and a half miles, the road passes through a beach forest, without any clearing ; and, for the first two miles, near to the bank of the river ; at from 2 to 300 yards from the river, a swamp extends parallel to it, throughout the whole distance ; the intermediate ground is dry, and, although the trees are tolerably thick, it is in many places clear of underbrush ; across the strip of land, its left appuayed upon the river, supported by artillery, placed in the wood ; their right in the swamp, covered by the whole of their Indian force—the British troops were drawn up.

The troops, at my disposal, consisted of about 120 regulars of the 27th regiment, five brigades of Kentucky volunteers, militia infantry, under his excellency Governor Shelby, averaging less than 500 men ; and Col. Johnson's regiment of mounted infantry, making in the whole, an aggregate of something above 3000. No disposition of an army, opposed to an Indian force, can be safe, unless it is secured on the flanks, and in the rear ; I had, therefore, no difficulty in arranging the infantry, conformably to my general order of battle. General Trotter's brigade, of 500 men, formed the front line ; his right upon the road—his left upon the swamp ; Gen. King's brigade, as a second line, 150 yards in the rear of Trotter's ; and Chile's brigade, as a corps of reserve, in the rear of it—these three brigades formed the command of Maj. Gen. Henry ; the whole of Gen. Desha's division, consisting of two brigades, were formed, en potence, upon the left of Trotter.

Whilst I was engaged in forming the infantry, I had directed Col. Johnson's regiment, which was still in front, to be formed in two lines, opposite to the enemy ; and, upon the advance of the infantry, to take the ground upon the left ; and, forming upon the flank, to endeavor to turn the right of the Indians.

A moment's reflection, however, convinced me, that, from the thickness of the woods, and swampiness of the ground, they would be unable to do any thing on horseback—and there was no time to dismount them, and place their horses in security ; I, therefore, determined to refuse my left to the Indians, and to break the British lines, at once, by a charge of the mounted infantry. The measure was not sanctioned by any thing that I had seen or heard of, but I was fully convinced that it would succeed. The American back-woodsmen ride better in the woods than any other people ; a musquet, or rifle, is no impediment to them, being accustomed to carry 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. Conformably to this idea, I directed the regiment to be drawn up in close column, with its right at the distance of 50 yards upon the road ; (that it might be, in some measure, protected by the trees, from the artillery,) its left upon the swamp, and to charge, at full speed, as soon as the enemy delivered their fire. The few regular troops, of the 27th, under their Colonel, (Paul) occupied, in columns of four, the small space between the road and the river, for the purpose of seizing the enemy's artillery ; and some, 10 or 12, friendly Indians were directed to move under the bank. The crotchet, formed by the front line, and Gen. Desha's division, was an important point ; at this place the venerable governor of Kentucky was posted, who, at the age of 66, preserves all the vigor of youth—the ardent zeal, which distinguished him in the revolutionary war—and the undaunted bravery, which he manifested at King's Mountain. With my aids-de-camp, the acting assistant Adjutant Gen. Capt. Butler ; my gallant friend, Com. Perry, who did me the honor to serve as my volunteer aid-de-camp, and Brig. Gen. Cass, who, having no command, tendered me his assistance—I placed myself at the head of the front line of infantry, to direct the movements of

the cavalry, and give them the necessary support. The army had moved on, in this order, but a short distance, when the mounted men received the fire of the British line, and were ordered to charge; the horses, in the front of the column, recoiled from the fire; another was given by the enemy, and our column, at length getting in motion, broke through the enemy with irresistible force. In one minute the contest, in front, was over. The British officers, seeing no hopes of reducing their disordered ranks to order, and our mounted men wheeling upon them, and pouring in a destructive fire, immediately surrendered. It is certain that three only, of our troops, were wounded in this charge. Upon the left, however, the contest was more severe, with the Indians: Col. Johnson, who commanded on that flank of his regiment, received a most galling fire from them, which was returned with great effect. The Indians, still further to the right, advanced, and fell in with our front line of infantry, near its junction with Desha's division, and, for a moment, made an impression upon it. His excellency, Gov. Shelby, however, brought up a regiment to its support; and the enemy, receiving a severe fire in front, and a part of Johnson's regiment having gained their rear, retreated with precipitation. Their loss was considerable in the action, and many were killed in their retreat.

I can give no satisfactory information of the number of Indians that were in the action; but they must have been considerably upwards of one thousand. From the documents in my possession, (Gen. Proctor's official letters, all of which were taken) and from the information of respectable inhabitants of this territory, the Indians, kept in pay by the British, were much more numerous than has been generally supposed. In a letter to Gen. De Rottenburg, of the 27th inst. Gen. Proctor speaks of having prevailed upon most of the Indians to accompany him; of these, it is certain that 50 or 60 Wyandot warriors abandoned him.



The number of our troops was certainly greater than that of the enemy ; but, when it is recollected that they had chosen a position, which effectually secured their flank which it was impossible for us to turn ; and that we could not present to them a line more extended than their own, it will not be considered arrogant to claim, for my troops, the palm of superior bravery.

In communicating to the President, through you sir, my opinion of the conduct of the officers, who served under my command, I am at a loss how to mention that of Gov. Shelby, being convinced that no eulogium of mine can reach his merits ; the governor of an independent state—greatly my superior in years, in experience, and in military character—he placed himself under my command ; and was not more remarkable for his zeal and activity, than for the promptitude and cheerfulness with which he obeyed my orders.

The Major-Generals, Henry and Desha, and the Brigadiers, Allen, Caldwell, Chiles, and Trotter, all of the Kentucky volunteers, manifested great zeal and activity.

It would be useless, sir, after stating the circumstances of the action, to pass encomiums upon Col. Johnson, and his regiment—veterans could not have manifested more firmness ; the Colonel's numerous wounds prove that he was in the post of danger. Lieut. Col. James Johnson, and the Majors Payne and Thompson, were equally active, though more fortunate. Major Wood, of the engineers, already distinguished, by his conduct at fort Meigs, attended the army with two 6 pounders ; having no use for them in the action, he joined in the pursuit of the enemy ; and, with Maj. Payne, of the mounted regiment, two of my aids-de-camp, Todd and Chambers, and three privates, continued it for several miles after the troops had halted, and made many prisoners.

I left the army before an official return of the prisoners, or that of the killed and wounded, was made out ;

it was, however, ascertained, that the former amounted to 601 regulars, including 25 officers. Our loss is seven killed, and 22 wounded, five of which have since died. Of the British troops, 12 were killed, and 22 wounded; the Indians suffered most—33 of them having been found upon the ground, besides those killed on the retreat.

On the day of the action, six pieces of brass artillery were taken—and 2 iron 24 pounders, the day before;—several others were discovered in the river, and can be easily procured. Of the brass pieces, 3 are the trophies of our revolutionary war, that were taken at Saratoga and York, and surrendered by General Hull. The number of small arms, taken by us, and destroyed by the enemy, must amount to upwards of 5000; most of them had been ours, and taken by the enemy at the surrender of Detroit, at the river Raisin, and at Col. Dudley's defeat. I believe that the enemy retain no other trophy of their victories, than the standard of the 4th regiment; they were not magnanimous enough to bring that of the 41st into the field, or it would have been taken. You have been informed, sir, of the conduct of the troops, under my command, in action; it gives me great pleasure to inform you, that they merit, also, the approbation of their country, for their conduct—in submitting to the greatest privations, with the utmost cheerfulness.

The infantry were entirely without tents; and, for several days, the whole army subsisted upon fresh beef, without bread or salt.—Gen. Proctor escaped by the fleetness of his horses, escorted by 40 dragoons, and a number of Indians.

I have the honor, &c.

WILLIAM H. HARRISON.

Hon. J. ARMSTRONG,

*Sec'y War.*

## TREATY WITH THE INDIANS.

Extract of a letter from Gen. M'Arthur, to the Secretary of War, dated

*Detroit, October 6th, 1813.*

On our arrival at Sandwich, my brigade was ordered across the river to disperse some Indians, who were pillaging the town, and to take possession of this place. Information was received, that several thousand Indians had retired a small distance into the woods, with instructions to attack Gen. Harrison's army, on its passage, for the purpose of retarding its progress; consequently, my brigade was left to garrison this place.

Since General Harrison's departure, five nations of Indians, viz.—Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawatamies, Miamies, and Kickapoos, who were but a few miles back, have come in for peace; and I have agreed that hostilities should cease, for the present, on the following conditions:—they have agreed to take hold of the same tomahawk with us, and to strike all who are, or may be enemies to the United States, whether British or Indians; they are to bring in a number of their women and children, and leave them as hostages, whilst they accompany us to war. Some of them have already brought in their women, and are drawing rations.

I have just received a note, from General Harrison, advising, that he had last evening overtaken Gen. Proctor's force, and had gained a complete victory; all the principal officers were in his possession, except Gen. Proctor; which, no doubt, ends the war in this quarter.

I have the honor, &c.

DUNCAN M'ARTHUR.

Hon. Sec'y of War.



## CHAPTER XXVII.

*General Operations Continued.*

## SIR JAMES YEO'S MODE OF FIGHTING.

Extract of a letter from Com. Isaac Chauncey, to the Secretary of the Navy, dated

*On board the U. S. S. Gen. Pike, off Duck Island,  
Sept. 13, 1813.*

SIR,

On the 7th, at day-light, the enemy's fleet was discovered close in with the Niagara river, wind from the southward—made the signal, weighed with the fleet, (prepared for action) and stood out of the river, after him. He immediately made all sail to the northward; we made sail in chase, with our heavy schooners in tow—and have continued the chase, all round the lake, night and day, until yesterday morning, when he succeeded in getting into Amherst-Bay, which is so little known to our pilots, and said to be so full of shoals, that they are not willing to take me in there. I shall, however, (unless driven from my station by a gale of wind,) endeavor to watch him so close, as to prevent his getting out upon the lake. During our long chase, we frequently got within from one to two miles of the enemy; but our heavy-sailing schooners prevented our closing in with him, until the 11th, off Genesee river; we carried a breeze with us, while he lay becalmed, to within about three-fourths of a mile of him, when he took the breeze, and we had a running-fight of three and a half hours; but, by his superior sailing, he escaped me, and run into Amherst-Bay, yesterday morning. In the course of our chase, on the 11th, I got several broadsides, from this ship, upon the enemy, which must have done him considerable injury, as many of

the shot were seen to strike him, and people were observed, over the side, plugging shot holes; a few shot struck our hull, and a little rigging was cut, but nothing of importance—not a man was hurt.

I was much disappointed, that Sir James refused to fight me, as he was so much superior in point of force, both in guns and men—having upwards of 20 guns more than we have, and throws a greater weight of shot.

This ship, the *Madison*, and *Sylph*, have each a schr. constantly in tow; yet the others cannot sail as fast as the enemy's squadron, which gives him decidedly the advantage, and puts it in his power to engage me when and how he chooses.

I have the honor, &c.

ISAAC CHAUNCEY.

Hon. W. JONES,

*Sec'y Navy.*

#### THE JULIA AND GROWLER RE-CAPTURED.

Copy of a letter from Commodore Chauncey, to the Secretary of the Navy, dated

*U. S. S. Gen. Pike, Sackett's Harbor,*

*October 6th, 1813.*

SIR,

I have the pleasure to inform you, that I arrived here this morning with five of the enemy's vessels, which I fell in with, and captured last evening, off the Ducks; these were part of a fleet of seven sail, which left York, on Sunday, with 234 troops on board, bound to Kingston. Of this fleet five were captured, one burnt, and one escaped. The prisoners, amounting to nearly 300, besides having upwards of 300 of our troops on board, from Niagara, induced me to run into port, for the purpose of landing both.

I have an additional pleasure in informing you, that amongst the captured vessels, are the late U. S. schrs. Julia and Growler; the others are gun-vessels.

I have the honor, &c.

ISAAC CHAUNCEY.

Hon. W. JONES,

*Sec'y Navy.*

### FURTHER PROCEEDINGS.

Copy of a letter from Commodore Chauncey, to the Secretary of the Navy, dated

*U. S. S. Gen. Pike, off Niagara,*

*October 1, 1813.*

SIR,

On the 26th ult. it was reported to me; that the enemy's fleet was in York. I immediately despatched the Lady of the Lake to look into York, and ascertain the fact; she returned in the evening with the information, that the enemy was in York bay. I immediately prepared to weigh; but, owing to a strong wind from N. N. E. was not able to get out of the river before the evening of the 27th; and, owing to the extreme darkness of the night, a part of the squadron got separated, and did not join before next morning, at 8, A. M. On the 28th, the Gen. Pike, Madison, and Sylph, each took a schooner in tow, and made all sail for York; soon after, discovered the enemy's fleet in York bay, shaped our course for him, and prepared for action; he perceived our intention of engaging him in his position—tacked and stood out of the bay, wind at east. I formed the line and run down for his centre: when we had approached within about 3 miles, he made all sail to the southward; I wore in succession, and stood on the same tack with him, edging down gradually in order to close. At 10 minutes, past meridian, the enemy, finding we



were closing fast with him, and that he must either risk an action, or suffer his two rear vessels to be cut off, he tacked in succession, beginning at the van, hoisted his colours, and commenced a well directed fire at this ship, for the purpose of covering his rear, and attacking our rear as he passed to leeward. Perceiving his intention, I determined to disappoint him ; and, therefore, as soon as the Wolf, (the leading ship,) passed the centre of his line, and a-beam of us, I bore up in succession, (preserving our line, for the enemy's centre ;) this manœuvre not only covered our rear, but hove him in confusion ; he immediately bore away.

We had, however, closed so near as to bring our guns to bear with effect ; and, in 20 minutes, the main and mizen top-mast, and main yard of the Wolf was shot away ; he immediately put before the wind—was enabled to out sail most of our squadron ; as it brought all the sail upon one mast, he did not feel the loss of his main and mizen top-mast. I continued the chase until near three o'clock, during which time I was enabled, in this ship, (with the Asp in tow,) to keep in point-blank shot of the enemy, and sustained the whole fire during the chase. Capt. Crane, in the Madison, and Lieut. Brown, in the Oneida, used every exertion to close with the enemy ; but the Madison having a heavy schooner in tow, and the Oneida sailing very dull before the wind, prevented those officers from closing near enough to do any execution with their carronades. The Gov. Tompkins kept in her station ; until her foremast was so badly wounded, as to oblige her to shorten sail. Lieut. Finch, of the Madison, who commanded her for this cruise, (owing to the indisposition of Lieut. Pettigrew,) behaved with great gallantry, and is an officer of much promise. Capt. Wolsey, of the Sylph, was kept astern by the Ontario, which he had in tow, but did considerable execution with his heavy guns. At 15 minutes before 3, P. M. I very reluctantly relinquished the pursuit of a beaten enemy ; the rea-

sons which led to this determination, were such as, I flatter myself, you will approve—they were these :

At the time I gave up the chase, this ship was making so much water, that it required all our pumps to keep her free, owing to our receiving several shot so much below the waters edge, that we could not plug the holes from the outside. The Gov. Tompkins with her foremast gone, and the squadron within about 6 miles of the head of the lake, blowing a gale of wind from the east, and increasing, with a heavy sea on, and every appearance of the equinox.

I considered, that if I chased the enemy to his anchorage, at the head of the lake, I should be obliged to anchor also ; and although we might succeed in driving him on shore, the probability was, that we should go on shore also : he amongst his friends—we amongst our enemies ; and, after the gale abated, if he could succeed in getting off one or two vessels out of the two fleets, would give him as completely the command of the lake, as if he had 20 vessels ; moreover, he was covered, at his anchorage, by a part of his army, and several small batteries thrown up for the purpose ; therefore, if we could have rode out the gale, we should have been cut up by their shot from the shore. Under all these circumstance, and taking into view the consequences resulting from the loss of our superiority on the lake, at this time, I, without hesitation, relinquished the opportunity, then presenting itself, of acquiring individual reputation, at the expense of my country. The loss sustained by this ship was considerable, owing to her being so long exposed to the fire of the whole of the enemy's fleet ; but our most serious loss was occasioned by the bursting of one of our guns, which killed and wounded 22 men, and tore up the top-gallant fore-castle, which rendered the gun, upon that deck, useless. We had 4 other guns cracked in the muzzle, which rendered their use extremely doubtful. Our main top-gallant mast was shot away in the early

part of the action ; and the bowsprit, fore and main-mast wounded ; rigging and sails much cut up, and a number of shot in our hull—several of which were between wind and water ; and 27 men killed and wounded including those by the bursting of the gun. The Madison received a few shot, but no person hurt on board ; the Gov. Tompkins lost her foremast, and the Oneida her main top-mast badly wounded ; we have, however, repaired all our damages, and are ready to meet the enemy.

During our chase, one if not two of the enemy's vessels were completely in our power—if I could have been satisfied with so partial a victory ; but I was so sure of the whole, that I passed them unnoticed ; by which means they finally escaped.

I have the honor, to be &c.

ISAAC CHAUNCEY.

Hon. W. Jones, Sec. of the Navy.

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## CHAPTER XXVIII.

### *General Operations Continued.*

About the 1st of Nov. Gen. Wilkinson took the command of the northern army ; moved his whole force to Sackett's harbour, and from there down the St. Lawrence to Ogdensburg, where he issued his proclamation, and appointed a meeting with Gen. Hampton at St. Regis, which failed.



## PROCLAMATION.

JAMES WILKINSON, Major-General, and Commander in Chief  
of an Expedition against the Canadas, to the Inhabitants thereof :

The army of the United States, which I have the honor to command, invades these Provinces—to conquer, and not to destroy ; to subdue the forces of his Britannic majesty, not to war against his unoffending subjects. Those, therefore, among you, who remain quiet at home, should victory 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 unjust—to seduce, dishonorable—yet it is just and humane to place these alternatives, before you.

Done at the Head-Quarters of the Army of the United States, this 6th day of November, 1813, near Ogdensburg, on the St. Lawrence.

JAMES WILKINSON.

By the General's command,  
N. PINKNEY,

*Major, and A. D. C.*

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE ARMY.

From Gen. Wilkinson, to the Secretary of War.

*Head-Quarters, French Mills, adjoining the Province of  
Lower Canada,*

*November 16, 1813.*

SIR,

I beg leave to refer you to the journal, which accompanies this letter, for the particulars of the movements of the corps, under my command, down the St. Lawrence, and will endeavor to exert my enfeebled mind to

detail to you the more striking and important incidents, which have ensued my departure from Grenadier Island, at the foot of Lake Ontario, on the 3d instant.

The corps of the enemy, at Kingston, which followed me, hung on my rear; and, in concert with a heavy galley, and a few gun-boats, seemed determined to retard my progress. I was strongly tempted to halt—turn about, and put an end to his teasing; but, alas! I was confined to my bed—Maj. Gen. Lewis was too ill for any active exertion; and, above all, I did not dare suffer myself to be diverted, a single day, from a prosecution of the views of government. I had written Maj. Gen. Hampton, on the 6th inst. by his Adjutant General, Col. King, and had ordered him to form a junction with me, on the St. Lawrence, which I expected would take place on the 9th or 10th. It would have been unpardonable, had I lost sight of this object, a moment, as I deemed it of vital importance to the issue of the campaign.

The enemy deserve credit for their zeal and intelligence, which the active, universal hostility, of the male inhabitants of the country enabled them to employ, to the greatest advantage. Thus, while menaced by a respectable force in the rear, the coast was lined with musquetry in the front at every critical pass of the river, which obliged me to march a detachment, and this impeded my progress.

On the evening of the 9th inst. the army halted, a few miles from the head of the Longue Saut; In the morning of the 10th, the enclosed order was issued.—General Brown marched agreeably to order, and about noon we were apprized, by the report of his artillery, that he was engaged, some distance below us. At the same time, the enemy were observed in our rear; and their galley and gun-boats approached our flotilla, and opened a fire upon us, which obliged me to order a battery of 18 pounders to be planted, and a shot from it compelled the vessels of the enemy to retire, together

with their troops, after some firing between the advanced parties.

But, by this time, in consequence of disembarking, and re-embarking the heavy guns, the day was so far spent, that our pilots did not dare to enter the Saut; (eight miles, a continued rapid,) and, therefore, we fell down about two miles, and come to for the night.

Early the next morning, every thing was in readiness for motion; but, having received no intelligence from Gen. Brown, I was still delayed, as sound caution prescribed I should learn the result of the affair, before I committed the flotilla to the Saut. At half past 10, A. M. an officer of dragoons arrived with a letter, in which the General informed me he had forced the enemy, and would reach the foot of the Saut, early in the day. Orders were immediately given, for the flotilla to sail; at which instant the enemy's gun-boats appeared, and began to throw shot among us; information was brought me, at the same time, from Brig. General Boyd, that the enemy's troops were advancing in column; I immediately sent orders to him to attack them. This report was soon contradicted; their boats, however, continued to scratch us, and a variety of reports of their movements, and counter-movements, were brought to me in succession; which convinced me of their determination to hazard an attack, when it could be done to the greatest advantage; and, therefore, I resolved to anticipate them. Directions were, accordingly, sent, by that distinguished officer, Col. Swift, of the engineers, to Brig. Gen. Boyd, to throw the detachments of his command, assigned to him in the order of the preceding day, and composed of men of his own, Covington's and Swartwout's brigades, into three columns, to march upon the enemy, outflank them if possible, and take their artillery. The action soon after commenced with the advanced body of the enemy, and became extremely sharp and galling, and with occasional pauses, not sustained with great vivacity, in open



space and fair combat, for upwards of two and an half hours, the adverse lines alternately yielding and advancing.

It is impossible to say, with accuracy, what was our number on the field; because it consisted of indefinite detachments, taken from the boats, to render safe the passage of the Saut. Generals Covington and Swartwout voluntarily took part in the action, at the head of detachments from their respective brigades, and exhibited the same courage that was displayed by Brig. Gen. Boyd, who happened to be the senior officer on the ground. Our force, engaged, might have reached 16 or 1700 men; but actually did not exceed 1800;—that the enemy was estimated from 1200 to 2000, but probably did not amount to more than 15 or 1600—consisting, as I am informed, of detachments from the 49th, 84th and 104th regiments of the line; with three companies of the Voltigeur and Glengary corps, and the militia of the country, who are not included in the estimate.

It would be presumptuous in me to attempt to give you a detailed account of this affair, which certainly reflects high honor on the valor of the American soldier; as no examples can be produced of undisciplined men, with inexperienced officers, braving a fire of two hours and a half, without quitting the field, or yielding to their antagonists. But, sir, the information I now give you, is derived from officers in my confidence, who took parts in this conflict; for, though I was enabled to order the attack, it was my hard fortune not to be able to lead the troops I commanded; the disease, with which I was assailed the 2d September, on my journey to fort George, having, with a few short intervals of convalescence, preyed on me ever since; and, at the moment of this action, I was confined to my bed, and emaciated almost to a skeleton; unable to sit on my horse, or to move ten paces without assistance.

I must, however, be pardoned for trespassing on your time a few remarks, in relation to the affair:—the objects of the British and American commanders were precisely opposed—the last being bound by instructions of his government, and the most solemn obligations of duty, to precipitate his descent of the *St. Lawrence*, by every practicable means; because, this being effected, one of the greatest difficulties opposed to the American arms would be surmounted—and the first, by duties equally imperious, to retard, and, if possible, to prevent such descent. He is to be accounted victorious, who effects his purpose! The British commander, having failed to gain either of his objects, can lay no claim to the honors of the day; the battle fluctuated, and the triumph seemed, at different times, inclined to the contending corps; the front of the enemy were, at first, forced back more than a mile; and, though they never regained the ground they lost, their stand was permanent, and their charges resolute. Amidst these charges, and near the close of the contest, we lost a field piece, by the fall of the officer, who was serving it with the same coolness, as if he had been at a parade of review; this was Lieutenant Smith, of the light artillery, who, in point of merit, stood at the head of his grade. The enemy having halted, and our troops being formed again, in battalion, front to front, and the firing having ceased on both sides, we resumed our position on the bank of the river, and the infantry being much fatigued, the whole were re-embarked, and proceeded further down the river, without further annoyance from the enemy or their gun-boats—while the dragoons, with five pieces of light artillery, marched down the Canada shore without molestation.

It is due to his rank, to his worth, and his services, that I should make particular mention of Brig. Gen. Covington, who received a mortal wound directly through the body, while animating his men, and leading

them to the charge—he fell, where he fought, at the head of his men, and survived but two days.

The next morning the flotilla passed the Saut, and joined that excellent officer, Brig. Gen. Brown, at Barnhart's near Cornwall, where he had been instructed to take post, and wait my arrival; and where I confidently expected to hear of Maj. Gen. Hampton's arrival, on the opposite shore. But, immediately after I halted, Col. Atkinson, the Inspector-General of the division under Maj. Gen. Hampton, waited on me, with a letter from that officer; in which, to my unspeakable mortification and surprize, he declined the junction ordered, and informed me he was marching towards Lake Champlain, by way of co-operating in the proposed attack on Montreal. This letter, together with a copy of that to which it was an answer, were immediately submitted to a Council of War, consisting of my general officers, and the colonel commanding the elite, the chief engineer, and the Adjutant-General—who unanimously gave it as their opinion "that the attack on Montreal should be abandoned for the present season, and the army near Cornwall should be immediately crossed to the American shore, for taking up winter quarters; and that this place afforded an eligible situation for such quarters."

I acquiesced in these opinions, not from the shortness of the stock of provisions, (which had been reduced by the acts of God, (because that our meat had been increased five days; and our bread had been reduced only two days; and, because we could, in case of extremity, have lived upon the enemy—but because the loss of Maj. Gen. Hampton weakened my force too sensibly, to justify the attempt. In all my measures, and movements of moment, I have taken the opinions of my general officers, which have been in accord with my own.

I remained on the Canada shore until the next day, without seeing or hearing from the "powerful force" of the enemy in our neighborhood, and the same day



reached this position, with the artillery and infantry. The dragoons have been ordered to Utica, and its vicinity; and, I expect, are 50 or 60 miles on their march.

You have, under cover, a summary abstract of the killed and wounded, in the affair of the 11th instant, which shall soon be followed by a particular return, in which a just regard shall be paid to individual merits—the dead rest in honor, and the wounded bled for their country, and deserve its gratitude.

With perfect respect, &c.

JAMES WILKINSON.

In the action of the 11th inst. the American loss was 102 killed, and 232 wounded—total, killed and wounded, 334.

## THE PROPOSED JUNCTION.

From General Wilkinson, to General Hampton.

*H. Q. of the Army, 7 miles above Ogdensburg,*  
Nov 6, 1813.

SIR,

I address you at the special instance of the Secretary of War, who, by bad roads, worse weather, and ill health, was diverted from meeting me, near this place, and determined to tread back his steps to Washington, from Antwerp, on the 29th ult.

I am destined to, and determined on the attack of Montreal, if not prevented by some act of God; and to give security to the enterprise, the division under your command must co-operate with the corps under my immediate orders. The point of rendezvous is the circumstance of greatest interest to the issue of this operation; and the distance which separates us, and my ignorance of the practicability, of the direct or devious

routes, by which you must march, make it necessary that your own judgement should determine that point. To assist you in making the soundest determination, and to take the most prompt and determined measures, I can only inform you of my intentions and situation, in some respects of first importance;—I shall pass Prescott to night, because the stage of the season will not allow me three days to take it—shall cross the cavalry at Hamilton, which will not require a day;—I shall thence press forward, and break down every opposition, to this river, there to cross the Isle Perrot, and, with my scows, to bridge the narrow inner channel, and thus obtain foot-hold on Montreal Island, at about 20 miles from the city; after which, our artillery, bayonets, and swords, must secure our triumph, or provide us honourable graves.

Inclosed you have a memorandum of field and battering train, pretty well found in fixed ammunition, which may enable you to dismiss your own; but we are deficient in loose powder, and musquet cartridges; and, therefore, hope you may be abundantly found.

On the subject of provisions, I wish I could give a favorable information; our whole stock of bread may be computed at about 15 days, and our meat at 20. In speaking on this subject to the Secretary of War, he informed me, ample magazines were laid up on Lake Champlain, and, therefore, I must request of you to order forward two or three months supply, by the safest route, in a direction to the proposed scene of action. I have submitted the state of our provisions to my general officers, who unanimously agree that it should not prevent the progress of the expedition, and they also agree in opinion, if you are not in force to face the enemy, you should meet us at St. Regis, or its vicinity.

I shall expect to hear from, if not see you at that place on the 9th.

I have the honor, &c.

JAMES WILKINSON.

Maj. Gen. HAMPTON.

## ANSWER.

From Gen. Hampton to Gen. Wilkinson.

*Head-Quarters, Four Corners,*

*November 8, 1813.*

SIR,

I had the honor to receive, at a late hour last evening, by Col. King, your communication of the 6th ; and was deeply impressed with a sense of the responsibility it imposed, of deciding upon the means of our co-operation. The idea suggested, as the opinion of your officers, of effecting the junction at St. Regis, was most pleasing, as being most immediate, until I came to the disclosure of the amount of your supplies of provisions. Col. Atkinson will explain the reasons, that would have rendered it impossible for me to have brought more than each man could have carried on his back ; and, when I reflected, that in throwing myself upon your scanty means, I should be weakening you in your most vulnerable point, I did not hesitate to adopt the opinion, after consulting the general and principal officers, that, by throwing myself back on my main depot, when all the means of transportation had gone, and falling upon the enemy's flank, and straining every effort to open a communication from Plattsburgh to Coghnowaga, or any other point you may indicate on the St. Lawrence, I should more effectually contribute to your success, than by a junction at St. Regis ; the way is, in many places, blockaded and abated, and the road impracticable for wheel-carriages during the winter ; but, by the employment of pack-horses, if I am not overpowered, I hope to prevent your starving. I have ascertained, and witnessed, that the plan of the enemy is to burn, and consume every thing in our advance. My troops, and other means, will be described to you by Col. Atkinson ; besides the rawness and sickness, they have endured fa-



tigues, equal to a winter's campaign, in the late snows and bad weather, and are sadly dispirited and fallen off; but, upon this subject, I must refer you to Col. Atkinson.

With these means, what can be accomplished by human exertion, I will attempt—with a mind devoted to the general objects of the campaign.

I have the honor, &c.

W. HAMPTON.

His Ex. Maj. Gen. J. WILKINSON.

### AFFAIR AT CHATAUGAY.

Copy of a letter from General Wade Hampton, to the Secretary of War, dated

*Head-Quarters, Four Corners, Nov. 1, 1813.*

SIR—On the morning of the 21st ult. the army commenced its movement down the Chataugay, for the purpose of placing itself in a situation which would enable it to fulfil its parts of the proposed combined operations, on the St. Lawrence.

An extensive wood, of 11 or 12 miles in front, blocked up with felled timber, and covered by the Indians and light troops of the enemy, was a serious impediment to the arduous task of opening a road for the artillery and stores. Brig. Gen. Izard, with the light troops, and one regiment of the line, was detached, early in the morning, to turn these impediments in flank, and to seize on the more open country below; while the army, preceded by a strong working party, advanced on a more circuitous but practicable route for a road. The measure, as will be seen by the report of Brig. Gen. Izard, which I have the honor to enclose, completely succeeded; and the main body of the army reached the advanced position, on the evening of the 22d; the 23d

and 24th were employed in completing the road, and getting up the artillery and stores.

I had arranged, at my departure, under the direction of Major Parker, a line of communication, as far up the St. Lawrence as Ogdensburgh, for the purpose of hastening to me the earliest notice of the progress of our army down. I had surmounted 24 miles of the most difficult part of the route, and had, in advance of me, seven miles of open country; but, at the end of that distance, commenced a wood of some miles in extent, which had been formed into an entire abattis, and filled by a succession of wooden breast-works, the rearmost of which were supplied with ordnance. In front of these defences were placed the Indian force, and light corps of the enemy; and, in the rear, all of his disposable force. As the extent of this force depended upon his sense of danger on the St. Lawrence, it was a cause of regret that all communications, from yourself or Major Parker seemed to be at an end. As it was, however, believed that the enemy was hourly adding to his strength, in this position—if free from the apprehension of danger from above, an effort was judged necessary to dislodge him; and, if it succeeded, we should be in possession of a position which we could hold as long as any doubts remained of what was passing above, and of the real part to be assigned us.

Our guides assured us of a shoal and practicable fording-place, opposite the lower flank of the enemy's defences; and that the wood, on the opposite side of the river, a distance of seven or eight miles, was practicable for the passage of the troops. Col. Purdy, with the light corps, and a strong body of infantry of the line, was detached, at an early hour of the night of the 25th, to gain this ford by the morning, and to commence his attack in the rear; and that was to be the signal for the army to fall on in front—and, it was believed, the pass might be carried, before the enemy's distant troops could be brought forward to its support.

I had returned to my quarters, from Purdy's column, about 9 o'clock at night, when I found a Mr. Baldwin, of the Quarter-Master General's department, who put into my hands an open paper, containing instructions to him, from the Quarter-Master General, respecting the building of huts for the army, in Chataugay, below the line. This paper sunk my hopes, and raised serious doubts of receiving that efficacious support which had been anticipated; I would have recalled the column, but it was in motion—and the darkness of the night rendered it impracticable. I could only go forward. The army was put in motion on the morning of the 26th, leaving its baggage, &c. on the ground of encampment.

On advancing near the enemy, it was found that the column, on the opposite side, was not as far advanced as had been anticipated; the guides had misled it, and finally failed in finding the ford. We could not communicate with it, but only awaited the attack below.—About two o'clock the firing commenced, and our troops advanced rapidly to the attack. The enemy's light troops commenced a sharp fire, but Brig. Gen. Izard advanced, with his brigade—drove him every where behind his defences, and silenced the fire in his front.—This brigade would have pushed forward, as far as courage, skill and perseverance could have carried it; but, on advancing, it was found that the firing had commenced on the opposite side, and the ford had not been gained. The enemy retired behind his defences; but a renewal of his attack was expected, and the troops remained some time in their position to meet it. The troops, on the opposite side, were excessively fatigued; the enterprize had failed in its main point; and Col. Purdy was ordered to withdraw his column to a shoal, four or five miles above, and cross over. The day was spent, and Gen. Izard was ordered to withdraw his brigade to a position, three miles in the rear, to which place the baggage had been ordered forward.

The slowness, and order, with which Gen. Izard reti-



red with his brigade, could but have inspired the enemy with respect ; they presumed not to venture a shot at him during his movement ; but the unguardedness of some part of Purdy's command exposed him to a rear attack from the Indians, which was repeated after dark, and exposed him to some loss ; these attacks were always repelled, and must have cost the enemy as many lives as we lost. Our entire loss, of killed, wounded and missing, does not exceed 50. In its new position, within three miles of the enemy's post, the army encamped on the night of the 26th, and remained until 12 o'clock of the 28th. All the deserters, of whom there were four, having concurred in the information that Sir George Prevost, with three other general officers, had arrived, with the whole of his disposable force, and lay in the rear of these defences ; and a letter from Major Parker, (by express, received on the evening of the 26th,) having informed me that no movements of our army, down the St. Lawrence, had been heard of at Ogdensburgh, and for some distance above. The following questions were submitted to the commanding officers of brigades, regiments and corps, and the heads of the general staff, in a council, convened for the purpose : " Is it advisable, under existing circumstances, to renew the attack on the enemy's position ; and, if not, what position is it advisable for the army to take, until it can receive advices of the advance of the grand army down the St. Lawrence ?" The opinion of the council was expressed in the following words :—" It is the unanimous opinion of this council, that it is necessary, for the preservation of this army, and the fulfilment of the ostensible views of the government, that we immediately return, by orderly marches, to such a position, (Chataugay,) as will secure our communications with the U. States, either to retire into winter quarters, or to be ready to strike below." In pursuance of this opinion, the army has returned, by slow marches, to this place, and now awaits the orders of the government. Its condition

will be stated by the bearer, Col. King, who can give you, upon every point, more full and perfect information, than could be contained in a written detail.

I have the honor, &c.

W. HAMPTON.

HON. J. ARMSTRONG,  
*Sec'y. War.*

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## CHAPTER XXIX.

### *General Operations Continued.*

During these movements, general McClure evacuated fort George ; set fire to the village of Newark, and retired out of Canada.

General Harrison had followed up his victory, and proceeded down to join general Wilkinson ; but his movements were so hasty, that he left the whole Niagara frontier uncovered. The enemy availed himself of this ; crossed over and burnt the village of Buffalo, with several others, to revenge the destruction of Newark ; took fort Niagara, and put the garrison to the sword.

## LOSS OF FORT NIAGARA.

Copy of a letter from Gen. McClure, of the New-York State troops  
to the Secretary of War.

*H. Quarters, Buffalo, Dec. 22, 1813.*

SIR—I regret to be under the necessity of announcing to you the mortifying intelligence of the loss of Fort Niagara. On the morning of the 19th inst. about 4 o'clock,

the enemy crossed the river at the Five-mile Meadows, in great force—consisting of regulars and Indians, who made their way, undiscovered, to the garrison, which, from the most correct information I could collect, was completely surprised. Our men were nearly all asleep in their tents—the enemy rushed in, and commenced a most horrid slaughter; such as escaped the fury of the first onset retired to the old mess-house, where they kept up a destructive fire on the enemy, until a want of ammunition compelled them to surrender. Although our force was very inferior, and comparatively small indeed, I am induced to think that the disaster is not attributable to any want of troops, but to gross neglect in the commanding officer of the fort, Captain Leonard, in not preparing, being ready, and looking out for the expected attack.

I have not been able to ascertain, correctly, the number of killed and wounded; about twenty regulars have escaped out of the fort, some badly wounded. Lieut. Peck, of the 24th regiment, is killed, and it is said three others. You will perceive, sir, by the enclosed general orders, that I apprehended an attack, and made the necessary arrangements to meet it; but have reason to believe, from information received by those who have made their escape, that the commandant did not, in any respect, comply with those orders.

On the same morning, a detachment under Major Bennet, stationed at Lewiston Heights, was attacked by a party of savages; but the Major, and his little corps, by making a desperate charge, effected their retreat, after being surrounded by several hundred, with the loss of six or eight, who doubtless were killed, among whom were two sons of Capt. Jones, Indian interpreter. The villages of Youngstown, Lewistown, Manchester, and the Indian Tuscarora village, were reduced to ashes; and the inoffensive inhabitants, who could not escape, were, without regard to age or sex, inhumanly butchered by savages, headed by British officers, *painted*. A



British officer, who is taken prisoner, avows, that many small children were murdered by their Indians. Major Mallory, who was stationed at Schlosser, with about 40 Canadian volunteers, advanced to Lewistown Heights, and compelled the advanced guard of the enemy to fall back to the foot of the mountain; the Major is a meritorious officer; he fought the enemy two days, and contended every inch of ground to the Tautawanty creek. In these actions, Lieut. Lowe, 23d regiment U. S. infantry, and 8 of the Canadian volunteers, were killed. I had, myself, three days previous to the attack on the Niagara, left it with a view of providing for the defence of this place, Black Rock, and the other villages on this frontier. I came here without troops, and have called out the militia of Genesee, Niagara and Chatauque counties, *en masse*.

I have the honor, &c.

GEO. M'CLURE, Brig. Gen. Comg.

Hon. J. ARMSTRONG.

These movements closed the campaign of the north, and both armies went into winter quarters.

## CHAPTER XXX.

*A General View of the Southern War.*

## VICTORY OVER THE CREEKS.

Copy of a letter from Major General Cocke, to the Secretary of War, dated

*H. Q. Fort Armstrong, Nov. 28, 1813.*

SIR—I have the honor to enclose you a copy of Brig. Gen. James White's detailed report of his excursion to the Hillibee Towns.

I am, &c.

JOHN COCKE, Maj. Gen.

## GEN. WHITE'S REPORT.

*Fort Armstrong, Nov. 24th, 1813.*

Dear General—In mine of the 19th instant, by Major Outlaw, I promised you a detailed report, respecting the detachment ordered by you to the Hillibee Towns, in the Creek nation. In compliance with that promise, I have now the honor to state—That, under your order of the 11th inst. I immediately marched with the mounted infantry, under the immediate command of Colonel Burch; the cavalry, under the command of Major Porter; and a few of the Cherokee Indians, under the command of Col. Morgan—with very short rations for four days only. We continued our march to little Oakfuskie, when we fell in with and captured five hostile Creek warriors, supposed to be spies. Finding no other In-

dians at that place, we burned the town, which consisted of 30 houses. We then proceeded to a town called Genalga, and burned the same, which consisted of 93 houses; thence we proceeded to Nitty Chaptoa, consisting of about 25 houses, which I considered it most prudent not to destroy, as it might possibly be of use at some future period. From thence we marched to the Hillibee Town, consisting of about 20 houses, adjoining which was Grayson's farm. Previous to our arrival at that place, I was advised that a part of the hostile Creeks was assembled there. Having marched within six or seven miles of it, on the 17th, I dismounted a part of the force under my command, and sent them, under the command of Col. Burch, with the Cherokees, under the command of Col. Morgan, in advance, to surround the town in the night, and make the attack at day-light, on the 18th. Owing to the darkness of the night, the town was not reached until after day-light—but so complete was the surprise, that we succeeded in surrounding the town, and killing, and capturing almost (if not entirely) the whole of the hostile Creeks assembled there, consisting of about 316, of which number about 60 warriors were killed on the spot, and the remainder made prisoners. Before the close of the engagement, my whole force was up, and ready for action, had it become necessary; but, owing to the want of knowledge, on the part of the Indians, of our approach, they were entirely killed and taken before they could prepare for any effectual defence. We lost not one drop of blood in accomplishing this enterprise. We destroyed this village; and, in obedience to your orders, commenced our march for this post, which we were unable to reach until yesterday. I estimate the distance, from this to Grayson's farm, at about 100 miles. The ground over which we travelled, is so rough and hilly as to render a passage very difficult. Many defiles it was impossible to pass in safety, without the greatest precaution. For a part of the time, the weather was so very wet, being



encumbered with prisoners, and the troops, and their horses having to subsist, in a very great degree, upon such supplies as we could procure in the nation, rendered our march more tardy than it otherwise would have been.

The troops under my command have visited the heart of that section of the Creek nations where the Red Sticks were first distributed.

In justice to this gallant band, I am proud to state, that the whole of the officers and men, under the command of Col. Burch, performed their duty cheerfully, and without complaint—that from the cool, orderly and prompt manner in which Major Porter, and the cavalry under his command formed and conducted themselves in every case of alarm, I had the highest confidence in them. Col. Morgan, and the Cherokees under his command, gave undeniable evidence that they merit the employ of their government. In short, sir the whole detachment under my command, conducted in such a manner as to enable me to assure you that they are capable of performing any thing to which the same number of men are equal.

It gives me pleasure to add, that Mr. M'Corry, who acted as my aid in this expedition, rendered services that to me were indispensable—to his country very useful, and to himself highly honorable.

I have the honor to be, &c.

JAMES WHITE, Brig. Gen.  
Maj. Gen. JOHN COCKE.

## GEN. FLOYD'S VICTORY OVER THE CREEKS.

*Head-Quarters, 6th and 7th Districts.*

*Milledgeville, 7th Dec. 1813.*

SIR,

I have the honor of enclosing to you a copy of the official account which I have just received from Brigadier-General Floyd, of an attack made by him on the hostile Indians, and sincerely congratulate your excellency on the good conduct and bravery displayed on this occasion by the officers and troops of the state in which you preside.

I have the honor to be, &c.

THOMAS PINCKNEY.

His excellency PETER EARLY.

*Camp west of Catahouchie.*

*December, 4, 1813.*

*Major-General Pinckney,*

SIR,

I have the honor to communicate to your excellency, an account of an action fought the 29th ult. on the Talapoosie river, between part of the force under my command and a large body of the Creek Indians.

Having received information that numbers of the hostile Indians were assembled at Autossee, a town on the southern bank of the Talapoosie, about eighteen miles from the Hickory-ground, and twenty above the junction of that river with the Coosa, I proceeded to it with 950 of the Georgia militia, accompanied by between 3 and 400 friendly Indians. Having encamped within nine or ten miles of the point of destination the preceding evening, we resumed the march a few minutes before one on the morning of the 29th, and at half past six were formed for action in front of the town.

Booth's battalion composed the right column, and marched from its centre. Watson's battalion composed the left, and marched from its right; Adams' rifle company, and Merriwether's under Lieutenant Hendon, were on the flanks; Captain Thomas' artillery marched in front of the right column in the road.

It was my intention to have completely surrounded the enemy, by appuying the right wing of my force on Canlehee creek, at the mouth of which I was informed the town stood, and resting the left on the river bank below the town; but to our surprise, as day dawned, we perceived a second town about five hundred yards below that which we had first viewed, and were preparing to attack. The plan was immediately changed—three companies of infantry on the left were wheeled to the left into echelon, and were advanced to the low town accompanied by Merriwether's rifle company, and two troops light dragoons under the command of Captains Irwin and Steele.

The residue of the force approached the upper town, and the battle soon became general. The Indians presented themselves at every point, and fought with the desperate bravery of real fanatics. The well directed fire, however, of the artillery, added to the charge of the bayonet, soon forced them to take refuge in the out houses, thickets, and copses, in the rear of the town; many it is believed, concealed themselves in caves, previously formed for the purpose of secure retreat, in the high bluff of the river, which was thickly covered with reed and brushwood. The Indians of the friendly party who accompanied us on the expedition, were divided into four companies, and placed under the command of leaders of their own selection. They were, by engagement entered into the day previous, to have crossed the river above the town, and been on the opposite shore during the action, for the purpose of firing upon such of the enemy as might attempt to escape, or keep in check any reinforcements which might probably be thrown in



from the neighboring towns ; but owing to the difficulty of the ford, and coldness of the weather, and the lateness of the hour, this arrangement failed, and their leaders were directed to cross Canleebee creek, and occupy that flank, to prevent escapes from the Tallisee town. Some time after the action commenced, our red friends thronged, in disorder, in the rear of our lines. The Cowetaws, under M'Intosh, and the Tookabatchians, under Mad Dog's Son, fell on our flanks, and fought with an intrepidity worthy of any troops.

At 9 o'clock the enemy was completely driven from the plain, and the houses of both towns wrapped in flames. As we were then 60 miles from any depot of provisions, and our five days rations pretty much reduced, in the heart of the enemy's country, which in a few moments could have poured, from its numerous towns, hosts of its fiercest warriors—as soon as the dead and wounded were disposed of, I ordered the place to be abandoned, and the troops to commence their march to Chatahouche.

It is difficult to determine the strength of the enemy ; but, from the information of some of the chiefs, which it is said can be relied on, there were assembled at Autosse, warriors from eight towns, for its defence—it being their beloved ground, on which they proclaimed no white man could approach, without inevitable destruction. It is difficult to give a precise account of the loss of the enemy ; but, from the number which were lying scattered over the field, together with those destroyed in the towns, and the many slain on the banks of the river, which respectable officers affirm they saw lying in heaps at the water's edge, where they had been precipitated by their surviving friends, their loss, in killed, independent of their wounded, must have been at least, 200, (among whom are the Autosse and Tallisee kings, ) and from the circumstance of their making no efforts to molest our return, probably greater. The number of buildings burnt, some of a superior order for the

dwelling of savages, and filled with valuable articles, is supposed to be 400.

Adjutant-General Newman rendered important services during the action, by his cool and deliberate courage. My aid, Major Crawford, discharged, with promptitude, the duties of a brave and meritorious officer. Maj. Pace, who acted as field-aid, also distinguished himself; both these gentlemen had their horses shot under them, and the latter lost his. Dr. Williamson, hospital surgeon, and Dr. Clopton, were prompt and attentive in discharge of their duty towards the wounded, during the action.

Major Freeman, at the head of Irwin's troop of cavalry and part of Steele's, made a furious and successful charge upon a body of Indians, sabred several, and completely defeated them. Captain Thomas and his company, Capt Adams, and Lieut. Hendon's rifle companies killed a great many Indians, and deserve particular praise. Captain Barton's company were in the hottest of the battle, and fought like soldiers. Captain Myrick, Captain Little, Captain King, Captain Broadnax, Captain Cleveland, Captain Joseph T. Cunningham, and Captain Lee, with their companies, distinguished themselves. Brigade-Major Sharklesford was of great service in bringing the troops into action; and Adjutant Broadnax, and Major Montgomery, who acted as Assistant-Adjutant, showed great activity and courage. Major Booth used his best endeavors in bringing his battalion to action, and Major Watson's battalion acted with considerable spirit. Irwin's, Patterson's and Steele's troops of cavalry, whenever an opportunity presented, charged with success. Lieutenant Strong had his horse shot, and narrowly escaped; and Quartermaster Tannel displayed the greatest heroism, and miraculously escaped, though badly wounded, after having his horse shot from under him. The topographical engineer was vigilant in his endeavors to render service.

The troops deserve the highest praise for their fortitude, in enduring hunger, cold, and fatigue, without a murmur, having marched a hundred and twenty miles, in seven days.

The friendly Indians lost several, killed and wounded; the number not exactly known. Captain Barton, an active and intelligent officer, (the bearer of these despatches,) can, more particularly, explain to your excellency, the conduct, movements, and operations of the army.

I have the honor, &c.

JOHN FLOYD, B. Gen.

In the above actions, there were 11 killed and 54 wounded.—Brig. Gen. Floyd wounded severely, and Adj. Gen. Newman, slightly.

#### PROCEEDINGS AGAINST THE CREEKS.

Copy of a letter from Gen. Jackson, of the Tennessee Volunteers, to Gen. Pinckney, dated

*H. Q. Fort Strother, 29th Jan. 1814.*

SIR,

I had the honor of informing you, in a letter of the 31st ult. forwarded by Mr. M'Candless, (express) of an excursion I contemplated making, still further in the enemy's country, with the new raised volunteers from Tennessee. I had ordered those troops to form a junction with me, on the 10th instant; but they did not arrive until the 14th. Their number, including officers, was about 800; and, on the 15th, I marched them across the river to graze their horses. On the next day I followed, with the remainder of our force—consisting of the artillery company, with one 6 pounder, one company of infantry, of 48 men, two companies of spies, commanded by Captains Gorden and Rus-



sel, of about 30 men each, and a company of volunteer officers, headed by Gen. Coffee, who had been abandoned by his men, and who still remained in the field, awaiting the orders of the government—making my force, exclusive of Indians, 930.

The motives which influenced me to penetrate still further into the enemy's country, were many and urgent—the term of service, of the new raised volunteers, was short; and a considerable part of it was expired—they were expensive to the government, and were full of ardor to meet the enemy. The ill effects of keeping soldiers of this description idle, and long stationary, I had been made to feel but too sensibly already. Other causes concurred to make such a movement not only justifiable, but absolutely necessary. I had received a letter from Capt. M'Alpin, of the 5th inst. who commanded at fort Armstrong in the absence of Col. Snodgrass, informing me that 14 or 15 towns of the enemy, situated on the waters of the Tallapoose, were about uniting their forces, and attacking that place, which had been left in a very feeble state of defence. You had, in your letter of the 25th ult. informed me that Gen. Floyd was about to make a movement to the Tallapoose, near its junction with the Coosee; and, in the same letter, had recommended temporary excursions against such of the enemy's towns, or settlements, as might be within striking distance, as well to prevent my men from becoming discontented, as to harass the enemy—your ideas corresponded exactly with my own; and I was happy in the opportunity of keeping my men engaged, distressing the enemy, and, at the same time, making a diversion to facilitate the operations of Gen. Floyd.

Determined by these and other considerations, I took up the line of march, on the 17th inst. and, on the night of the 18th, encamped at the Talledega fort, where I was joined by between 2 and 300 friendly Indians; 65 of which were Cherokees, the balance

Creeks. Here I received your letter of the 9th inst. stating, that Gen. Floyd was expected to make a movement from Cowetau, the next day; and that, in ten days thereafter, he would establish a firm position at Tuckabatchee; and also a letter from Col. Snodgrass, who had returned to fort Armstrong, informing me that an attack was intended to be soon made on that fort, by 900 of the enemy: if I could have hesitated before, I could now hesitate no longer—I resolved to lose no time in meeting this force, which was understood to have been collected from New Yorcau, Oakfuskie, and Ufauley towns and were concentrated in a bend of the Tallapoose, near the mouth of a creek, called Emuckfau, and on an island below New Yorcau.

On the morning of the 20th, your letter of the 10th instant, forwarded by M'Candless, reached me, at the Hillabee creek; and that night I encamped at Enotachapco, a small Hillabee village, about 12 miles from Emuckfau. Here I began to perceive, very plainly, how little knowledge my spies had of the country, of the situation of the enemy, or of the distance I was from them. The insubordination of the new troops, and the want of skill in most of their officers, also became more and more apparent; but their ardor to meet the enemy was not diminished—and I had a sure reliance upon the guards, and the company of old volunteer officers, and upon the spies—in all 125. My wishes and my duty remained united; and I was determined to effect, if possible, the objects for which the excursion had been undertaken.—On the morning of the 21st I marched from Enotachopco, as direct as I could for the bend of the Tallapoose; and about 2 o'clock, P. M. my spies having discovered two of the enemy, pursued, but could not overtake them. In the evening I fell in with a large trail, which led to a new road, much beaten, and lately travelled. Knowing that I must have arrived within the neighborhood of a strong force, and it being late in the day, I determined

ta encamp, and reconnoitre the country in the night : I chose the best scite the country would admit, encamped in a hollow square, sent out my spies and pickets, doubled my centinels, and made the necessary arrangements for a night attack. About 10 o'clock, at night, one of the pickets fired at three of the enemy, and killed one—at 11 o'clock, the spies, whom I had sent out, returned with the information, that there was a large encampment of Indians, at the distance of about three miles ; who, from their whooping and dancing, seemed to be apprized of our approach. One of these spies, (an Indian,) in whom I had great confidence, assured me that they were carrying off their women and children, and that the warriors would either make their escape, or attack me before day. Being prepared at all points, nothing remained to be done but to await their approach, if they meditated an attack ; or to be in readiness, if they did not, to pursue and attack them at day light. While we were in this state of readiness, the enemy, about 6 o'clock in the morning, commenced a vigorous attack on my left flank, which was vigorously met ; the action continued to rage on my left flank, and on the left of my rear, for about half an hour. The brave Gen. Coffee, with Col. Sittler, the Adj. General, and Col. Carroll, the Inspector General, the moment the firing commenced, mounted their horses and repaired to the line, encouraging and animating their men to the performance of their duty.

So soon as it became light enough to pursue, the left wing having sustained the heat of the action, and being somewhat weakened, was reinforced by Capt. Ferrill's company of Infantry, and was ordered, and led on to the charge by General Coffee, who was well supported by Col. Higgins and the Inspector General, and by all the officers and privates who composed that line. The enemy were routed at every point ; and the friendly Indians joining in the pursuit, they were chased about two miles with considerable slaughter. The chase being



over, I immediately detached Gen. Coffee, with 400 men, and all the Indian force, to burn their encampment ; but it was said, by some, to be fortified. I ordered him, in that event, not to attack it, until the artillery could be sent forward to reduce it. On viewing the encampment, and its strength, the General thought it most prudent to return to my encampment, and guard the artillery thither : the wisdom of this step was soon discovered ; in half an hour after his return to camp, a considerable force of the enemy made its appearance on my right flank, and commenced a brisk fire on a party of men, who had been on picket guard the night before, and were then in search of the Indians they had fired upon, some of whom they believed had been killed. Gen. Coffee immediately requested me to let him take 200 men, and turn their left flank—which I accordingly ordered ; but, through some mistake, which I did not then observe, not more than 54 followed him, among whom were the old volunteer officers. With these, however, he immediately commenced an attack on the left flank of the enemy, at which time I ordered 200 of the friendly Indians to fall in upon the right flank of the enemy, and co-operate with the General. This order was promptly obeyed ; and, in 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 all my attention thither, meant to attack me again, and with their main force, on my left flank, which they hoped to find weakened and in disorder—they were disappointed. I had ordered the left flank to remain firm in its place ; and, the moment the alarm gun was heard in that quarter, I repaired thither, and ordered Capt. Ferrill, part of my reserve, to support it. The whole line met the enemy with astonishing intrepidity ; and, having given a few fires, they forthwith charged with great vigor ; the effect was immediate and inevitable—the enemy fled with precipitation, and were pursued to a considerable distance by the left flank, and

the friendly Indians, with a galling and destructive fire. Col. Carrol, who ordered the charge, led on the pursuit; and Col. Higgins, and his regiment, again distinguished themselves. In the meantime, Gen. Coffee was contending with a superior force of the enemy; the Indians, who I had ordered to his support, and who had set out for this purpose, hearing the firing on the left, had returned to that quarter; and, when the enemy were routed there, entered into the chase. That being now over, I forthwith ordered Jim Fife, who was one of the principal commanders of the friendly Creeks, with one hundred of his warriors, to execute my first order. So soon as he reached Gen. Coffee, the charge was made, and the enemy routed; they were pursued about three miles, and 45 of them slain, who were found. General Coffee was wounded in the body, and his aid-de-camp, A. Donaldson, killed, together with three others. Having brought in and buried the dead, and dressed the wounded, I ordered my camp to be fortified, to be the better prepared to repel any attack which might be made in the night, determining to commence a return march, to fort Strother, the next day; many causes concurred to make this measure necessary, as I had not set out prepared, or with a view to make a permanent establishment. I considered it worse than useless to advance, and destroy an empty encampment. I had, indeed, hoped to have met the enemy there; but, having met and beaten them a little sooner, I did not think it necessary or prudent to proceed any further—not necessary, because I had accomplished all I expected to effect, by marching to their encampment—and because, if it was proper to contend with, and weaken their forces still farther, this object would be more certainly attained by commencing a return, which, having to them the appearance of a retreat, would inspire them to pursue me. Not prudent—because of the number of my wounded; of the reinforcements, from below, which the enemy might be expected to receive; of the starv-

ing condition of my horses, they having neither had cane nor corn for two days and nights; of the scarcity of supplies for my men, the Indians who joined me at Tal-ledega having drawn none, and being wholly destitute; and because, if the enemy pursued me, as it was likely they would, the diversion in favor of Gen. Floyd would be the more complete and effectual—influenced by these considerations, I commenced my return march at half after 10, on the 23d inst. and was fortunate enough to reach Enotachopco before night, having passed, without interruption, a dangerous defile, occasioned by a hurricane. I again fortified my camp; and, having another defile to pass in the morning, across a deep creek, and between two hills, which I had viewed with attention as I passed on, and where I expected I might be attacked, I determined to pass it at another point, and gave directions to my guide and fatigue-men accordingly. My expectation of an attack in the morning was increased by the signs of the night, and with it my caution. Before I moved the wounded from the interior of my camp, I had my front and rear guards formed, as well as my right and left columns and moved off my centre in regular order, leading down a handsome ridge to Enotachopco creek, at a point where it was clear of reed, except immediately on its margin. I had previously issued a general order, pointing out the manner in which the men were to be formed, in the event of an attack on the front or rear, or on the flanks; and had particularly cautioned the officers to halt, and form accordingly, the instant the word should be given.

The front guard had crossed, with part of the flank columns; the wounded were over, and the artillery in the act of entering the creek, when an alarm gun was heard in the rear; I heard it without surprize—and even with pleasure, calculating with the utmost confidence on the firmness of my troops, from the manner in which I had seen them act on the 22d. I had placed Col. Carrol at the head of the centre column of the rear guard; its right column was commanded by Col. Perkins and



its left by Col. Stump. Having chosen the ground, I expected there to have entirely cut off the enemy, by wheeling the right and left columns on their pivot, recrossing the creek above and below, and falling in upon their flanks and rear. But, to my astonishment and mortification, when the word was given by Col. Carrol, to halt, and form, and a few guns had been fired, I beheld the right and left columns of the rear guard precipitately give way ; this shameful retreat was disastrous in the extreme ; it drew along with it the greater part of the centre column, leaving not more than 25 men, who, being formed by Col. Carrol, maintained their ground as long as it was possible to maintain it ; and it brought consternation and confusion into the army—a consternation not easily removed ; and a confusion which could not easily be restored to order. There was then left, to repulse the enemy, the few who remained of the rear guard, the artillery company, and Captain Russell's company of spies ;—they, however, realized, and exceeded my highest expectations. Lieut. Armstrong, who commanded the artillery company, in the absence of Capt. Deadrick, (confined by sickness,) ordered them to form, and advance to the top of the hill, whilst he and a few others dragged up the six pounder ; never was more bravery displayed than on this occasion : amidst the most galling fire from the enemy, more than ten times their number, they ascended the hill, and maintained their position until their piece was hauled up, when having levelled it, they poured upon the enemy a fire of grape, re-loaded and fired again—charged, and repulsed them.

The most deliberate bravery was displayed by Constantine Perkins and Craven Jackson, of the artillery, acting as gunners :—in the hurry of the moment, in separating the gun from the limbers, the rammer and picker of the cannon were left tied to the limber ; no sooner was this discovered, than Jackson, amidst the galling fire of the enemy, pulled out the ramrod of his musquet,

and used it as a picker, primed with a cartridge, and fired the cannon. Perkins, having pulled off his bayonet, used his musquet as a rammer, drove down the cartridge; and Jackson, using his former plan, again discharged her. The brave Lieut. Armstrong, just after the first fire of the cannon, with Captain Hamilton, of E. Tennessee, Bradford and M'Gavock, all fell; the Lieutenant exclaiming, as he lay, "my brave fellows, some of you may fall—but save the cannon." About this time, a number crossed the creek and entered into the chase. The brave Captain Gordon, of the spies, who had rushed from the front endeavored to turn the left flank of the enemy, in which he partially succeeded; and Col. Carrol, Col. Higgins, and Captains Elliot and Pipkins, pursued the enemy for more than two miles, who fled in consternation, throwing away their packs, and leaving 26 of their warriors dead on the field. I should do injustice to my feelings, if I omitted to mention that the venerable judge Cocke, at the age of 65, entered into the engagement, continued the pursuit of the enemy with youthful ardor, and saved the life of a fellow-soldier, by killing his savage antagonist.

In these several engagements, our loss was 20 killed, and 75 wounded—4 of whom have since died. The loss of the enemy cannot be accurately ascertained—189 of their warriors were found dead; but this must fall considerably short of the real number killed—their wounded can only be guessed at.

I have the honor, &c.

ANDW. JACKSON, Maj. Gen.

## EXPEDITION TO THE TALLAPOOSEE.

Copy of a letter from Maj. Gen. Jackson, to Maj. Gen Pinckney.

*On the Battle Ground, in the Bend of the Tallapoossee,  
March, 28th, 1814.*

SIR,

I feel peculiarly happy in being able to communicate to you the fortunate eventuation of my expedition to the Tallapoossee. I reached the bend, near Emucfau, (called, by the whites, the Horse-shoe,) about ten o'clock in the forenoon of yesterday, where I found the strength of the neighboring towns collected; expecting our approach, they had gathered in from Oakfuskee, Oakchaga, New Yauca, Hillibeas, the Fish-pond, and Eufalee towns, to the number, it is said, of 1000. It is difficult to conceive a situation more eligible for defence, than they had chosen; or one rendered more secure, by the skill with which they had erected their breast-work; it was from 5 to 8 feet high, and extended across the point in such a direction as that a force, approaching it, would be exposed to a double fire, while they lay in perfect security behind; a cannon, planted at one extremity, could have raked it to no advantage.

Determining to exterminate them, I detached General Coffee, with the mounted men, and nearly the whole of the Indian force, early on the morning of yesterday, to cross the river, about two miles below the encampment, and to surround the bend in such a manner, as that none of them should escape, by attempting to cross the river. With the infantry I proceeded slowly, and in order, along the point of land which led to the front of their breast-work; having planted my cannon (one 6 and one 3 pounder, on an eminence, at the distance of 150 to 200 yards from it, I opened a very brisk fire, playing upon the enemy with the musquets and rifles, whenever they showed themselves beyond it; this



was kept up, with short interruptions, for about two hours, when a part of the Indian force, and Captain Russell's and Lieut. Bean's companies of spies, who had accompanied General Coffee, crossed over in canoes, to the extremity of the bend, and set fire to a few of the buildings which were there situated ; they advanced, with great gallantry, towards the breast-work, and commenced a spirited fire upon the enemy behind it. Finding that this force, notwithstanding the bravery they displayed, was wholly insufficient to dislodge them, and that Gen. Coffee had entirely secured the opposite bank of the river, I now determined to take their works by storm. The men, by whom this was to be effected, had been waiting with impatience to receive their order, and hailed it with acclamation.

The spirit which animated them was a sure augury of the success which was to follow ; the history of warfare, I think, furnishes few instances of a more brilliant attack ; the regulars, led on by their intrepid and skilful commander, Col. Williams, and by the gallant Maj. Montgomery, soon gained possession of the works, in the midst of a most tremendous fire from behind them ; and the militia, of the venerable Gen. Doherty's brigade, accompanied them in the charge, with a vivacity and firmness which would have done honor to regulars. The enemy were completely routed—557 were left dead on the peninsula ; and a great number of them were killed by the horsemen, in attempting to cross the river ; it is believed that no more than 10 had escaped.

The fighting continued, with some severity, about five hours ; but we continued to destroy many of them, who had concealed themselves under the banks of the river, until we were prevented by the night. This morning we killed 16 which had been concealed. We took 250 prisoners, all women and children except 2 or 3 ; our loss is 106 wounded and 26 killed. Maj. M'Intosh, (the Cowetau,) who joined my army with a

part of his tribe, greatly distinguished himself. When I get an hour's leisure I will send you a more detailed account. The power of Creeks is, I think, forever broken. I send you a hasty sketch, taken by the eye, of the situation on which the enemy were encamped, and of the manner in which I approached them.

I have the honor to be, &c.

ANDREW JACKSON, Maj. Gen.

Maj. Gen. THOMAS PINCKNEY, *U. S. Army.*

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## CHAPTER XXXI.

### *General Operations Continued.*

On the 3d of July, General Brown commenced operations by crossing over and surprising fort Erie, which fell an easy conquest, and the next day he advanced to the plains of Chippewa, where he engaged the enemy and gained a signal victory. The victory gave great eclat to the American arms, and diffused a general joy throughout the nation.

The Americans lost 60 killed and 248 wounded.—  
The British lost 133 killed and 320 wounded.

## FURTHER, OF THE BATTLE OF CHIPPEWA.

Copy of a letter from Major-General Brown, to the Secretary of War, dated

*Head-Quarters, Chippewa Plains,*

*July 7, 1814.*

DEAR SIR,

On the second inst. I issued my orders for crossing the Niagara river, and made the arrangements, deemed necessary, for securing the garrison of fort Erie. On the 3d, that post surrendered, at 5, P. M. Our loss in this affair, was four wounded—I have enclosed a return of the prisoners, of the ordnance, and ordnance stores, captured.

To secure my rear, I have placed a garrison in this fort and requested Capt. Kennedy, to station his vessels near the post.

On the morning of the 4th, Brig. Gen. Scott, with his brigade, and a corps of artillery, was ordered to advance towards Chippewa, and be governed by circumstances—taking care to secure a good military position for the night. After some skirmishing with the enemy, he selected this plain, with the eye of a soldier—his right resting on the river, and a ravine being in front. At 11, at night, I joined him with the reserve, under Gen. Ripley, our field, and battering train, and corps of artillery under Maj. Hindman. Gen. Porter arrived, next morning, with a part of the N. Y. and Pennsylvania volunteers, and some of the warriors of the Six Nations.

Early in the morning of the 5th, the enemy commenced a petty war upon our pickets, and, as he was indulged, his presumption increased;—by noon, he showed himself on the left of our exterior line, and attacked one of our pickets, as it was returning to camp. Capt. Treat, who commanded it, retired, disgracefully, leaving



a wounded man on the ground. Capt. Biddle, of the artillery, who was near the scene, impelled by feelings, highly honorable to him, as a soldier and officer, promptly assumed the command of this picket—led it back to the wounded man, and brought him off the field. I ordered Capt. Treat, on the spot, to retire from the army; and, as I am anxious that no officer shall remain under my command, who can be suspected of cowardice, I advise that Capt. Treat, and Lieut. ———, who was also with the picket, be struck from the rolls of the army.

At 4 o'clock, P. M. agreeably to a plan I had given Gen. Porter, he advanced from the rear of our camp, with the volunteers and Indians, (taking the woods, in order to keep out of view of the enemy,) with a hope of bringing his pickets, and scouting parties, between his (Porter's) line of march, and our camp. As Porter moved, I ordered the parties, advanced in front of our camp, to fall back, gradually, under the enemy's fire, in order to draw, him, if possible, up to our line. About half past 4, the advance of Gen. Porter's command, met the light parties of the enemy in the woods, upon our extreme left—the enemy were driven; and Porter advancing near to Chippewa, met their whole column in order of battle. From the cloud of dust rising, and the heavy firing, I was led to conclude that the whole force of the enemy was in march, and prepared for action. I immediately ordered Gen. Scott to advance, with his brigade, and Towson's artillery, and met them upon the plain, in front of our camp. The General did not expect to be gratified so soon, with a field engagement; he advanced, in the most prompt and officer-like style, and, in a few minutes, was in close action, upon the plain with a superior force of British regular troops. By this time, Gen. Porter's command had given way, and fled in every direction, notwithstanding his personal gallantry, and great exertions to stay their flight. The retreat of the volunteers and Indians, caused the left

flank of Gen. Scott's brigade to be greatly exposed. Capt. Harris, with his dragoons, was directed to stop the fugitives, behind the ravine, fronting our camp ; and I sent Col. Gardner to order Gen. Ripley, to advance with the 21st regiment, which formed a part of the reserve—pass to the left of our camp, skirt the woods, so as to keep out of view, and fall upon the rear of the enemy's right flank ; this order was promptly obeyed ; and the greatest exertions were made by the 21st regiment, to gain their position, and close with the enemy—but in vain ; for such was the zeal and gallantry of the line, commanded by Gen. Scott, that its advance upon the enemy was not to be checked. Major Jessup, commanding the left flank battalion, finding himself pressed in front, and in flank, and his men falling fast around him, ordered his battalion to "support arms, and advance." The order was promptly obeyed, amidst the most deadly and destructive fire ; he gained a more secure position, and returned upon the enemy so galling a discharge, as caused them to retire. By this time, their whole line was falling back, and our gallant soldiers pressing upon them, as fast as possible. As soon as the enemy had gained the sloping ground, descending towards Chippewa, and distant a quarter of a mile, he broke, and ran to gain his works ; in this effort, he was too successful ; and the guns, from his batteries, opening immediately upon our line, checked in some degree, the pursuit. At this moment, I resolved to bring up all my ordnance, and force the place by a direct attack, and gave the order accordingly. Major Wood, of the corps of engineers, and my aid, Capt. Austin, rode to the bank of the creek, towards the right of their line of works, and examined them. I was induced, by the lateness of their report, the lateness of the hour, and the advice of Gen. Scott, and Major Wood, to order the forces to retire to camp.

My most difficult duty remains to be performed—I am depressed with the fear of not being able to do jus-

tice to my companions in arms ; and apprehensive that some, who had an opportunity of distinguishing themselves, and promptly embraced it, will escape my notice.

Brig. Gen. Scott is entitled to the highest praises our country can bestow ; to him, more than any man, am I indebted for the victory of the 5th of July—his brigade has covered itself with glory. Every officer and every man of the 9th, 22d, 11th, and 25th regiments, did his duty, with a zeal and energy worthy of the American character. When every officer stands so pre-eminently high in the path of duty and honor, it is impossible to discriminate ; but I cannot deprive myself of the pleasure of saying, that Major Leavenworth commanded the 9th, and 22d ; Major Jessup the 25th, and Major M'Neil the 11th. Col. Campbell was wounded early in the action, gallantly leading on his regiment.

The family of General Scott were conspicuous in the field ; Lieut. Smith, of the 6th 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. I did not order any part of the reserve into action, until Gen. Porter's command had given way ; and then Gen. Scott's movements were so rapid, and decisive, that Gen. Ripley could not get up in time, with the 21st, to the position as directed. The corps of artillery, under Major Hindman, were not generally in action ; this was not their fault. Capt. Towson's company was the only one that had a full opportunity of distinguishing itself ; and it is believed that no company ever embraced an opportunity with more zeal, or more success.

A detachment from the 2d brigade, under the command of Lieut. M'Donald, penetrated the woods, with the Indians and volunteers, and for their support ; the conduct of M'Donald, and his command, reflects high honor upon the brigade to which they belong.



The conduct of Gen. Porter has been conspicuously gallant ; every assistance, in his power to afford, with the description of force under his command, has been rendered ; we could not expect him to contend with the British column of regulars, which appeared upon the plains of Chippewa—it was no cause of surprise to me, to see his command retire before this column.

Justice forbids that I should omit to name my own family, they yield to none, in honorable zeal, intelligence, and attention to duty—Col. Gardner, Major Jones, and my aids, Captains Austin and Spencer have been as active, and as much devoted to the cause, as any officers of the army ; their conduct merits my warmest acknowledgements—of Gardner and Jones, I shall have occasion again to speak to you. Major Camp, deputy Quarter-master General, deserves my particular notice, and approbation : by his great exertions I was enabled to find the means of crossing. Capt. Daliba, of the ordnance department, has rendered every service in his power.

The enclosed return will show you our loss, and furnish you with the names of the dead and wounded officers—these gallant men must not be forgotten ; our country will remember them, and do them justice.

Respectfully, &c.

JACOB BROWN.

Hon. Sec. War.

In the above action, the enemy had 203 killed, and 95 wounded—15 prisoners—Total, 303.

Those reported under the head of wounded and prisoners were so severely injured, that it would have been impracticable for them to have escaped. The enemy had the same facilities of carrying their wounded from the field, at the commencement of the action, as ourselves ; and there can be no doubt, from the informa-

tion that I have received from unquestionable sources, that that they carried from the field as many of their wounded as is reported above in the total.

AZ. ORNE, *Asst. Ins. Gen.*

Our loss was 60 killed—115 S. 134 B. wounded—19 prisoners—Total 328.

The British official account of the above action, states their total loss at 514.

#### FURTHER PROCEEDINGS.

Copy of a letter from Maj. Gen. Brown, to the Secretary of War, dated

*H. Q. Queenstown, July 22d, 1814.*

DEAR SIR,

On the 29th, the army moved, and encamped in the rear of fort George. Gen. Scott, with the van, had some skirmishing, before the main body came up ; but, as the enemy kept close to their works, nothing important occurred. No force was left in our rear—the heights were abandoned to the enemy, and we did hope that the movement would have induced him to re-occupy them, or close in nearer to us, so as to bring on an engagement out of his works ; in this we were disappointed.—The army returned to-day, and found a body of militia and a few regulars, in and about the heights ; Gen. Porter pursued them with his command, and a few regulars, and was so fortunate as to come up with and capture seven officers and ten privates—they will be sent to Greenbush.

Respectfully, &c,

JACOB BROWN.

## FURTHER PROCEEDINGS.

Copy of a letter from Major General Brown, to the Secretary of War,  
dated

*H. Q. Chippewa, July 25, 1814.*

DEAR SIR,

On the 23d inst. I received a letter by express, from General Gaines, advising me, that, on the 20th, the heavy guns that I had ordered from the Harbor, to enable me to operate against forts George and Niagara, were blockaded in that port, together with the rifle regiment that I had ordered up with them. I had ordered these guns, and troops, in boats, provided the Commodore should not deem it proper or prudent to convey them in his fleet, not doubting but that he would have been upon the lake for their protection, and that the enemy would have been driven into port, or captured. As Gen. Gaines informed me that the Commodore was confined to his bed with a fever, and as he did not know when the fleet would sail, or when the guns and forces which I had been expecting, would even leave Sackett's Harbor, I have thought it proper to change my position, with a view to other objects. You know how greatly I am disappointed, and therefore I will not dwell upon that painful subject; and you can best perceive how much has been lost by the delay—and the command of lake Ontario being with the enemy—reliances being placed upon a different state of things. The Indians all left me some time since; it is said that they will return; but this, you will perceive, depends upon circumstances. The reinforcements ordered on, from the west, have not arrived.

Yours, respectfully, and truly,

JACOB BROWN.

Hon. Sec'y of War.



## CHAPTER XXXII.

*General Operations Continued.*

## BATTLE OF BRIDGEWATER.

General Brown returned to Queenstown, and from thence to the plains of Chippewa, to await the enemy, who was advancing with a strong reinforcement, under General Drummond.

General Brown, supported by General Scott, met the enemy at Bridgewater, commanded by Generals Drummond and Riall; a desperate action commenced, and continued, with various successes, until midnight. The Americans carried the field, and the British retired. Generals Brown and Scott, were both wounded in this action, and General Ripley led back the army, the next day, to fort Erie.

The loss of the British in this action, was estimated at 860 killed and wounded; and the loss of the Americans at about the same number. The whole force engaged, was 4000 on the part of the British, and 3000 on the part of the Americans. Few actions have been recorded more bloody than this, for its numbers engaged.

## FURTHER—BATTLE OF BRIDGEWATER.

Copy of a letter from Maj. General Brown, to the Secretary of War, being his detailed report of the Battle of Bridgewater, fought July 25, 1814.

SIR,

Confined as I was, and have been, since the last engagement with the enemy, I fear that the account I am about to give, may be less full and satisfactory, than,

under other circumstances, it might have been made. I particularly fear that the conduct of the gallant men, it was my good fortune to lead, will not be noticed in a way due to their fame, and the honor of our country.

You are already apprised that the army had, on the 25th ult. taken a position at Chippewa; about noon of that day, Col. Swift, who was posted at Lewistown, advised me, by express, that the enemy appeared in considerable force, in Queenstown, and on its heights; that four of the enemy's fleet had arrived, during the preceding night, and were then lying near fort Niagara; and that a number of boats were in view, moving up the streight.--Within a few minutes after this intelligence had been received, I was further informed, by Capt. Denmon, of the Quarter-Master's department, that the enemy was landing at Lewistown; and that our baggage and stores at Schlosser, and on their way thither, were in danger of immediate capture. It is proper here to mention, that having received advices as late as the 20th, from Gen. Gaines that our fleet was then in port, and the Commodore sick, we ceased to look for co-operation from that quarter, and determined to disencumber ourselves of baggage, and march directly for Burlington heights: to mask this intention, and to draw from Schlosser a small supply of provisions, I fell back upon Chippewa. As this arrangement, under the increased force of the enemy, left much at hazard, on our side of the Niagara, and as it appeared, by the before stated information, that the enemy was about to avail himself of it, I conceived that the most effectual method of recalling him from this object, was to put myself in motion towards Queenstown. Gen. Scott, with the 1st brigade, Towson's artillery, and all the dragoons and mounted men, were accordingly put in march, on the road leading thither, with orders to report if the enemy appeared—then to call for assistance, if that was necessary.

On the General's arrival at the falls, he learned that the enemy was in force, directly in his front, narrow pieces of woods alone intercepting his view of them : waiting only to give this information, he advanced upon them ; by the time assistant Adj. Gen. Jones had delivered his message, the action began ; and before the remaining part of the division had crossed the Chipewa, it had become close and general between the advanced corps. Though Gen. Ripley, with the second brigade, Major Hindman, with the corps of artillery, and Gen. Porter, at the head of his command, had respectively pressed forward with ardor, it was not less than an hour before they were brought to sustain Gen. Scott, during which time his command most skilfully, and gallantly, maintained the conflict. Upon my arrival, I found that the General had passed the wood, and engaged the enemy on the Queenston road, and on the ground to the left of it, with the 9th, 11th, and 22d regiments, with Towson's artillery—the 25th had been thrown to the right, to be governed by circumstances. Apprehending that these corps were much exhausted, and knowing that they had suffered severely, I determined to interpose a new line with the advancing troops, and thus disengage Gen. Scott, and hold his brigade in reserve ; orders were accordingly given to Gen. Ripley. The enemy's artillery, at this moment, occupied a hill, which gave him great advantages, and was the key of the whole position ; it was supported by a line of infantry. To secure the victory, it was necessary to carry this artillery, and seize the height ;—this duty was assigned to Col. Miller, while, to favor its execution, the 1st regiment, under the command of Col. Nicholas, was directed to menace and amuse the infantry. To my great mortification, this regiment, after a discharge or two, gave way, and retreated some distance before it could be rallied, though, it is believed, the officers of the regiment exerted themselves to shorten this distance.—In the mean time, Col. Miller, without regard to this oc-



currence, advanced steadily, and gallantly, to his object, and carried the height, and the cannon. Gen. Ripley brought up the 23d (which had also faltered,) to his support, and the enemy disappeared from before them. The 1st regiment was now brought into line, on the left of the 21st and the detachments of the 17th and 19th, Gen. Porter occupying, with his command, the extreme left—about the time Col. Miller carried the enemy's cannon.

The 25th regiment, under Major Jessup, was engaged in a more obstinate contest, with all that remained to dispute with us the field of battle. The Major, as has been already stated, had been ordered by General Scott, at the commencement of the action, to take ground to the right; he had succeeded in turning the enemy's left flank—had captured (by a detachment under Captain Ketchum,) Gen. Riall, and sundry other officers—and showed himself again, to his own army, in a blaze of fire, which defeated or destroyed a very superior force of the enemy. He was ordered to form on the right of the 2d regiment. The enemy, rallying his forces, and, as is believed, having received reinforcements, now attempted to drive us from our position, and regain his artillery; our line was unshaken, and the enemy repulsed; two other attempts, having the same object, had the same issue—Gen. Scott was again engaged, in repelling the former of these; and the last I saw of him, on the field of battle, he was near the head of his column, and giving, to its march, a direction that would have placed him on the enemy's right. It was with great pleasure I saw the good order and intrepidity of Gen. Porter's volunteers, from the moment of their arrival; but, during the last charge of the enemy, those qualities were conspicuous—stimulated by the example set them by their gallant leader, by Major Wood, of the Pennsylvania corps, by Col. Dobbin, of New-York, and by their officers generally, they precipitated themselves upon the

enemy's line, and made all the prisoners which were taken at this point of the action.

Having been for some time wounded, and being a good deal exhausted by loss of blood, it became my wish to devolve the command on Gen. Scott, and retire from the field ; but, on inquiry, I had the misfortune to learn that he was disabled by wounds ; I therefore kept my post, and had the satisfaction of seeing the enemy's last effort repulsed—I now consigned the command to General Ripley.

While retiring from the field, I saw and felt that the victory was complete on our part, if proper measures were promptly adopted to secure it. The exhaustion of the men was, however, such as made some refreshment necessary ; they particularly required water—I was, myself, extremely sensible of the want of this necessary article ; I therefore believed it proper that Gen. Ripley, and the troops, should return to camp, after bringing off the dead, the wounded and the artillery ; and, in this, I saw no difficulty, as the enemy had entirely ceased to act. Within an hour after my arrival in camp, I was informed that Gen. Ripley had returned, without annoyance, and in good order. I now sent for him, and, after giving him my reasons for the measure I was about to adopt, ordered him to put the troops in the best possible condition ; to give to them the necessary refreshment ; to take with him the picquets and camp guards, and every other description of force ; to put himself on the field of battle as the day dawned, and there to meet and beat the enemy, if he appeared—to this order he made no objection, and I relied upon its execution ;—it was not executed. I feel, most sensibly, how inadequate are my powers in speaking of the troops, to do justice either to their merits, or to my own sense of them—under able direction they might have done more, and better.

From the preceding detail, you have new evidence of the distinguished gallantry of Generals Scott and Porter, of Col. Miller, and Major Jessup.

Of the 1st brigade, the chief, with his aid-de-camp, Worth, his Major of brigade, Smith, and every commander of battalion, were wounded. The 2d brigade suffered less ; but, as a brigade, their conduct entitled them to the applause of their country. After the enemy's strong position had been carried by the 21st, and detachments of the 17th and 19th, the 1st and 23d assumed a new character—they could not, again, be shaken or dismayed. Major M'Farland, of the latter, fell nobly at the head of his battalion. Under the command of Gen. Porter, the militia volunteers of Pennsylvania and New-York, stood undismayed, amidst the hottest fire, and repulsed the veterans opposed to them. The Canadian volunteers, commanded by Col. Wilson, are reported by Gen. Porter, as having merited and received his approbation. The corps of artillery, commanded by Major Hindman, behaved with its usual gallantry. Capt. Towson's company, attached to the 1st brigade, was the first and the last engaged ; and, during the whole conflict, maintained that high character, which they had previously won by their skill and valor.—Captains Biddle and Ritchie were both wounded early in the action, but refused to quit the field ; the latter declared that he never would leave his piece—and, true to his engagement, fell by its side, covered with wounds.

The staff of the army had its peculiar merit and distinction—Col. Gardner, Adj. Gen. though ill, was on horseback, and did all in his power ; his assistant, Major Jones, was very active and useful ; my gallant aids-de-camp, Austin and Spencer, had many, and critical, duties to perform—in the discharge of which, the latter fell :—I shall ever think of this young man, with pride and regret—regret, that his career has been so short ; pride, that it has been honorable and distinguished.—The engineers, Majors M'Rea and Wood, were great!



distinguished on this day, and their high military talents, exerted with great effect; they were much under my eye, and near my person—and, to their assistance, a great deal is fairly to be ascribed; I most earnestly recommend them, as worthy of the highest trust and confidence.

The staff of Generals Ripley and Porter discovered great zeal, and attention to duty. Lieut. E. B. Randolph, of the 20th, is entitled to notice—his courage was conspicuous.

I enclose a return of our loss; those noted as missing may generally be numbered with the dead. The enemy had but little opportunity of making prisoners.

I have the honor, &c.

JACOB BROWN.

Hon. J. ARMSTRONG,  
*Sec. War.*

Return of killed, wounded and missing, in the above action.—Killed, 171—Wounded, 570—Missing, 117—Total, 858.

C. K. GARDNER, Adj. Gen.

Return of prisoners, taken from the enemy in the above action, viz.—1 Major General, (Riall)—1 Aid (to Lt. Gen. Drummond)—6 Captains—11 Subalterns—150 rank and file—Total, 169.

AZ. ORNE, Assist. Insp. Gen.

The British official account of the above action makes their loss as follows, viz.—Killed, 84—Wounded, 559—Missing, 193—Prisoners, 42—Total, 378.

(Signed)

ED. BAYNES.

## BATTLE OF BRIDGEWATER.

Copy of a letter from Capt. L. Austin, Aid to Gen. Brown, to the Secretary of War, dated

*H. Q. Buffalo, 29th July, 1814.*

I have the honor of addressing you by desire of Gen. Brown, who is now confined by wounds, received in a severe and desperate engagement with the enemy, on the afternoon and night of the 25th inst.

Our army had fallen back to Chippewa. The enemy, collecting every regiment from Burlington and York, and meeting with no opposition on Lake Ontario, transported, by water, to fort George, troops from Kingston, and even Prescott, which enabled them to bring a force against us, vastly superior, under the command of Lieut. Gen. Drummond and Maj. Gen. Riall. They were met by us near the falls of Niagara, where a most severe conflict ensued; the enemy disputed the ground with resolution, yet were driven from every position they attempted to hold. We stormed his batteries, directly in front, and took possession of all his artillery; notwithstanding his immense superiority, both in numbers and position, he was completely defeated, and our troops remained on the battle ground, without any interruption. As, however, both Generals Brown and Scott had received severe wounds—almost every chief of battalion disabled—and our men quite exhausted, it was thought prudent to retire to our encampment; which was done in good order, without any molestation from the enemy—our wounded having first been removed.

Maj. Gen. Riall, with the aid-de-camp of Lieut. Gen. Drummond, and about twenty other, officers, with two hundred privates, are taken prisoners.

The loss, on both sides, is immense ; but no account has yet been returned. The aid, and brigade Major of Gen. Scott, are both severely wounded ; and Capt. Spencer, an aid of Gen. Brown, most probably dead, having received two balls through his body. Both Generals Brown and Scott are on this side, confined by their wounds ; Gen. Ripley commands on the other. General Brown received his wounds at the same instant during a late part of the action ; but still continued to keep his horse, until exhausted by loss of blood—this, probably, has rendered his wounds more painful than they would otherwise have been.

I have the honor, &c.

L. AUSTIN, A. D. Camp.

Hon. Sec. War.

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## CHAPTER XXXIII.

### *General Operations Continued.*

#### SIEGE AT FORT ERIE.

General Drummond advanced and invested the American army in fort Erie ; but finding an obstinate resistance, he attempted to carry it by storm, August 15th. Here the scenes of Chippewa and Bridgewater, were renewed. The enemy were repulsed with great loss.

General Brown had now recovered of his wounds and resumed the command, September 2d.

General Drummond continued his operations before fort Erie ; strengthened his works and pushed the siege.

On the 17th, General Brown executed a gallant sortie, by performing a circuitous march, and surprised the en-



emy upon the flank of his trenches; charged him in column, and carried his works with a dreadful carnage. More than 800 men fell, on the side of the enemy, and the Americans lost 300. General Drummond raised the siege and retired to Chippewa.

#### BATTLE AT FORT ERIE.

Copies of letters from Brig. Gen. Gaines, to the Secretary of War,  
dated

*H. Q. Fort Erie, U. C. Aug. 23d, 1814.*

SIR,

Loss of sleep, and constant exposure to the weather, in its various changes, gave me, some days ago, a violent cold, which has put it out of my power to do any thing more than the state of the service here rendered absolutely indispensable; hence my apology for delaying, until this day, my report of the battle of the 15th inst.

General Drummond is quietly engaged, in collecting his reinforcements; his camp appears to be fortified: I attempted to look at it, a few days past, and it cost me a fine young officer, Lieut. Yates, of the 4th rifle regiment, killed, and Lieut. Kearsley, of that excellent corps, with Lieut. Childs, of the 9th, wounded; with the loss of some 2 or 3 privates killed, and 5 or 6 wounded. The loss of the enemy, I was unable to ascertain; he would not leave his defences, and I did not think fit to leave mine at all exposed. Several deserters say, that the 6th and 82d regiments arrived last night—if this be true, their strength is about the same as it was before the battle of the 15th; their Col. Scott, is dead. About 20 deserters from the De. Watteville regiment, and some few from other corps, concur

in the report, that their loss in killed, wounded, and missing, on the 15th, was upwards of a thousand.

E. P. GAINES, B. Gen. Comg.

Gen. ARMSTRONG,

*Sec'y War.*

#### DETAILED REPORT.

*H. Q. Left Wing 2d Division, Fort Erie,  
U. C. Aug. 1814.*

SIR,

I have the honor to communicate, for the information of the department of war, the particulars of the battle fought at this place, on the 15th inst. between the left wing of the 2d division of the northern army, under my command, and the British forces in the Peninsula of U. C. commanded by Lieut. Gen. Drummond, which terminated in a signal victory, in favor of the United American arms. Our position, on the margin of the lake, at the entrance of the Niagara river, being nearly a horizontal plane, 12 or 15 feet above the surface of the water, possessing few natural advantages, had been strengthened in front, by temporary parapet breastworks, intrenchments, and abattis, with two batteries and 6 field pieces. The small, unfinished fort, Erie, with a 24, 18 and 12 prs. form the N. E.—and the Douglass battery, with an 18, and 6 pr. near the edge of the lake, the S. E. angle of our right; the left is defended by a redoubt battery, with 6 field pieces, just thrown up on a small ridge; our rear was left open to the lake, bordered by a rocky shore of easy ascent; the battery, on the left, was defended by Capt. Towson; Fort Erie, by Capt. Williams, with Major Trimble's command, of the 19th infantry; the batteries on the front, by Captains Biddle and Fanning; the whole of the artillery commanded by Major Hindman. Parts of the 11th, 9th, and 22d infantry, (of the late veteran

brigade of Maj. Gen. Scott,) were posted on the right, under the command of Lieut. Col. Aspinwall ; Gen. Ripley's brigade, consisting of the 21st and 23d, defended on the left ; Gen. Porter's brigade, of the New York and Pennsylvania volunteers, with our distinguished riflemen, occupied the centre.

I have, therefore, omitted stating to you, that, during the 13th and 14th, the enemy had kept up a brisk cannonade, which was sharply returned from our batteries, without any considerable loss on our part ; at 6, P. M. one of their shells lodged in a small magazine, in fort Erie, which was fortunately almost empty ; it blew up, with an explosion, more awful in its appearance than injurious in its effects, as it did not disable a man, or damage a gun. It occasioned but a momentary cessation of the thunders of the artillery, on both sides ; it was followed by a loud and joyous shout of the British army, which was instantly returned on our part ; and Capt. Williams, amidst the smoke of the explosion, renewed the contest by an animated roar of his heavy cannon.

From the supposed loss of our ammunition, and the consequent depression such an event was likely to produce upon the minds of our men, I felt persuaded that this explosion would lead the enemy to assault, and made my arrangements accordingly—the annexed paper, No. 1. is a copy of Lieut. Gen. Drummond's plan of attack.

The night was dark, and, the early part of it, raining ; but the faithful centinel slept not :—one third of the troops were up at their posts. At half past 2 o'clock, the right column of the enemy approached ; and, though enveloped in darkness, black as his designs and principles, was distinctly heard on our left, and promptly marked by our musquetry, under Major Wood, and artillery, under Capt. Towson. Being mounted at the moment, I repaired to the point of attack, where the sheet of fire, rolling from Towson's bat-



tery and the musquetry, of the left wing of the 21st infantry, under Major Wood, enabled me to see the enemy's column, of about 1500 men, approaching on that point ; his advance was not checked, until it approached within 10 feet of our infantry ; a line of loose brush, representing an abattis, only intervened ; a column of the enemy attempted to pass round the abattis, through the water, where it was nearly breast deep : apprehending that this point would be carried, I ordered a detachment of riflemen and infantry to its support ; but having met with the gallant commander, Major Wood, was assured by him that he could defend his position without reinforcements.

At this moment the enemy were repulsed ; but instantly renewed the charge, and were again repulsed. My attention was now called to the right, where our batteries and lines were soon lighted by a most brilliant fire, of cannon and musquetry ; it announced the approach of the centre and left columns of the enemy, under Colonels Drummond and Scott—the latter was received by the veteran 9th, under the command of Capt. Foster, and Captains Boughton and Harding's companies of New-York and Pennsylvania volunteers, aided by a 6 pr. judiciously posted by Major M'Rea, chief engineer, who was most active and useful at this point—they were repulsed. That of the centre, led by Col. Drummond, was not long kept in check ; it approached, at once, every assailable point of the fort, and, with scaling ladders, ascended the parapet, but was repulsed with dreadful carnage. The assault was twice repeated, and as often checked ; but the enemy, having moved round in the ditch, covered by darkness, added to the heavy cloud of smoke which had rolled from our cannon and musquetry, enveloping surrounding objects, repeated the charge, re-ascended the ladders—their pikes, bayonets, and spears, fell upon our gallant artillerists. The gallant spirits of our favorite, Capt. Williams, and Lieuts. M'Donough and Wat-

mough, with their brave men, were overcome—the two former, and several of their men, received deadly wounds—our bastion was lost. Lieut. M'Donough, being severely wounded, demanded quarter; it was refused by Col. Drummond—the Lieutenant then seized a handspike, and nobly defended himself, until he was shot down with a pistol, by the monster who had refused him quarter; who often reiterated the order, “give the damned yankees no quarter.” This officer, whose bravery, if it had been seasoned with virtue, would have entitled him to the admiration of every soldier—this hardened murderer soon met his fate: he was shot through the breast by——, of the ——regiment, while repeating the order, to “give no quarter.” The battle now raged with increased fury, on the right; but on the left, the enemy was repulsed and put to flight; thence, and from the centre, I ordered reinforcements—they were promptly sent, by Brig. Gen. Ripley and Gen. Porter. Capt. Fanning, of the corps of artillery, kept a spirited and destructive fire, with his field pieces, on the enemy attempting to approach the fort. Major Hindman's gallant efforts, aided by Major Trimble, having failed to drive the enemy from the bastion, with the remaining artillery and infantry, in the forts, Capt. Birdsall, of the 4th rifle regiment, with a detachment of riflemen, gallantly rushed in, through the gateway, to their assistance; and with some infantry, charged the enemy—but was repulsed, and the Captain severely wounded. A detachment from the 11th, 19th, and 22d infantry, under Capt. Foster, of the 11th, were introduced over the interior bastion, for the purpose of charging the enemy; Major Hall, assistant Inspector-General, very handsomely tendered his services to lead the charge; the charge was gallantly made by Capt. Foster, and Major Hall; but owing to the narrowness of the passage up the bastion, admitting only 2 or 3 men abreast, it failed:—it was often repeated, and as often checked. The enemy's force in the bastion was,

however, much cut to pieces, and diminished, by our artillery and small arms.

At this moment, every operation was arrested by the explosion of some cartridges, deposited in the end of the stone building, adjoining the contested bastion—the explosion was tremendous—it was decisive—the bastion was restored. At this moment Capt. Biddle was ordered to cause a field piece to be posted, so as to enfilade the exterior plain and salient glacis. The Captain, though not recovered from a severe contusion in the shoulder, received from one of the enemy's shells, promptly took his position, and served his field piece with vivacity and effect. Capt. Fanning's battery, likewise, played upon them, at this time, with great effect—the enemy were, in a few moments, entirely defeated, taken, or put to flight, leaving on the field 221 killed, 174 wounded, and 186 prisoners—(581,) including 14 officers killed, and 7 wounded and prisoners; a large portion are so severely wounded that they cannot survive; the slightly wounded, it is presumed, were carried off.

To Brig. Gen. Ripley, much credit is due, for the judicious disposition of the left wing, previous to the action, and for the steady disciplined courage manifested by him, and his immediate command; and for the promptness with which he complied with my orders, for reinforcement, during the action. Brig. Gen. Porter, commanding the New-York and Pennsylvania volunteers, manifested a degree of vigilance and judgment, in his preparatory arrangements, as well as military skill and courage, in action, which proves him to be worthy the confidence of his country, and the brave volunteers who fought under him. Of the volunteers, Captains Boughton and Harding, with their detachments posted on the right, and attached to the line, commanded by Capt. E. Foster, of the veteran 9th infantry, handsomely contributed to the repulse of the left column of the enemy, under Col. Scott.



The judicious preparations, and steady conduct of Lieut. Col. Aspinwall, commanding the first brigade, merit approbation. To Major M'Rea, chief engineer, the greatest credit is due, for the excellent arrangement, and skilful execution of his plans for fortifying and defending the right, and for his correct and seasonable suggestions in regaining the bastion. Major Wood, of the engineers, also greatly contributed to the previous measures of defence ; he had accepted the command of a regiment of infantry, (the 21st,) for which he has often proved himself well qualified, but never so conspicuously as on this occasion.

Towson's battery emitted a constant sheet of fire—Wood's small arms lighted up the space, and repulsed five terrible charges, made between the battery and the lake. Brig. Gen. Ripley speaks in high terms of the officers and men engaged, particularly Captains Marston and Ropes. Lieutenants Riddle, of the 15th, (doing duty with the 21st,) and Hall ; Ensigns Benn, Jones, Cummings, and Thomas, of the 21st, and Keally and Green, of the 19th.

Major Hindman, and the whole of the artillery under the command of that excellent officer, displayed a degree of gallantry and good conduct, not to be surpassed. The particular situation of Capt. Towson, and the much lamented Captain Williams and Lieutenant M'Donough, and that of Lieut Watmough, as already described, with their respective commands, rendered them most conspicuous. The courage and good conduct of Lieut. Zantinger, and Lieut. Chiles, is spoken of in high terms, by Major Hindman and Captain Towson ; as also that of serjeant-major Denhon. Captains Biddle and Fanning, on the centre and right of their entrenchments, threw their shot to the right, left, and front, and annoyed the Indians, and light troops of the enemy, approaching from the woods. Lieut. Fontaine, in his zeal to meet the enemy, was unfortunately wounded, and made prisoner. Lieut. Bird was active and useful ;

and, in fact, every individual of the corps did their duty.

The detachment of Scott's gallant brigade, consisting of parts of the 9th, 11th, and 22d infantry, did its duty in a manner worthy the high reputation the brigade had acquired at Chippewa, and at the falls of Niagara. The 9th, under the command of Capt. E. Foster, was actively engaged against the left of the enemy; and, with his aid Lieut. Douglass' corps of bombardiers commanding the water battery, and of that of the volunteers, under Captains Boughton and Harding, effected their repulse. The good conduct of Lieuts. Childs, Cushman, and Foote, and Ensign Blake, deserves commendation.

The officers killed, are Capt. Williams and Lieut. M'Donough, of the artillery—wounded, 6 other subaltern officers, severely.

Lieut. Fontaine, of the artillery, who was taken prisoner, writes from the British camp, that he fortunately fell into the hands of the Indians, who, after taking his money, treated him kindly—it would seem, then, that these savages had not joined in the resolution to give no quarters.

I have the honor, &c.

E. P. GAINES, Brig. Gen. Comg.

Hon. J. ARMSTRONG,

*Sec. War.*

## SORTIE NEAR FORT ERIE.

Copy of a letter from Major-General Brown, to the Secretary of War, dated

*H. Q. Fort Erie, Sept. 18, 1814.*

SIR,

I have the satisfaction to announce to you a brilliant achievement, yesterday effected by the forces under my command. A sortie was made upon the enemy's batteries—these were carried; we blew up his principal work, destroyed his battering pieces, and captured 400 prisoners. The enemy resisted our assault with firmness, but suffered greatly—his total loss cannot be less than 800 men.

In such a business, we could not but expect to lose many valuable lives; they were offered up a voluntary sacrifice to the safety and honor of this army and nation.

I will forward to you the particulars of this splendid affair, with a return of the killed and wounded, in the course of a few days.

Very respectfully, &c.

JACOB BROWN.

Hon. Sec. of War.

## SORTIE AT ERIE.

Copy of a letter from Major-General Brown, to the Secretary of War, dated

*H. Q. Camp Fort Erie, Sept. 29th, 1814.*

SIR,

In my letter of the 18th inst. I briefly informed you of the fortunate issue of the sortie which took place the day preceding. But it is due to the gallant officers and men, to whose bravery we are indebted for our success



on this occasion, that I should give you a more circumstantial and detailed account of this affair.

The enemy's camp I had ascertained to be situated in a field surrounded by woods, nearly two miles distant from their batteries and entrenchments, the object of which was to keep the parts of the force, which was not upon duty, out of the range of our fire from fort Erie and Black Rock. Their infantry was formed into three brigades, estimated at 12 or 15 hundred men each. One of these brigades, with a detail from their artillery, was stationed at their works, (these being about 500 yards distant from old fort Erie, and the right of our line.) We had already suffered much from the fire of two of their batteries, and were aware that a third was about to open upon us. Under these circumstances, I resolved to storm the batteries, destroy the cannon, and roughly handle the brigade upon duty, before those in reserve could be brought into action.

On the morning of the 17th, the infantry and riflemen, regulars and militia were ordered to be paraded and put in readiness to march, precisely at 12 o'clock. Gen. Porter, with the volunteers, Colonel Gibson, with the riflemen, and Major Brooks, with the 23d and 1st infantry, and a few dragoons, acting as infantry, were ordered to move, from the extreme left of our position, upon the enemy's right by a passage opened through the woods for the occasion. Gen. Miller was directed to station his command in the ravine, which lies between fort Erie and the enemy's batteries, by passing them by detachments through the skirts of the wood; and the 21st infantry, under Gen. Ripley, was posted as a corps of reserve, between the new bastions of fort Erie—all under cover, and out of the view of the enemy.

About 20 minutes before 3, P. M. I found the left columns, under the command of Gen. Porter, which were destined to turn the enemy's right, within a few

rods of the British entrenchments. They were ordered to advance and commence the action. Passing down the ravine, I judged, from the report of musquetry, that the action had commenced on our left; I now hastened to Gen. Miller, and directed him to seize the moment, and pierce the enemy's entrenchment, between batteries No. 2 and 3. My orders were promptly and ably executed. Within 30 minutes after the first gun was fired, batteries No 3 and 2, the enemy's line of entrenchments, and his two block-houses, were in our possession. Soon after, battery No. 1 was abandoned by the British. The guns, in each, were spiked by us, or otherwise destroyed, and the magazine of No. 3 was blown up.

A few minutes before the explosion, I had ordered up the reserve, under Gen. Ripley; as he passed me, at the head of his column, I desired him, as he would be the senior in advance, to ascertain, as near as possible, the situation of the troops in general, and to have a care, that not more was hazarded than the occasion required; that the object of the sortie effected, the troops would retire, in good order, &c.—Gen. Ripley passed rapidly on. Soon after, I became alarmed for General Miller, and sent an order for the 21st to hasten to his support, towards battery No. 1: Col. Upham received the order, and advanced to the aid of Gen. Miller.—Gen. Ripley had inclined to the left, where Maj. Brooks' command was engaged, with a view of making some necessary inquiries of that officer; and, in the act of doing so, was unfortunately wounded. By this time, the object of the sortie was accomplished beyond my most sanguine expectations. Gen. Miller had consequently ordered the troops, on the right, to fall back; observing this movement, I sent my staff along the line to call in the other corps. Within a few minutes, they retired from the ravine, and from thence to camp.

Thus, 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 1000 men, at least.— I am at a loss to express my satisfaction at the gallant conduct of the officers and men of this division, whose valor has shone superior to every trial. Gen. Porter, in his official report herein enclosed, has very properly noticed those patriotic citizens, who have done so much honor to themselves, by freely, and voluntarily tendering their services, at a dangerous and critical period.

As the scene of action was in the wood, in advance of the position I had chosen for directing the movements of the whole, the several reports of the commandants of corps must guide me, in noticing individuals.

General Miller mentions Lieut. Col. Aspinwall, Lieut. Col. Beedle, Major Trimble, Capt. Hull, Capt. Ingersol, Lieut. Crawford, Lieut. Lee, and particularly Ensign O'Fling, as entitled to distinction.

Lieut. Col. M'Donald, upon whom the command of the rifle corps devolved, upon the fall of the brave and generous Gibson, names Adjutants Shortridge of the 1st, and Ballard of the 4th regiment, as deserving the highest applause, for their promptness and gallantry in communicating orders. Of the other officers of the corps, he reports generally, that the bravery and good conduct of all was so conspicuous, as to render it impossible to discriminate.

Major Brooks, to whom much credit is due for the distinguished manner in which he executed the orders he received, speaks in high terms of Lieuts. Goodell, Ingersol, Livingston, and Ensigns Brant and O'Fling, of the 23d—particularly of the latter. Also of Capt. Simms, Lieutenants Bissel, Shore, and Brinot of the 1st infantry, and Lieut. Watts of the dragoons.

Lieut. Col. Upham, who took command of the reserve, after Gen. Ripley was disabled, bestows great praise upon Major Chambers, of the 4th regiment of riflemen, attached to the 21st infantry, as also upon



Capt. Bradford, and Lieut. Holding, of that regiment.

My staff, Col. Snelling, Col. Gardner, Major Jones, and my aid-de-camp, Major Austin, and Lieut. Armstrong, were, as usual, zealous, intelligent, and active—they performed every duty required of them to my entire satisfaction.

Major Hall, Assistant Inspector Gen. led a battalion of militia, and conducted with skill and gallantry.—Lieut. Kirby, aid-de-camp to Gen. Ripley, was extremely active and useful, during the time he was in the action.

Lieutenants Frazer and Riddle were in Gen. Porter's staff; their bravery was conspicuous, and no officers of their grade were more useful.

The corps of artillery, commanded by Major Hindman, which has been so eminently distinguished throughout this campaign, had no opportunity of taking a part in the sortie. The 25th infantry, under Col. Jessup, was stationed in fort Erie, to hold the key of our position.

Col. Brady, on whose firmness and good conduct every reliance could be placed, was on command at Buffalo, with the remains of the 22d infantry. Lieut. Col. M'Rea, and Lieut. Col. Wood, of the corps of engineers, have rendered to this army services the most important; I must seize the opportunity of again mentioning them, particularly: on every trying occasion, I have reaped much benefit from their sound and excellent advice; no two officers of their grade 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 the 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 in estimation. M'Rea lives to enjoy the approbation of every virtuous and generous mind, and to receive the reward due to his services and high military talents.

It is proper here to notice, that although but one third of the enemy's force was on duty when his works were carried, the whole we brought into action while we were employed in destroying his cannon. We secured prisoners from seven of his regiments, and know that the 6th and 82d suffered severely in killed and wounded, yet these regiments were not upon duty.

Lieut. Gen. Drummond broke up his camp, during the night of the 21st, and retired to his entrenchments, behind the Chippewa. A party of our men came up with the rear of his army, at Frenchman's Creek; the enemy destroyed part of their stores, by setting fire to the buildings from which they were employed in conveying them. We found, in and about their camp, a considerable quantity of cannon ball, and upwards of one hundred stand of arms.

I send you, enclosed herein, a return of our loss. The return of prisoners enclosed does not include the stragglers that came in after the action.

I have the honor, &c.

JACOB BROWN.

Hon. Sec'y War.

Report of the killed, wounded, and missing, in the above action.—Killed, 79—wounded, 216—missing, 216—total 511.

C. K. GARDNER, *Adj. Gen.*

Return of prisoners taken in the above action.—Two Majors, 4 Captains, 4 Lieutenants, 1 Ensign, 1 Assistant-Surgeon, 4 staff sergeants, 19 sergeants, 17 corporals, 1 drummer, 332 rank and file—total 385.

J. SNELLING, *Insp. Gen.*

During these operation, General Izard arrived with a reinforcement from Plattsburg, of 400 men, to sup-

port the garrison at Erie ; but finding the garrison relieved by the retreat of the enemy, he ordered the fort to be destroyed, and retired into winter quarters at Buffalo.

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## CHAPTER XXXIV.

### *General Operations at the South.*

#### CAPTURE OF WASHINGTON, &c.

In the spring of 1814, Commodore Barney took the command of a small flotilla of gunboats, to protect the inlets, and small rivers, that fall into the Chesapeake bay. About the 1st of June, the enemy entered the Chesapeake bay, and renewed their ravages, with greater severity than they had done the last year. Sharp and frequent rencounters took place, upon the water and upon the land ; but the enemy succeeded in laying waste the country, and carrying off the negroes, through the months of June and July.

About the middle of August, the British entered the Chesapeake with a fleet of about 60 sail, including transports, under Admiral Cockburn, and landed about 6000 men at Benedict, on the Patuxent, under the command of general Ross.

On the 22d, general Ross reached the Wood-yard, (so called) twelve miles from Washington, where commodore Barney caused a large flotilla of gun-boats to be destroyed, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy.

On the 23d, General Ross reached Bladensburg, six miles from Washington, where he dispersed the militia,



after a short resistance, and advanced to the city.— Commodore Barney had assembled a small force in defence of the capital, with several eighteen pounders, and made a stand ; but he was soon overpowered by numbers, wounded and taken prisoner, and the capital fell into the hands of the enemy. The navy yard was destroyed.

Here stands recorded one more display of British magnanimity. By order of General Ross, the capitol, the President's house, and executive offices were burnt.

The enemy retired on the night of the 25th, by rapid marches ; regained their ships and embarked.

A detachment from this fleet visited Alexandria ; plundered the city, and carried off a quantity of flour, &c.

### COM. BARNEY'S FLOTILLA.

Copy of a letter from Commodore Barney, to the Secretary of the Navy, dated

*Sunday, 26th June, 1814—10, A. M.*

SIR,

This morning, at 4, a combined attack of the artillery, marine corps, and flotilla, was made upon the enemy's two frigates, at the mouth of the creek ; after two hours engagement, they got under way, and made sail down the river ; they are now warping round Point-Patience, and I am moving up the Patuxent, with my flotilla. My loss is acting Midshipman Asquith killed, and ten others, killed and wounded—[3 killed, and 8 wounded.]

Mr. Blake, the bearer of this, was a volunteer in my barge—he will give you every other information.

With respect, &c.

JOSHUA BARNEY.

Hon. W. JONES,

*Sec'y of Navy.*

## CHAPTER XXXV.

### *General Operations at the North.*

#### MACDONOUGH'S VICTORY.

The darkest period of this ever memorable contest with Britain had now arrived. The storm of war had raged now two years and more, along the Canada frontier, and among the Indians at the south, and at this eventful moment Washington, the capital of the nation had fallen into the hands of the enemy; his ravages had marred the beauty of the city, and the public buildings were smoking in ruins. The storm of war howled along the American seaboard; New York was threatened with a formidable invasion, by a powerful fleet, and Wellington's invincibles were prepared to co-operate by a descent upon Plattsburg, and marching upon Albany. Under this dark and gloomy state of the war, Sir George Prevost, Gov. of Canada, marched upon Plattsburg, with an army of 14,000 men, to dislodge Gen. M'Comb, and ravage the state of New York. Commodore Downie at the same time, moved with the squadron under his command to co-operate with Gen. Prevost, by destroying the American squadron under the command of Commodore Macdonough.

## MACDONOUGH'S VICTORY.

Copy of a letter from Commodore Macdonough, to the Secretary of the Navy, dated

*U. S. S. Saratoga, off Plattsburg,*  
September, 11th, 1814.

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.

I have the honor, &c.

T. MACDONOUGH, Comg.

Hon. W. JONES, *Sec'y of Navy.*

## FURTHER OF MACDONOUGH'S VICTORY.

Copy of a letter from Commodore Macdonough, to the Secretary of the Navy, dated

*U. S. S. Saratoga, Plattsburg Bay,*  
September, 13, 1814.

SIR,

I have the honor to give you the particulars of the action, which took place on the 11th instant on this lake.

For several days the enemy were on their way to Plattsburgh, by land and water, and it being well understood, that an attack would be made, at the same time, by their land and naval forces, I determined to await, at anchor, the approach of the latter.\*

\*The following list will shew the relative force of the two squadrons.

American,	Guns,	British,	Guns,
Saratoga,	26	Confiance,	39
Eagle,	20	Brig Linnet,	16
Ticonderoga,	17	Sloop Cherub,	11
Preble,	7	Finch,	11
10 Gallies, total	16	13 Gallies, total	18
Total	86.	Total	95.



At 8 o'clock, A. M. the look-out boat announced the approach of the enemy—at 9, he anchored in a line, ahead, at about 380 yards distance from my line—his ship opposed to the *Saratoga*, his brig to the *Eagle*, his gallies, (13 in number,) to the schooner, sloop, and a division of our gallies, one of his sloops assisting their ship and brig, the other assisting their gallies—our remaining gallies, with the *Saratoga* and *Eagle*.

In this situation, the whole force, on both sides, became engaged; the *Saratoga* suffering much, from the heavy fire of the *Confiance*. I could perceive, at the same time, however, that our fire was very destructive to her. The *Ticonderoga*, Lieut. Comdt. Cassin gallantly sustained her full share of the action.

At half past 10 o'clock, the *Eagle*, not being able to bring her guns to bear, cut her cable, and anchored in a more eligible position, between my ship and the *Ticonderoga*, where she very much annoyed the enemy, but unfortunately leaving me exposed to a galling fire from the enemy's brig. Our guns, on the starboard side, being nearly all dismantled, or not manageable, a stern anchor was let go, the bower cable cut, and the ship winded with a fresh broadside on the enemy's ship, which soon after surrendered. Our broadside was then sprung, to bear on the brig, which surrendered in about 15 minutes after.

The sloop, that was opposed to the *Eagle*, had struck some time before, and drifted down the line; the sloop, which was with their gallies, having struck also.—Three of their gallies are said to be sunk; the others pulled off. Our gallies were about obeying, with alacrity, the signal to follow them, when all their vessels were reported, to me, as being in a sinking state; it then became necessary to annul the signal to the gallies, and order their men to the pumps.

I could only look at the enemy's gallies going off, in a shattered condition; 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 though it had been just placed over the mast-heads.

The *Saratoga* had 55 round shot in her hull; the *Confiance* 105. The enemy's shot passed, principally, just over our heads, as there were not 20 whole hammocks in the nettings, at the close of the action, which lasted, without intermission, two hours and twenty minutes.

The absence, and sickness of Lieut. Raymond Perry, left me without the services of that excellent officer; much ought fairly to be attributed to him, for his great care, and attention, in disciplining this ship's crew, as her first Lieutenant; his place was filled by a gallant young officer, Lieut. Peter Gamble, who, I regret to inform you, was killed early in the action. Acting Lieut. Vallette worked the 1st and 2d divisions of guns, with able effect. Sailing-master Brum's attention to the springs, and in the execution of the order to wind the ship, and occasionally at the guns, meets with my entire approbation; also Capt. Youngs, commanding the acting marines, who took his men to the guns. Mr. Beale, Purser, was of great service at the guns, and in carrying my orders throughout the ship, with Midshipman Montgomery. Master's mate, Joshua Justin, had command of the third division; his conduct, during the action, was that of a brave and correct officer. Midshipmen Monteath, Graham, Williamson, Platt, Theving, and acting Midshipman Baldwin, all behaved well, and gave evidence of their making valuable officers.

The *Saratoga* was twice set on fire, by hot shot from the enemy's ship.

I close sir, this communication with feelings of gratitude, for the able support I received from every officer and man attached to the squadron, which I have the honor to command.

I have the honor, &c.

T. MACDONOUGH.

Hon. W. JONES, Sec. Navy.

Return of the killed and wounded, on board the U. States squadron, in the above action.—Killed, 52; wounded, 53—total, 110. Our force amounted to 86 guns—that of the enemy to 95 guns.

## VICTORY ON LAKE CHAMPLAIN.

Copy of a letter from George Beale, Jun. to Com. Macdonough,

*U. S. S. Saratoga, Sept. 13, 1814.*

SIR,

I have the honor to enclose you a list of the killed and wounded on board of the different vessels, of the squadron under your command, in the action of the 11th instant.

It is impossible to ascertain correctly, the loss of the enemy; from the best information received from the British officers, from my own observations, and from various lists, found on board the *Confiance*, I calculate the number of men, on board that ship at the commencement of the action, at 270, of whom, at least, 180 were killed and wounded; and, on board the other captured vessels, at least 80 more—making, in the whole, killed and wounded, 260. This is, doubtless, short of the real number, as many were thrown overboard, from the *Confiance*, during the engagement.

The muster-books must have been thrown overboard, or otherwise disposed of, as they are not to be found.

I am, sir, &c.

GEO. BEALE, Jun. Purser  
Thos. MACDONOUGH, Comg.



## DEFENCE OF FORT MOREAU.

Copy of a letter from Gen. Macomb, to the Secretary of War, dated

*Fort Moreau, Sept. 12, 1814.*

SIR,

I have the honor to inform you, that the British army, consisting of four brigades, a corps of artillery, a squadron of horse, and a strong light corps, amounting, in all, to about fourteen thousand men, after investing this place on the north of Saranac river, since the 5th inst. broke up their camp, and raised the siege this morning, at 2 o'clock; they are now retreating precipitately, leaving their sick and wounded behind. The enemy opened his batteries yesterday morning, and continued the cannonading, bombarding, and rocket-firing, until sunset; by this time our batteries had completely silenced those of our opponents.

The light troops, and militia, are now in full pursuit of the enemy, making prisoners in all directions; deserters are continually coming in, so that the loss of the British army in this enterprize, will be considerable.

A more detailed report will be made of the siege, and circumstances attending it, as soon as possible.

The officers, and men, have all done their duty. The artillery, and the engineers, have performed their functions, with a zeal and precision highly creditable to themselves and honorable to their country. Our loss is trifling, indeed; having only 1 officer and 15 men killed, and 1 officer and 30 men wounded.

The militia of New-York, and volunteers of Vermont, have been exceedingly serviceable, and have evinced a degree of patriotism, and bravery, worthy of themselves

and the states to which they respectively belong. The strength of the garrison is only 1,500 effective men, rank and file.

I have the honor, &c.

ALEX. MACOMB.

Hon. Sec. War.

## GEN. MACOMB'S DETAILED REPORT.

Copy of a letter from Brig. Gen. Macomb, to the Secretary of War  
dated

*H. Q. Plattsburgh, Sept. 15, 1814.*

SIR,

I have the honor to communicate, for the information of the war department, the particulars of the advance of the enemy into the territory of the U. States, the circumstances attending the siege of Plattsburgh, and the defence of the posts entrusted to my charge.

The Governor-General of the Canadas, Sir George Prevost, having collected all the disposable force of Lower Canada, with a view of conquering the country as far as Crown-point and Ticonderoga, entered the territory of the U. States, on the first of the month, and occupied the village of Champlain—there avowed his intentions, and issued orders and proclamations, tending to dissuade the people from their allegiance, and inviting them to furnish his army with provisions. He immediately began to impress the waggons, and teams, in the vicinity, and loaded them with heavy baggage and stores; from this, I was persuaded he intended to attack this place. I had but just returned from the lines, where I had commanded a fine brigade, which was broken up to form the division of Maj. Gen. Izard, ordered to the westward. Being senior officer, he left me in command; and, except the four companies of the 6th regiment, I had not an organized battalion among those remaining;

the garrison was composed of convalescents, and the recruits of the new regiments—all in the greatest confusion, as well as the ordnance and stores, and the works in no state of defence. To create an emulation and zeal, among the officers and men, in completing the works, I divided them into detachments, and placed them near the several forts—declaring, in orders, that each detachment, was the garrison of its own work, and bound to defend it to the last extremity.

The enemy advanced cautiously, and by short marches, and our soldiers worked day and night: so that, by the time he made his appearance before the place, we were prepared to receive him.

Gen. Izard named the principal work Fort Moreau; and, to remind the troops of the actions of their brave countrymen, I called the redoubt, on the right, fort Brown; and that on the left, fort Scott; besides these three works, we have two block-houses, strongly fortified.

Finding, on examining the returns of the garrison, that our force did not exceed fifteen hundred men for duty, and well informed that the enemy had as many thousand, I called on Gen. Mooers, of the New-York militia, and arranged, with him, plans for bringing forth the militia, *en masse*. The inhabitants of the village fled, with their families and effects, except a few worthy citizens, and some boys, who formed themselves into a party, received rifles, and were exceedingly useful.

By the 4th of the month, Gen. Mooers collected about 700 militia, and advanced 7 miles on the Beekman Town road, to watch the motions of the enemy, and to skirmish with him as he advanced—also, to obstruct the roads with fallen trees, and to break up the bridges. On the lake road, at Dead-creek bridge, I posted 200 men, under Capt. Sproul, of the 13th regiment, with orders to abattis the woods, to place obstructions in the road, and to fortify himself; to this party I added two field pieces. In advance of that position, was Lieut. Col. Appling,



with 110 riflemen, watching the movements of the enemy, and procuring intelligence. It was ascertained that, before day-light on the 6th, the enemy would advance in two columns, on the two roads before mentioned, dividing at Sampson's, a little below Chazy village. The column, on the Beekman Town road, proceeded most rapidly; the militia skirmished with their advanced parties, and, except a few brave men, fell back most precipitately in the greatest disorder, notwithstanding the British troops did not deign to fire on them, except by their flankers and advanced patrols. The night previous, I ordered Major Wool to advance, with a detachment of 250 men, to support the militia, and set them an example of firmness; also Captain Leonard, of the light artillery, was directed to proceed with two pieces, to be on the ground before day—yet he did not make his appearance until 8 o'clock, when the enemy had approached within two miles of the village; with his conduct, therefore, I am not well pleased. Major Wool, with his party, disputed the road with great obstinacy, but the militia could not be prevailed on to stand, notwithstanding the exertions of the General, and staff officers, although the fields were divided by strong stone walls, and they were told that the enemy could not possibly cut them off. The state dragoons, of New-York, wear red coats; and, they being on the heights to watch the enemy, gave constant alarm to the militia, who mistook them for the enemy, and fearing his getting in their rear. Finding the enemy's columns had penetrated within a mile of Plattsburgh, I despatched my aide-camp, Lieut. Root, to bring off the detachment at Dead-creek, and to inform Lieut. Col. Appling that I wished him to fall on the enemy's right flank; the Col. fortunately arrived just in time to save his retreat, and to fall in with the head of a column debouching from the woods; here he poured in a destructive fire from his riflemen at rest, and continued to annoy the column until he formed a junction with Major Wool. The field pieces

did considerable execution among the enemy's columns. So undaunted, however, was the enemy, that he never deployed in his whole march, always pressing on in column. Finding that every road was full of troops, crowding on us on all sides, I ordered the field pieces to retire across the bridge, and form a battery for its protection, and to cover the retreat of the infantry, which was accordingly done, and the parties of Appling and Wool, as well as that of Sproul, retired alternately, keeping up a brisk fire, until they got under cover of the works. The enemy's light troops occupied the houses near the bridge, and kept up a constant firing from the windows and balconies, and annoyed us much—I ordered them to be driven out with hot shot, which soon put the houses in flames, and obliged these sharp-shooters to retire. The whole day, until it was too late to see, the enemy's light troops endeavored to drive our guards from the bridge; but they suffered dearly for their perseverance. An attempt was also made to cross the upper bridge, where the militia handsomely drove them back.

The column which marched by the lake road, was much impeded by obstructions, and the removal of the bridge at Dead-creek; and, as it passed the creek and beach, the galleys kept up a lively and galling fire.

Our troops being now all on the south side of the Saranac, I directed the planks to be taken off the bridges, and piled up in the form of breast-works, to cover our parties intended for disputing the passage, which afterwards enabled us to hold the bridges against very superior numbers. From the 7th to the 11th, the enemy was employed in getting his battering train, and erecting his batteries and approaches, and constantly skirmishing at the bridges and fords. By this time, the militia of New-York, and volunteers from Vermont, were pouring in from all quarters. I advised Gen. Moers to keep his force along the Saranac, to prevent the enemy crossing the river, and to send a strong body in the rear, to harass him day and night, and keep him in continual

alarm. The militia behaved with great spirit after the first day, and the volunteers from Vermont were exceedingly serviceable. Our regular troops, notwithstanding the constant skirmishing, and repeated endeavors of the enemy to cross the river, kept at their work, day and night, strengthening their defences, and evinced a determination to hold out to the last extremity.

It was reported that the enemy only awaited the arrival of his flotilla, to make a general attack. About 8, on the morning of the 11th, as was expected, the flotilla appeared in sight, round Cumberland Head, and at 9, bore down and engaged our flotilla, at anchor, in the bay, off this town. At the same instant, the batteries were opened on us, and continued throwing bombshells, shrapnells, balls, and Congreve rockets, until sunset, when the bombardment ceased; every battery of the enemy being silenced by the superiority of our fire. The naval engagement lasted 2 hours, in full view of both armies; three efforts were made, by the enemy, to pass the river at the commencement of the cannonade and bombardment, with a view of assaulting the works, and had prepared for that purpose an immense number of scaling ladders; one attempt was made to cross at the village bridge; another at the upper bridge; and a third, at a ford, about three miles from the works; at the two first he was repulsed by the regulars; at the ford, by the brave volunteers and militia—where he suffered severely in killed, wounded, and prisoners, a considerable body having passed the stream, but were either killed, taken, or driven back.—The woods, at this place, were very favorable to the operations of our militia; a whole company of the 76th regiment was here destroyed—the three Lieutenants, and 27 men, prisoners; the Captain, and the rest, killed.

I cannot forego the pleasure of here stating the gallant conduct of Captain M'Glassin, of the 15th regiment, who was ordered to ford the river, and attack a party constructing a battery on the right of the enemy's



line, within 500 yards of fort Brown—which he handsomely executed, at midnight, with 50 men; drove off the working party, consisting of 150, defeated a covering party of the same number—killing one officer, and 6 men, in the charge, and wounding many. At dusk, the enemy withdrew his artillery from the batteries, and raised the siege; and, at 9, under cover of the night, sent off all the heavy baggage he could find transport for, and also his artillery—at 2, the next morning, the whole army precipitately retreated, leaving the sick and wounded to our generosity, and the Governor left a note with a surgeon, requesting the humane attention of the commanding General. Vast quantities of provision were left behind, and destroyed; also, an immense quantity of bomb-shells, cannon balls, grape shot, ammunition, flints, &c. &c.; intrenching tools of all sorts, also tents, and marquees. A great quantity has been found in the ponds and creeks, and buried in the ground—and a vast quantity carried off by the inhabitants. Such was the precipitance of his retreat, that he arrived at Chazy, a distance of 8 miles, before we had discovered he had gone. The light troops, volunteers, and militia, pursued immediately, on learning his flight; and some of the mounted men made prisoners 4 dragoons, of the 19th, and several others of the rear guard. A continued fall of rain, and a violent storm, prevented further pursuit. Upwards of 300 deserters have come in and many are hourly arriving.

The conduct of the officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers, of my command, during this trying occasion, cannot be represented in too high terms; and I feel it my duty to recommend, to the particular notice of government, Lieut. Col. Appling, of the 1st rifle corps; Major Wool, of the 29th; Major Totten of the corps of engineers; Captain Brooks of the artillery; Captain M'Glassin, of the 15th; Lieutenants De Russy and Trescott, of the corps of engineers; Lieutenants Smyth, Mountford, and Cromwell, of the ar-

tillery; also, my aid, Lieut. Root, who have distinguished themselves, by their uncommon zeal and activity, and have been greatly instrumental in producing the happy and glorious result of the siege.

I have the honor, &c.

ALEX. MACOMB.

The loss of the enemy, in killed, wounded, prisoners, and deserters, since his first appearance, cannot fall short of 2,500, including many officers, among whom is Colonel Wellington, of the Buffs.

Return of killed and wounded, on the American side, during the skirmishing and bombardment above described: Killed, 37—wounded, 66—missing, 20—Total, 123.

The principal officers of the British army, under Sir G. Prevost, are named by Gen. Macomb in the above account; and the particular description of forces, how many of each kind, and the aggregate—which amounts to fourteen thousand.

This action closed the campaign of the North gloriously, and the armies went into winter quarters.

#### REMARKS.

Soon after the declaration of war in 1812, the government appointed Lieut. Macdonough to create, and command a small naval force, upon lake Champlain, for the defence and protection of our northern frontier. The government and the nation knew the importance of this naval force, upon a lake, that had in all former wars become memorable for its naval actions; they knew and felt also, the high trust committed to Lieut. Macdonough, particularly when opposed to a naval

commander of such experience and distinction as Commodore Downie. They also knew the chivalrous valour Macdonough had displayed, in the naval war of the Mediterranean, particularly in the destruction of the frigate Philadelphia; in that unequal contest with the Tripolitan gun boats, a contest so desperate, so bloody, and yet so glorious. Although the government and the nation knew this, and had placed the strongest possible confidence in Commodore Macdonough, they also felt the delicacy of his situation, and their feelings were alive to the crisis before them. But when Commodore Macdonough announced the glorious victory of the 11th of Sept. 1814, all hearts expanded with exultation and rapture; and were equally at a loss which most to admire, the triumph of the hero, or the modesty of his official report.

It is not for me to say that this was one of the most splendid naval actions, ever recorded, when the glorious victories of Copenhagen, Aboukir and Trafalgar have added such lustre to the name of Nelson, and the victory of lake Erie to the name of Perry. But thus much it may be proper for me to say, that by all tacticians it is acknowledged, that, the assailing force has decidedly the advantage in all contests, whether by land or sea, and *ceteris fraribus*, gives him a fair calculation for success. Let it therefore be understood, that at the victory of Copenhagen, Nelson was the assailant, and the enemy at anchor in the port, and the same was true at the battle of Aboukir. That at the battle of Trafalgar, the enemy were under an easy sail, before the wind, and Nelson the assailant, when he bore down and broke their line, to commence the action; and the same was true of Perry, in the action of lake Erie.

But Commodore Macdonough was at anchor in port, and the enemy the assailant who chose his own time, and distance; yet such was the nautical skill, and superiority of naval tactics of Commodore Macdonough, that with an inferior force he received the assailing enemy;



foiled his attack, and brought the flag of his whole squadron to do homage to that of the United States. Such a victory stands alone in the annals of naval war : it fixed the keystone to the triumphal arch of American naval glory, and added one more laurel to the brow of an American naval hero.

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## CHAPTER XXXVI.

### *General Operations Continued.*

On the 15th of September, 1814, a small British squadron appeared before fort Bowyer, at Mobile Point, to co-operate with a land force of 100 marines and 400 Indians, in reducing the fortress ; but such was the firmness of Captain Lawrence, that with a garrison of 120 men, he resisted the repeated attacks of the enemy, and obliged him to retire with loss, and abandon the enterprise.

On the 5th of November, General Jackson marched to Pensacola, at the head of a force of about 3000 men, to chastise the English and Spaniards, who had kindled and kept alive, the war with the Seminole Indians. After destroying their forts and dispersing the British, he returned to Mobile.

The marauders of the Chesapeake, when they abandoned the enterprise against Baltimore, retired to Bermuda, where they prepared a formidable armament, and sailed to New-Orleans with a fleet of sixty sail, besides transports and barges.

Upon the first intelligence of this movement, General Jackson marched with his whole force, to the defence of this key of the western country. On the 2d of December, he reached New-Orleans, and hastened his

preparations to receive the enemy. The citizens, as well as the slaves, united with the troops in the arduous labors of constructing works of defence, and the General participated in all their toils.

On the 12th of December, the fleet of the enemy appeared in the bay of St. Louis, and the American flotilla retired up the river to a more favorable position. On the 14th, the enemy commenced an attack upon the flotilla, and captured the whole.

General Jackson next ordered martial law to be proclaimed, and the whole militia to appear on duty.

The legislature made the necessary appropriation, and laid an embargo on all the vessels then in port.

On the 21st, General Carrol arrived and joined General Jackson, with 4000 brave Tennesseans, (partially armed,) and the Barratarians arrived at the same time, to join in the general defence.

General Jackson next ordered all the canals leading to the lake, to be closed ; but the enemy, about 12,000 strong, reached the high banks of the river, on the 28th, notwithstanding this precaution, where they halted to take refreshment, before they entered the city, then full in their view.

General Jackson assembled his whole force, about 6000 men, and marched down to meet the enemy ; but did not reach them before dark. After reconnoitering their position, he commenced an attack, which surprised the British, and threw them into disorder ; but they soon rallied to the combat, and a sharp rencounter ensued. A thick fog arose, that rendered it necessary for General Jackson to withdraw his troops, and he retired about two miles up the river, and took his stand at his fortified position.\*

\* His lines extended about 1000 yards in front, constructed with bales of cotton, placed along the bank of the ditch, and defended by twelve pieces of cannon, and 6000 men ; supported also by a battery of fifteen guns, on the opposite side of the river ; the ditch contained five feet of water.

At the dawn of day, the British army (12,000) was in motion, and advanced in columns to the combat. General Jackson reserved his fire until the enemy approached within the reach of his grape, he then opened a destructive fire from his artillery, that mowed down their ranks. These were successively closed, and the enemy continued to advance, until they came within musket-shot; the whole lines vomited forth one incessant sheet of flame from the deadly rifle, which strewed the plain with indiscriminate slaughter, and threatened the whole columns with universal ruin. The enemy broke and fled in confusion, except a small detachment that bravely advanced to the line; but these all fell, to a man. Stung with indignation, the British officers rallied their troops, and advanced again to the charge. Again they were overwhelmed with the fire of the deadly rifle, and again they fled; leaving the field strewed with the carnage of more than 2000 wounded, dead and dying. The General-in-chief, sir Edward Pakenham, together with several other Generals, and an unusual proportion of officers, were among the slain. About 500 were taken prisoners; total loss of the enemy, about 3000. The loss of the Americans in this action, did not exceed 20 killed and wounded, January 8th, 1815.

The British who survived, retired on board their fleet; descended the river, and proceeded to attack fort Bowyer, which they carried, after a brave resistance; but the return of peace, soon restored it again to the Americans.

General Jackson had posted his men ten deep in his lines, under the following orders, viz.

1. To receive the enemy at his approach, with a discharge of grape shot.
2. To reserve the fire of the musquetry until special orders, and then for the front rank only to fire, and pass their rifles to the rear to be loaded, the centre and rear to pass their rifles to the front in quick succession, and the front to keep up as quick a fire. The rear ranks only to load.



## AFFAIR AT NEW-ORLEANS.

Copy of a letter from Gen. A. Jackson, to the Secretary of War,  
dated

*Camp, below New-Orleans,*  
25th Dec. 1814.

SIR,

The enemy having, by the capture of our gun-boats, obtained command of the lake, were enabled to effect a passage to the Mississippi, at a point on the side of New-Orleans, and about 9 miles below it. The moment I received the intelligence, I hastened to attack him in his first position ; it was brought on in the night, and resulted very honorably to our arms. The heavy smoke, occasioned by an excessive fire, rendered it necessary that I should draw off my troops, after a severe conflict of upwards of an hour.

The attack was made on the night of the 23d ; since then, both armies have remained near the battle ground, making preparations for something more decisive.

The enemy's force exceeded ours, by double ; and their loss was proportionably greater. The moment I can spare the time, I will forward you a detailed account ;—in the mean time I expect something, far more important will take place.—I hope to be able to sustain the honor of our arms, and to secure the safety of the country.

I have the honor, &c.

ANDREW JACKSON, *Maj. Gen. Comg.*

Hon. JAMES MUNROE,

*Sec'y War.*

RISE AND PROGRESS OF

DETAILED ACCOUNT.

*H. Q. 7th Military District,*  
Dec. 27th 1814.

SIR,

The loss of our gun-boats, near the pass of the Rig-lets, having given the enemy the command of Lake Borgne, he was enabled to choose his point of attack. It became, therefore, an object of importance to obstruct the numerous bayous and canals, leading from that lake to the highlands, on the Mississippi.—This important service was committed, in the first instance, to a detachment from the 7th regiment; afterwards to Col. De Laronde, of the Louisiana militia—and lastly, to make all sure, to Maj. Gen. Villere, commanding the district between the river and the lake; and who, being a native of the country, was presumed to be best acquainted with all those passes. Unfortunately, however, a picquet, which the General had established at the mouth of the Bayou Bienvenu, and which, notwithstanding my orders, had been left unobstructed, was completely surprised; and the enemy penetrated through a canal, leading to his farm, about two leagues below the city, and succeeded in cutting off a company of militia stationed there. This intelligence was communicated to me about 12 o'clock, of the 23d; my force at this time, consisted of parts of the 7th and 44th regiments, not exceeding 600, together; the city militia, a part of Gen. Coffee's brigade of mounted gun-men, and the detached militia, from the western division of Tennessee, under the command of Maj. Gen. Carrol; these two last corps were stationed four miles above the city.

Apprehending a double attack, by way of Chief-Mentour, I left Gen. Carrol's force, and the militia of the city, posted on the Gentilly road; and at 5 o'clock, P. M. marched to meet the enemy, whom I was resolved

to attack in his first position, with Major Hind's dragoons, Gen. Coffee's brigade, parts of the 7th and 44th regiments, the uniformed companies of the militia, under the command of Major Planche—200 men of color, chiefly from St. Domingo, raised by Col. Savery, and acting under the command of Major Dagwin; and a detachment of artillery, under the direction of Col. M'Rea, with two 6 prs. under the command of Lieut. Spotts;—not exceeding, in all, 1500. I arrived near the enemy's encampment about 7, and immediately made my dispositions for the attack—his forces amounting, at that time, on land, to about 3000, extended half a mile on the river; and, in the rear, nearly to the wood. Gen. Coffee was ordered to turn their right, while, with the residue of our force, I attacked his strongest position on the left, near the river. Commodore Patterson having dropped down the river, in the schooner *Caroline*, was directed to open a fire on their camp, which he executed at about half after 7. This being the signal of attack, Gen. Coffee's men, with their usual impetuosity, rushed on the enemy's right, and entered their camp—while our right advanced with equal ardor. There can be but little doubt, that we should have succeeded on that occasion, with our inferior force, in destroying or capturing the enemy, had not a thick fog, which arose about 8 o'clock, occasioned some confusion among the different corps—fearing the consequences, under this circumstance, of the further prosecution of a night attack, with troops then acting together for the first time, I contented myself with lying on the field that night; and, at four in the morning, assumed a stronger position, about 2 miles nearer the city. At this position I remain encamped, waiting the arrival of the Kentucky militia, and other reinforcements. As the fate of the city will depend upon this army, it must not be incautiously exposed.

In this affair, the whole corps under my command deserve the greatest credit. The best compliment I can



pay to Gen. Coffee, and his brigade, is to say they behaved as they have always done, while under my command; the 7th, led by Major Pierre, and the 44th, by Col. Ross, distinguished themselves; the battalion of city militia, commanded by Major Planché, realized my anticipations, and behaved like veterans; Savary's volunteers manifested great bravery; and the company of city riflemen, having penetrated into the midst of the enemy's camp, were surrounded, and fought their way out with the greatest heroism, bringing with them a number of prisoners—the two field pieces were well served, by the officer commanding them.

All the officers in the line did their duty, and I have every reason to be satisfied with the whole of my field and staff. Cols. Butler and Piatt, and Major Chotard, by their intrepidity, saved the artillery; Col. Haynes was every where that duty or danger called. I was deprived of the services of one of my aids, Capt. Butler, whom I was obliged to station in town; Capt. Reid, my other aid, and Messrs. Livingston, Duplissis, and Davizac, who had volunteered their services, faced danger wherever it was to be met, and carried my orders with the utmost promptitude.

We made one Major, 2 subalterns, and 63 privates prisoners; and the enemy's loss, in killed and wounded, must have been at least ——. My own loss, I have not, as yet, been able to ascertain with exactness; but suppose it to amount to 100, in killed, wounded and missing. Among the former, I have to lament the loss of Col. Lauderdale, of Gen. Coffee's brigade, who fell while bravely fighting. Cols. Dyer and Gibson, of the same corps, were wounded, and Major Kavenaugh taken prisoner.

I have the honor, &c.

A. JACKSON.

*From the same to the same—Dec. 29, 1814.*

The enemy succeeded, on the 27th, in blowing up the *Caroline*, (she being becalmed,) by means of hot shot from a battery, which he had erected in the night. Emboldened by this event, he marched his whole force the next day up the Levee, in the hope of driving us from our position; and, with this view, opened upon us, at the distance of about half a mile, his bombs and rockets. He was repulsed, however, with considerable loss—not less, it is believed, than 120 killed; ours, not exceeding 6 killed and 12 wounded. Since then, he has not ventured to repeat his attempt, though lying close together—frequent skirmishing between our pickets. I lament that I have not the means of carrying on more offensive operations. The Kentucky troops have not arrived; and my effective force, at this point, does not exceed 3000; theirs must be, at least, double—both prisoners and deserters agreeing, in the statement, that 7000 landed from their boats.

I have the honor, &c.

A. JACKSON.

## BATTLE OF NEW-ORLEANS.

Copy of a letter from Gen. Jackson to the Secretary of War, dated

*Camp, 4 miles below New-Orleans, }  
Jan. 9, 1815. }*

SIR,

During the days of the 6th and 7th, the enemy had been actively employed in making preparations for an attack on my lines. With infinite labor they had succeeded, on the night of the 7th, in getting their boats across, from the lake to the river, by widening and deep-

ening the canal, on which they had effected their disembarkation ; it had not been in my power to impede these operations, by a general attack ; added to other reasons, the nature of the troops under my command, mostly militia, rendered it too hazardous to attempt extensive offensive movements, in an open country, against a numerous and well disciplined army.

Although my forces, as to number, had been increased by the arrival of the Kentucky division, my strength had received very little addition—a small portion only of that detachment being provided with arms. Compelled thus to wait the attack of the enemy, I took every measure to repel it, when it should be made, and to defeat the object he had in view. Gen. Morgan, with the Orleans contingent, the Louisiana militia, and a strong detachment of the Kentucky troops, occupied an entrenched camp on the opposite side of the river, protected by strong batteries on the bank, erected and superintended by Commodore Patterson. In my encampment, every thing was ready for action—when, early on the morning of the 8th, the enemy, after throwing a heavy shower of bombs and Congreve rockets, advanced their columns on my right and left, to storm my entrenchments. I cannot speak sufficiently in praise of the firmness and deliberation, with which my whole line received their approach—more could not have been expected from veterans, inured to war. For an hour the fire of the small arms was as incessant and severe as can be imagined—the artillery too, directed by officers who displayed equal skill and courage, did great execution :—yet the columns of the enemy continued to advance, with a firmness which reflects upon them the greatest credit ; twice the column which approached me, on my left, was repulsed by the troops of Gen. Carrol, those of Gen. Coffee, and a division of Kentucky militia—and twice they formed again, and renewed the assault. At length, however, cut to pieces, they fled, in confusion, from the field, leaving it covered with their dead and



wounded. The loss, which the enemy sustained on this occasion, cannot be estimated at less than 1500, in killed, wounded and prisoners—upwards of 300 have already been delivered over for burial; and my men are still engaged in picking them up, within my lines, and carrying them to the point where the enemy are to receive them; this is in addition to the dead and wounded whom the enemy have been enabled to carry from the field, during and since the action—and to those who have since died of the wounds they have received.— We have taken about 500 prisoners, upwards of 300 of whom are wounded, and a great part of them mortally. My loss has not exceeded, and I believe has not amounted to ten killed, and as many wounded. The entire destruction of the enemy's army was now inevitable, had it not been for an unfortunate occurrence, which, at this moment, took place on the other side of the river:—simultaneously with his advance upon my lines, he had thrown over, with his boats, a considerable force to the other side of the river; these, having landed, were hardy enough to advance to the assault of Gen. Morgan; and what is strange and difficult to account for, at the very moment when their entire discomfiture was looked for with a confidence approaching to certainty, the Kentucky reinforcements, in whom so much reliance had been placed, ingloriously fled, drawing after them, by their example, the remainder of the forces, and thus yielding to the enemy the most fortunate position.— The batteries, which had rendered me, for many days, the most important service, though bravely defended, were, of course, now abandoned; not, however, until the guns had been spiked.

This unfortunate rout had totally changed the aspect of affairs. The enemy now occupied a position from which they might annoy us without hazard, and by means of which they might have been enabled to defeat, in a great measure, the effects of our success on this side the river—it became, therefore, an object of the first magni-

tude, to dislodge him as soon as possible ; for this object, all the means in my power, which I could in any safety use, were immediately put in preparation. Perhaps, however, it was owing somewhat to another cause, that I succeeded, even beyond my expectations :—in negotiating the terms of a temporary suspension of hostilities, to enable the enemy to bury their dead, and provide for their wounded, I had required certain propositions to be acceded to, as a basis—among which, this was one :—that, although hostilities should cease on *this* side the river, until 12 o'clock of this day, yet it was not to be understood that they should cease on the *other* side ; but, that no reinforcements should be sent across, by *either* army, until the expiration of that day. His excellency, Major General Lambert, begged time to consider of those propositions, until 10 o'clock to-day ; and, in the mean time, re-crossed his troops. I need not tell you with how much eagerness I immediately regained possession of the position he had thus hastily quitted.

The enemy, having concentrated his forces, may again attempt to drive me from my position, by storm : whenever he does, I have no doubt my men will act with their usual firmness, and sustain a character, now become dear to them.

I have the honor, &c.

A. JACKSON,  
Maj. Gen. Comg.

Hon. Sec. of War.

*H. Q. left bank of Mississippi, 5 miles below }  
New-Orleans, Jan. 10, 1815. }*

SIR,

I have the honor to make the following report of the killed, wounded and prisoners, taken in the battle at Laroud's plantation, on the left bank of the Mississippi, on the night of the 23d December, 1814, seven miles below New-Orleans :

Killed—left on the field of battle, 100. Wounded—do—280. Prisoners taken—1 Major, 2 Lieutenants, 1 Midshipman, 66 non-commissioned officers and privates—making a grand total of 400.

I have the honor, &c.

A. P. HAYNE, Ins. Gen.

Maj. Gen. ANDREW JACKSON.

## FURTHER PARTICULARS.

Copy of a letter from General Jackson, to the Secretary of War.

*Camp, 4 miles below Orleans,*

*Jan. 13, 1815.*

SIR,

At such a crisis, I conceive it my duty to keep you constantly advised of my situation.

On the 10th inst. I forwarded you an account of the bold attempt made by the enemy, on the morning of the 8th, to take possession of my works by storm, and of the severe repulse which he met with. That report, having been sent by the mail which crosses the lake, may possibly have miscarried—for which reason, I think it the more necessary, briefly, to repeat the substance of it.

Early on the morning of the 8th, the enemy having been actively employed the two preceding days in making preparations for a storm, advanced in two strong columns, on my right and left; they were received, however, with a firmness, which, it seems, they little expected, and which defeated all their hopes. My men, undisturbed by their approach, which indeed they had long anxiously wished for, opened upon them a fire, so deliberate and certain, as rendered their scaling-ladders and fascines, as well as their more direct implements of warfare perfectly useless. For upwards of an hour, it was continued with a briskness of which there have



been but few instances, perhaps, in any country. In justice to the enemy, it must be said, they withstood it as long as could have been expected from the most determined bravery. At length, however, when all prospect of success became hopeless, they fled, in confusion, from the field, leaving it covered, with their dead and wounded—their loss was immense: I had, at first, computed it at 1500; but it is since ascertained to have been much greater. Upon information which is believed to be correct, Col. Haynes, the Inspector-General, reports it to be, in the total, 2,600—his report I inclose you. My loss was inconsiderable, being only 7 killed, and 6 wounded. Such a disproportion in loss, when we consider the number and kind of troops engaged, must, I know, excite astonishment, and may not, every where, be credited; yet, I am perfectly satisfied that the account is not exaggerated on the one part, nor underrated on the other.

The enemy having hastily quitted a post which they had gained possession of, on the other side of the river, and we having immediately returned to it, both armies, at present, occupy their former positions.

Whether, after the severe losses he has sustained, he is preparing to return to his shipping, or to make still mightier efforts to attain his first object, I do not pretend to determine. It becomes me to act as though the latter were his intention. One thing, however, seems certain: that, if he still calculates on effecting what he has hitherto been unable to accomplish, he must expect considerable reinforcements—as the force with which he landed must, undoubtedly, be diminished, by at least 3000. Besides the loss which he sustained on the 23d ult. which is estimated at 400, he cannot have suffered less, between that period and the morning of the 31st inst than 300—having, within that time been repulsed in two general attempts to drive us from our position, and there having been continual cannonading and skir-

wishing during the whole of it. Yet, he is still able to show a very formidable force.

There is little doubt that the commanding General, Sir Edward Pakenham, was killed in the action of the 8th, and that Major's Gen. Keane and Gibbs were badly wounded. Whenever a more leisure moment shall occur, I will take the liberty to make out, and forward you a more circumstantial account of the several actions, and particularly that of the 8th; in doing which, my chief motive will be, to render justice to those brave men I have the honor to command, and who have so remarkably distinguished themselves.

I have the honor, &c.

ANDREW JACKSON.

Report of the killed, wounded, and prisoners taken, at the battle on the 8th of January, 1815.—Killed, 700 Wounded, 1400—Prisoners taken, 1 Major, 4 Captains, 11 Lieutenants, 1 Ensign, 483 non-commissioned officers and privates—making a grand total of 2,600.

A. P. HAYNE, Insp. Gen.

Maj. Gen. A. JACKSON.

### GUN-BOATS TAKEN BY THE ENEMY.

Copy of a letter from Commodore Patterson to the Secretary of the Navy, dated

*New-Orleans, March, 17th 1815.*

SIR,

Enclosed I have the honor to transmit for your information a copy of a letter from Lieut. Thomas Ap. Catesby Jones, giving a detailed account of the action between the gun vessels under his command and a flotilla of the enemy's launches and barges, on the 14th December, 1814, which after a most gallant resistance, terminated as stated in my letter of the 17th December in the capture of our squadron. The courage and skill

which was displayed in the defence of the gun vessels and tender, for such a length of time, against such an overwhelming force as they had to contend with, reflects additional splendor on our naval glory, and will, I trust, diminish the regret occasioned by their loss.

I have, &c.

DANIEL T. PATTERSON.

Hon. B. W. CROWNINSHIELD,

Sec'y of the Navy.

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## CHAPTER XXXVII.

### *General Movements towards Peace.*

Messrs. Gallatin and Bayard, had been appointed commissioners, and sent out to Petersburg, (Russia) in April, to meet such commissioners as the British court might send, and in union with Mr. Adams, then minister resident of the U. States, at Petersburg, enter upon negociations for peace, under the mediation of the emperor Alexander, as has been noticed.

Great Britain declined this overture ; but appointed Lord Gambier, Henry Golbourn and William Adams, to meet the American commissioners at Gottenburg.

The President of the United States appointed J. Russell and H. Clay, to unite with the American commissioners named in April, and the city of Ghent was agreed upon as the place of negotiation, January, 1814. In August, the whole of the above named commissioners assembled at Ghent, and entered upon the business of their appointment.

On the 11th of February, 1815, news arrived in New-York, that peace had been concluded by the commissioners at Ghent, on the 24th of December. On the 17th of February the treaty was ratified by the senate and received the signature of the President. All parties rejoiced at the event.



The grievances complained of by the American government, as causes of the war, were not noticed in the treaty, but an express article provided, that the commercial differences of the two nations should be settled by commissioners, to be specially appointed for that purpose. In the summer of 1816, commissioners met accordingly, at London, and on the 3d day of July, signed a commercial treaty, between the two nations, founded upon the principles of mutual and reciprocal interest, and to continue for the term of four years.

Thus ended this war with Britain, and the American navy bore away the palm.

## CHAPTER XXXVIII.

### *Comparative view of the British and American Navies.*

At the commencement of the late British war in 1812, and through the period of that war, it was well understood that the naval force of Great Britain amounted to the number of from 750 to 1000 sail of all classes, and that with this commanding force, she rode the undisputed mistress of the seas. That the American force when the war commenced in 1812, consisted of the following vessels only.—viz.

	<i>Guns.</i>		<i>Guns.</i>		<i>Guns.</i>
United States	} 44	John Adams	—24	Enterprize	} 14
Constitution		Louisiana	} 18	R'tlesnake	
President		Hornet		Nautilus	
Constellation		Wasp	Vixen		
Congress	} 36	Brig Adams	} 16	Viper	- - 12
Chesapeake		Oneida		Vixen	- - 2
Essex	} 32	Syren	} 16		
Adams		Argus			

## APPENDIX.

In the introductory remarks, the author attempted to sketch the rise and progress of American commerce, from its origin, down to the revolution in 1775, to shew the progressive industry and enterprise of the American character, as well as the necessity of a naval force for the protection of their expanding commerce. To give a more forcible impression to that important subject, the author has selected the following commercial statements from Pitkin's Statistics pages 51—58 inclusive, which will afford the reader a most interesting view of the progressive and expanded character of the commercial enterprise of the American people.

The reader will here observe, that in a period of two centuries, *that* commerce which commenced in the small furs of the forest, had in 1816 expanded to an amount of more than eighty one million of dollars annually. An instance of commercial industry and enterprise unprecedented in the history of nations.

TABLE No. I.

*A summary statement of the value of the exports of the several States and Territories, annually, from the 1st of October, 1790, to the 30th of September, 1816.*

<i>States &amp; Territories.</i>	1791.	1792.	1793.	1794.	1795.	1796.	1797.
New-Hampshire, .	142,859	181,413	198,204	153,860	229,427	378,161	275,840
Vermont, .	2,519,651	2,888,104	3,755,347	5,292,441	7,117,907	9,949,345	7,502,047.
Massachusetts, .	470,131	698,119	616,432	954,599	1,222,917	1,589,972	975,530
Rhode-Island, .	710,353	879,753	770,225	812,765	819,465	1,452,793	814,506
Connecticut, .	2,505,465	2,535,790	2,932,370	5,442,183	10,304,581	12,208,027	13,308,64
*New-York, .	26,983	23,406	54,179	58,154	130,814	59,27	18,161
New-Jersey, .	3,436,093	3,820,662	6,958,836	6,643,092	11,518,260	17,513,886	11,446,291
Pennsylvania, .	119,879	133,972	93,559	207,985	158,041	201,142	98,929
Delaware, .	2,239,691	2,623,808	3,665,056	5,686,191	5,811,380	9,201,315	9,811,799
Maryland, .							
Dist. of Columbia,							
Virginia, .	3,131,865	3,552,825	2,987,098	3,321,636	3,490,041	5,268,655	4,908,713
North-Carolina, .	524,548	527,900	365,414	321,587	492,161	671,487	540,901
South-Carolina, .	2,693,268	2,428,250	3,191,867	3,867,908	5,998,492	7,620,049	6,505,118
Georgia, .	491,250	459,106	520,955	263,832	695,986	950,158	644,307
Kentucky, .	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tennessee, .	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ohio, .	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Indiana Territory,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Michigan do. .	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mississippi do. .	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Orleans do. .	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Total.</i>	19,012,041	20,753,098	26,109,572	33,026,283	47,989,47	67,064,097	56,850,206



TABLE No. I.—Continued.

<i>States and Territories.</i>	1798.	1799.	1800.	1801.	1802.	1803.	1804.
New Hampshire.	361,453	361,789	431,836	555,055	565,394	494,520	716,091
Vermont,	.	20,480	57,041	57,267	31,479	117,455	191,725
Massachusetts,	8,639,252	11,421,591	11,326,876	14,870,556	13,492,632	8,768,566	16,894,378
Rhode Island,	947,827	1,055,273	1,322,954	1,832,773	2,433,363	1,275,596	1,735,671
Connecticut,	763,128	1,143,813	1,114,743	1,446,216	1,606,809	1,248,571	1,516,110
New York,	14,300,892	18,719,527	14,045,079	19,851,136	13,792,276	10,818,387	16,081,281
New Jersey,	61,877	9,722	2,289	25,406	26,227	21,311	24,829
Pennsylvania,	8,915,463	12,431,967	11,949,679	17,438,193	12,677,475	7,525,710	11,031,157
Delaware,	183,727	297,065	418,695	662,042	440,504	428,153	697,396
Maryland,	12,746,190	16,299,609	12,264,331	12,767,530	7,914,225	5,078,062	9,119,939
District of Columbia,	.	.	.	894,467	774,063	1,444,994	1,452,198
Virginia,	6,113,451	6,292,986	4,430,689	5,655,574	3,978,363	6,100,778	5,790,001
North Carolina,	537,810	485,921	769,799	874,884	659,390	952,614	928,687
South Carolina,	6,994,179	8,729,015	10,663,510	14,304,045	10,639,365	7,811,108	7,451,616
Georgia,	961,848	1,396,759	2,174,268	1,755,939	1,054,951	2,370,875	2,077,572
Kentucky,	.	.	.	29,430	626,673	.	.
Tennessee,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Ohio,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Indiana Territory,	.	.	.	.	443,955	33,214	17,320
Michigan do.	.	.	.	.	526,016	210,392	276,964
Mississippi do.	.	.	.	1,095,412	.	1,099,702	64,777
Orleans do.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1,600,362
<i>Total.</i>	61,527,097	78,665,522	70,971,780	94,115,925	72,483,160	55,800,033	77,699,074

TABLE No. I.—Continued.

<i>States and Territories.</i>	1805.	1806.	1807.	1808.	1809.	1810.
New Hampshire,	608,408	795,263	680,022	125,059	286,595	234,650
Vermont,	169,402	193,775	204,285	108,772	175,782	432,631
Massachusetts,	19,435,657	21,199,243	20,112,125	5,128,322	12,142,293	13,013,048
Rhode Island,	2,572,049	2,091,835	1,657,564	242,034	1,284,532	1,331,576
Connecticut,	1,443,727	1,715,828	1,624,727	413,691	666,513	768,643
New York,	28,482,943	21,762,845	26,357,963	5,606,038	12,581,562	17,242,330
New Jersey,	20,743	33,867	41,286	20,799	319,175	430,267
Pennsylvania,	13,762,252	17,574,702	16,864,744	4,013,330	9,049,241	10,993,398
Delaware,	358,383	500,106	229,275	108,735	138,036	12,342
Maryland,	10,559,480	14,580,905	14,298,984	2,721,106	6,627,326	6,482,018
District of Columbia,	1,320,215	1,246,146	1,446,278	285,317	703,415	1,038,103
Virginia,	5,606,620	5,055,396	4,761,234	526,473	2,894,125	4,822,611
North Carolina,	779,903	789,605	745,162	117,129	322,994	403,949
South Carolina,	9,066,625	9,743,782	10,912,564	1,664,445	3,247,341	5,290,614
Georgia,	2,394,846	82,761	3,744,845	24,026	1,082,108	2,238,686
Kentucky,	.	.	.	.	.	.
Tennessee,	.	.	.	.	.	.
Ohio,	.	62,318	28,839	13,115	3,850	10,583
Indiana Territory,	.	.	.	.	.	.
Michigan do.	313,223	221,260	311,947	50,848	136,114	3,615
Mississippi, do.	.	.	701	.	315	2,958
Orleans do.	3,371,545	3,887,323	4,320,555	1,261,101	441,926	1,890,948
<i>Total.</i>	95,566,031	101,536,963	108,343,150	22,430,960	52,203,233	66,757,970

TABLE No. I.—Continued.

<i>States and Territories.</i>	1811.	1812.	1813.	1814.	1815.	1816.
New Hampshire,	368,063	203,401	29,996	37,387	109,782	140,293
Vermont,	571,134	138,647			161,002	992,594
Massachusetts,	11,235,465	6,583,338	1,807,923	1,133,799	5,280,083	10,136,539
Rhode Island,	1,571,424	755,137	236,802	472,434	561,183	612,794
Connecticut,	1,032,354	720,805	974,303	1,043,186	383,135	593,806
New York,	12,266,215	8,961,922	8,185,494	209,670	10,675,373	19,690,031
New Jersey,	1,871	4,186	10,260		5,279	9,746
Pennsylvania,	9,560,117	5,937,750	3,577,117		4,593,919	7,196,246
Delaware,	88,632	29,744	133,432	14,914	105,102	56,217
Maryland,	6,833,987	5,885,979	3,787,865	248,434	5,036,601	7,338,767
District of Columbia,	2,003,251	1,606,409	1,387,493	3,500	1,965,626	1,680,811
Virginia,	4,822,307	3,001,112	1,819,722	17,581	6,676,976	8,212,860
North Carolina,	797,976	489,219	797,358	362,446	1,013,942	1,328,735
South Carolina,	4,861,279	2,036,195	2,968,484	737,899	6,675,129	10,849,409
Georgia,	2,568,866	1,066,703	1,094,595	2,183,121	4,172,319	7,511,929
Kentucky,						
Tennessee,						
Ohio,						
Indiana Territory,						
Michigan do	21,629	7,111			37,119	57,290
Mississippi do	1,441	3,107			2,573	8,232
Orleans do	2,650,050	1,060,471				
Louisiana,			1,045,153	387,191	5,102,610	5,602,948
<i>Total.</i>	61,316,833	38,527,236	27,855,997	6,927,441	52,557,753	81,920,452



TABLE No. II.

Statement shewing the value of the exports, the growth, produce and manufacture, of the United States, from each State and Territory, annually, from the 1st of October, 1802, to the 30th of September, 1816.

States and Ter.	1803.	1804.	1805.	1806.	1807.	1808.	1809.	1810.
New Hampshire,	443,527	453,394	389,595	411,379	365,950	122,294	201,063	225,623
Vermont,	89,510	135,930	101,997	91,732	143,469	83,103	125,881	406,133
Massachusetts,	5,399,020	6,303,122	5,697,051	6,621,696	6,185,743	1,508,632	6,022,729	5,761,771
Rhode Island,	664,230	917,730	1,065,579	949,336	741,988	139,684	658,397	874,670
Connecticut,	1,238,388	1,486,882	1,353,537	1,522,750	1,519,083	397,781	655,258	762,785
New York,	7,626,831	7,501,096	8,068,060	8,053,076	9,957,416	2,362,438	8,348,764	10,928,573
New Jersey,	21,311	24,829	20,633	26,504	36,063	12,511	269,004	392,798
Pennsylvania,	4,021,214	4,178,713	4,365,240	3,765,313	4,809,616	1,066,527	4,238,358	4,751,634
Delaware,	187,687	180,081	77,827	125,787	77,695	38,052	96,495	79,983
Maryland,	3,707,040	3,938,840	3,408,543	3,661,131	4,016,699	764,992	2,570,957	3,275,904
Dist. of Columbia,	1,412,056	1,157,895	1,135,350	1,091,760	1,363,352	281,736	681,650	984,463
Virginia,	5,949,267	5,394,903	4,945,635	4,626,687	4,393,521	508,124	2,786,161	4,632,829
North Carolina,	926,318	919,545	767,434	786,029	749,933	117,129	322,334	401,465
South Carolina,	6,863,343	5,142,100	5,957,646	6,797,064	7,129,365	1,404,043	2,861,369	4,881,840
Georgia,	2,345,387	5,003,227	2,351,169	*82,764	3,710,776	24,626	1,082,100	2,234,912
Ohio,	-	-	-	62,318	23,889	13,115	3,850	10,563
Indiana Territory,	738	-	-	-	-	-	136,114	3,571
Michigan do.	210,392	276,964	313,223	221,260	311,947	50,848	305	2,958
Mississippi, do.	1,099,702	60,127	-	-	701	-	344,305	1,753,970
Orleans,	-	1,392,098	2,338,483	2,357,141	3,161,381	537,711	-	-
Total,	42,205,961	41,467,477	42,387,004	41,253,727	48,699,592	9,433,546	31,405,702	42,366,675

\* The exports from the port of Savannah, in Georgia, are not included, those were about two million two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, which would make the domestic exports for 1806, about forty three million and a half.

TABLE No. II.—Continued.

<i>States and Territories.</i>	1811.	1812.	1813.	1814.	1815.	1816.
New Hampshire,	315,054	194,372	29,999	57,118	101,203	119,486
Vermont,	538,336	131,403	.	.	161,002	892,594
Massachusetts,	6,042,645	\$,935,229	1,513,066	1,078,077	3,547,463	5,008,974
Rhode Island,	944,868	604,891	234,449	446,080	357,684	418,996
Connecticut,	994,266	720,805	968,729	1,042,776	383,135	587,007
New York,	8,747,700	5,603,508	7,060,807	197,987	8,230,278	14,168,291
New Jersey,	1,871	4,186	10,260	.	5,279	9,746
Pennsylvania,	5,694,448	4,660,457	3,249,623	.	3,569,551	4,486,329
Delaware,	76,945	29,744	133,432	14,914	105,102	54,685
Maryland,	4,553,592	\$,956,093	2,782,073	238,235	4,086,274	4,834,490
District of Columbia,	2,060,331	1,593,413	1,387,493	2,500	1,965,626	1,555,572
Virginia,	4,798,612	2,983,493	1,819,414	17,581	6,632,579	8,115,890
North Carolina,	793,975	489,219	795,510	362,446	1,012,967	1,328,271
South Carolina,	4,650,984	2,024,834	2,915,035	756,471	6,574,783	10,446,213
Georgia,	2,557,225	1,066,703	1,094,595	2,147,449	4,146,057	7,436,692
Ohio,	.	.	.	.	.	1,305
Michigan Territory,	19,997	5,050	.	.	36,989	57,290
Mississippi do.	1,441	3,107	.	76,929	2,573	8,232
*Orleans do.	2,501,842	1,025,602	1,013,667	383,709	5,055,858	5,251,833
<i>Total,</i>	45,294,043	30,032,109	25,008,152	6,782,272	45,974,403	64,781,896

\* State of Louisiana from the 1st of October, 1812.

TABLE No. III.

Statement shewing the value of exports, the growth, produce and manufacture, of Foreign Countries, from each State and Territory, annually, from the 1st of October, 1802, to the 30th of September, 1816.

States and Territories.	1803.	1804.	1805.	1806.	1807.	1808.	1809.
New Hampshire,	51,093	262,697	218,813	383,884	314,072	2,765	85,532
Vermont,	27,940	55,795	67,405	102,043	55,816	25,669	49,901
Massachusetts,	3,369,546	10,591,256	13,738,606	14,577,547	13,926,377	3,619,690	6,119,564
Rhode Island,	611,366	817,935	1,506,470	1,142,499	915,576	102,350	626,135
Connecticut,	10,183	29,228	90,190	193,078	105,644	15,910	11,255
New York,	3,191,556	8,580,185	15,384,883	13,709,769	16,400,547	3,243,620	4,232,798
New Jersey,			110	7,363	5,123	8,288	50,071
Pennsylvania,	3,504,496	6,851,444	9,397,012	13,809,389	12,055,128	2,946,803	4,810,883
Delaware,	340,466	517,315	280,556	374,319	151,580	70,683	41,541
Maryland,	1,371,022	5,213,099	7,450,937	10,919,774	10,282,285	1,956,114	4,056,369
District of Columbia,	32,938	294,303	184,865	154,386	83,026	3,381	21,765
Virginia,	151,441	395,098	660,985	428,709	367,713	18,349	107,664
North Carolina,	26,296	9,142	12,469	3,576	4,229		160
South Carolina,	947,765	2,309,516	3,108,979	2,946,718	3,783,199	260,402	385,972
Georgia,	25,488	74,345	43,677		34,069		
Indiana Territory,	32,476	17,320					
Michigan do.		4,650					
Mississippi do.		208,269					
Orleans do.				1,530,182	1,159,174	723,390	197,621
<i>Total,</i>	13,594,072	36,231,597	53,179,019	60,283,236	59,643,558	12,997,414	20,797,531



TABLE No. III.—Continued.

<i>States and Territories.</i>	1810.	1811.	1812.	1813.	1814.	1815.	1816.
New-Hampshire,	9,027	53,809	9,029	-	269	8,579	20,807
Vermont,	26,493	32,793	7,244	-	-	-	-
Massachusetts,	7,251,277	5,192,820	2,648,109	294,854	55,722	1,732,620	5,127,465
Rhode-Island,	456,706	626,556	150,246	2,353	26,354	203,499	193,798
Connecticut,	5,858	38,138	-	5,574	360	-	6,799
New-York,	6,313,757	3,518,516	2,358,414	1,124,687	11,683	445,095	5,521,740
New-Jersey,	37,469	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pennsylvania,	6,241,764	3,865,670	1,313,293	327,494	-	1,024,368	2,709,917
Delaware,	40,354	11,687	-	-	-	-	1,532
Maryland,	3,213,114	2,280,405	1,929,886	1,005,792	10,199	950,327	2,504,277
District of Columbia,	53,640	2,920	12,996	-	-	-	125,239
Virginia,	189,782	23,695	17,619	308	-	44,397	96,970
North-Carolina,	2,484	4,001	-	1,848	-	975	464
South-Carolina,	408,774	210,295	11,361	53,449	1,428	100,346	403,196
Georgia,	3,774	11,641	-	-	35,672	26,262	75,237
Michigan Territory,	44	1,632	2,061	-	-	130	-
Mississippi do.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Orleans do.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Louisiana,	136,978	148,208	34,868	-	-	46,752	351,115
<i>Total.</i>	24,391,295	16,022,790	8,495,127	2,847,845	145,169	6,583,350	17,138,555

## PREFACE.

In giving a sketch of the history of the Greek Revolution, the author has endeavored to sketch an introductory view of the rise and progress of the Turkish empire, from its origin down to the commencement of the Greek Revolution ; in order to give the reader a full view of this most interesting and important subject. This will comprise the period of the first chapter.

The author has arranged the work into annual periods, and introduced each chapter with a brief summary of the events of that year, in order to open the subjects more clearly to the reader. This summary is supported by extracts from the most authentic sources, relating the several occurrences and events of the revolution, and the order of time in which they took place.

The author has chosen this mode, because the several accounts are often so vague, and contradictory, that could not feel himself justified in becoming responsible for their correctness, any further than by a general summary.

But even this view of the subject, it is presumed, will go very far to gratify that lively interest and feeling, for the success of the Greeks, which so strongly impresses the public mind throughout the United States.

In addition to this, the author has endeavored to throw all possible light upon the subject, by introducing into the work sundry letters from several distinguished men, resident in Greece, which describe minutely and feelingly the situation and sufferings of that oppressed, and wretched people.

A

SKETCH OF THE

**GREEK REVOLUTION.**

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We have long been anxious to make some observations on Greece. The national interest felt in the fates of the country, the deep political questions involved in the contest, and the formidable probability that the insurrectionary war may light a flame that will spread through Europe, urged it upon us. But there was a general deficiency of facts; the friends and enemies of the cause had equally given themselves up to romance, and it was essential to truth to wait until those mutual misrepresentations had been, in some measure, cleared away. This has been lately accomplished; some travellers, led only by a rational and intelligent curiosity, have within a short period visited Greece. Their works are now before the public, and from those sources, and such others as our personal knowledge might supply, a general view of the question may be formed free from romance, partiality or fiction.

We disclaim all enthusiasm. Yet we do not hesitate to pronounce the cause of Greece the cause of human nature. We allow the greater part of the imputations on the Greek character—that it is rash, given to quarrel, suspicious, inconstant, and careless of blood. But the



Greek has not had his trial. He has been for almost five hundred years, a broken man. His place of birth has been only a larger prison ; his education the bitterness of heart, the subterfuge, the sullen treachery, and the furious revenge of the slave. What estimate can we form of the strength and stature of freedom from this decript and barbarous servitude ? Even the vices of the character may be an indication of the vigor of its capabilities. The perversion of the best things is the worst. The fiery element that, in its rage, lays waste the land, is the great and exhaustless instrument of comfort and abundance. But the question may be decided at once we know what the Greeks have been ! If they are now barbarians, we must remember that they were once the lights of the world.

But the Turk is a barbarian. All his vices are thoroughly and incurably barbarian. He is habitually tyrannical, passionate for plunder, and a lover of blood,—his tastes are barbarian, extravagant splendour, gross indulgence, savage indolence of mind and body ; he enjoys none of the resources of civilization ; he has no national literature ; he cultivates no language ; he produces no picture, no statue, no music. Greeks are his linguists and the navigators of his ships ; foreigners discipline his army, and carry on his diplomacy. He resists the civilization of Europe with utter scorn, and even when forced upon him by circumstances, he resists it till its nature is changed, and he is again the Turk of Mahomet the Second ; he answers religious conviction by the dagger. He sits among the nations with no other instinct than that of the tiger, to seek out his prey, and having found it, to gorge and sleep.

Yet no nation on earth has had such advantage for the most consummate civilization. It has been seated in the central region of the temperate zone ; the master of its central sea on all its borders from Syria to Italy on the one side, and to Mauritana on the other. In the richest, most magnificent and inspiring realm that ever

was under the dominion of man, the hand filled with those splendid remembrances which have been the seed of knowledge and highmindedness to the ends of the earth ; its plains and mountains a succession of trophies to the civil or military glory of the most illustrious spirits of mankind. Of all this superb dominion, the Turk has been the lord for almost five centuries. Yet he is a barbarian still, with all the ferocity of the old dweller of the Imaus, even his hospitality and bravery are but the virtues of barbarism ; and wild, fierce, and bloody he will remain, until the purpose of desolation, for which he was brought from his desert shall be done.

The greatest and the last of all the prophecies had declared that the light of the early Church should be extinguished, and pure Christianity removed to lands remote from its original throne. The noblest form that Christianity has yet been permitted to assume, was in its early state on the shores of the Mediterranean. The whole of Asia Minor, then the most flourishing, opulent, and peaceful portion of the Roman empire, was filled with Christian temples. The seven great cities to which the Apocalypse is directed were the heads of this hallowed commonwealth, and the foundation laid by the Apostles was finished by the work of the hands and blood of a long succession of pure and vigorous followers in the same services and the same glory. But it had been foretold that this Church would rapidly degenerate ; that the influence of old corruptions should deface its purity ; that the opinions of an extravagant and mystic philosophy should be mingled with the inspired doctrine ; and that, after a long trial of the patience of Heaven, after casual purification by the bitter punishments of the Roman sword, and casual revivals of religion, they should be finally covered by ignorance and superstition impenetrable. There has been no prophecy more amply fulfilled. The Turks are now masters of every spot to which the writings of the Apostles were addressed, except Rome.

It must be too deep for human knowledge to trace the detail of Providence. But if it had been the will of Heaven to crush the Church of Asia, the Turks were, of all nations, the instruments most furnished for its hopeless oppression. If Asia Minor had been overrun by the Barbarians of the North, it might have retained or recovered both its civilization and its religion, for those barbarians have been susceptible of both in Europe. If it had been seized by Persia, it would have been in the hands of a people holding a high rank in Eastern civilization, not averse to European improvement, not furiously bigoted to their own blind superstition. But a tribe of robbers was summoned from the mountains, where they had been kept like a frozen torrent for ages, till the moment when its whole loosened might was to rush down upon the plain. They had no letters, no legislation, no knowledge; they were utterly a new race, separated from all the access by which civilization might approach, with no means of government but the sabre, no law but the Koran, and no purpose but conquest, animal indulgence, and merciless tyranny: they were sent forth to take possession of the land, and fearfully they executed their commission.

But in all those visitations of Providence which we are permitted to follow, the apparent tardiness of the punishment is scarcely less remarkable than the completeness, when all is done. The coming of the Turks was before the eyes of the Church of Asia for the astonishing period of almost a thousand years. From their first burst they were an object of acknowledged terror; the thunder cloud fixed every eye, from the moment of its gathering on the great central chain of the Asiatic hills; in its first advances it had nearly broke over the empire, but it was strangely turned away, and thus continued the storm, alternately approaching and retiring, till it was finally rolled upon Constantinople. In the year 545, the Turks first issued from the Imaus. In half a century, they had conquered the huge Table land



of the North, and touched with their standards at once the Roman borders, the Persian, and the Chinese.—Warring at the head of the Tartar tribes, their chief force was cavalry, and their cavalry was “computed by millions.” They then paused. But other leaders roused them again and in 844 they passed the head of the Caspian, and fixed a government in the Greater Armenia. In 1038, they again receded turned to the south, and overran the Persian empire,

The latter princes of Constantinople had sometimes redeemed the character of the throne; and instances of valor, conduct and virtue, are to be found even among chieftains bred up in the effeminacy of the most luxurious court of the world. The Saracens had been repelled, after a long succession of tremendous battles, and the Roman territory had been extended by Nicephorus, and his successor Basil, to the eastern boundaries of Armenia. The empire reposed for a while under the banners of this brave and unfortunate chieftain, when at once it was startled by an inundation of war. The Turkish cavalry had overspread the whole frontier, from Taurus to Arzoum, a line of six hundred miles.—Their progress was strewed with massacre, and this invasion cost of the subjects of the Greek emperor a hundred and thirty thousand lives; but while Constantinople was already closing its gates, the invasion sank away into the desert, and the lesson was forgotten.—But it was rapidly renewed; in 1062, the “Grand Sultan” of the Turks, Arparzlan, rushed upon Cæsarea at the head of an innumerable army. He swept all before him for some years, but fortune at length gave a moment’s respite to the Greeks, and in 1068 the Sultan was forced to cross the Euphrates. He returned with the swiftness and ferocity of barbarian revenge; and in 1071, by one bloody battle, finally broke the power of the Emperors in Asia.

The blow was now ready to come down. It was still averted. A civil war had begun among the Turks, which perhaps saved the whole of Europe from a des-

olation, like that of India by Timour. The western world had then no force to oppose to the savage yet not undisciplined vigour, and the inexhaustible multitudes of the Turkish cavalry. The fairest thrones of Europe might have still descended to a succession of grim barbarians, and the mountain and the desert might have been the desperate refuge of her people.—Europe might to this hour have been like Spain in the days of Pelayo. The civil war divided the irresistible mass of power; and four dynasties were formed, those of Persia, Kerman, Syria, and Roum. In 1074, Soliman, the head of the dynasty of Roum, crossed the Euphrates. All gave way before his troops to the banks of the Hellespont. Still the blow was suspended. A new and mightier conquerer had arisen in the north; and the Turkish conquests were trampled down by Zingis and his Mongols. But in the year 1299, Othman invaded the territory of Nicomedia, and thenceforth the Turks never retreated. The time was now short. In 1300 Anatolia was divided among the Turkish officers; and in the memorable year 1312 was completed the fall and irrecoverable ruin of the once glorious churches of Asia.

It is now unimportant to follow the fates of the Greek Empire. Yet there is some curiosity in marking the course by which the Turk advanced to the triumph over the last citadel of the mightiest dominion that was ever placed in the hands of man. In 1353 the Ottoman armies crossed the sea and established their camp in Europe. Constantinople seems to have been respited, like the churches. Her feuds, her opulence and her feebleness, equally invited the military ardour and avarice of the Sultan. Yet though within a few hours' march, and perhaps a few hours' possession of this most magnificent city of the earth, he drew off his squadrons to the north, and pitched his tents among the solitudes and marshes of Dacia. In 1403 Bajazet, a chieftain of proverbial boldness and cruelty, advan-

ced towards Constantinople. But he was suddenly summoned to a more deadly struggle by the approach of 'Timour. The Tartar destroyed his army, but soon turned to triumphs in a more genial climate, and in 1421 Mahomet the First restored the fallen honors of the Turkish standard. The end was now at hand. The Moslem had been gradually narrowing their circuit round Constantinople, commencing almost from the ground on which the Russian troops stand, they had formed a vast crescent, touching Asia with the one horn, and the Mediterranean with the other. In 1451 Mahomet the Second mounted the throne. Constantine Paleologus, the last of that race of Kings which had exhibited such momentous variety of guilt and fortune, was yet not unworthy to close the line of the mightiest of all empires. Pious to the best of his knowledge, and unquestionably brave, he saw the coming of inevitable ruin, with a determination to treat it as became a king. He might probably have escaped, but he had evidently determined to perish with the wreck of his empire. He passed the night before the assault in the offices of religion, and on the next morning led his few troops to the breach, and died sword in hand. Constantinople was taken May the 29th, 1453.

The sudden cessation of the Turkish conquests is scarcely a less singular phenomenon. The conquerors of the Greek Empire had the thunderbolts in their hands. Europe was open to them through the Mediterranean; they saw before them a vast Continent of struggling and rival states; they had an army of unlimited numbers, sustained by the whole warlike population of the Saracen faith, and whose discipline and equipment excited the astonishment of the warlike and enlightened Europeans.\* They had the old native thirst of rapine and conquest; and more formidable than all, the combination, enthusiasm, and devoted bravery of Islamism.

\* See Busbequius, &c.



But their career was suddenly closed ; it was said to this Ocean of living power, "Here shall thy proud waves be stayed." The conquest of the territory of the primitive Church was complete, and the work of the dynasty of Othman was done. The last permanent possession of the Turks was acquired in 1572, scarcely beyond a century from their sitting on the throne of Constantinople. In that year Mahomet the Fourth took the city of Kameniec. Its territory of forty eight towns and villages was given up to the Ottomans by the peace.†

Another not less singular phenomenon is the permanency of this empire. For these hundred and fifty years it has had upon its countenance all the symptoms of falling power. A fluctuating government, assailed by perpetual and bloody revolution, rebellious provinces, a mutinous army, a frontier pressed upon by the two gigantic military despotisms of the South and North, Austria and Russia, long wars, always attended with defeat, yet what had Turkey lost ? All the politicians of Europe have for this century and a half been predicting her speedy ruin ; yet, until the Greek insurrection, she had not lost a province. We disclaim the common rashness of attributing things in the ordinary and trivial courses of life to an interposing Providence ; but it is not unsuitable to humility, nor unsupported by the declared acting of the great Disposer, to conceive him exercising his high prerogatives in the fates of nations ; and above all, in the fates, the punishments, and preservations of his church. When it shall be his will to relieve the fairest portion of early Christendom, the land of the apostles, the saints and martyrs, the mount Zion of Christianity, from the trampling of its savage lords, it shall be accomplished, but not till then. The very difficulty in human eyes of continuing this broken and tottering dominion, may have been for the purpose of compelling us to follow the path of that mightiest

† See Cantemir—'Decay of the Ottoman Empire.'

footstep, which is not the less powerful and sure because it treads in clouds. The situation of the Turkish affairs, even so late as 1812, may excite some consciousness of a higher order than that of the mere politician. The Ottoman forces had been defeated in every encounter, and driven across the Danube. There was now but the solitary barrier of a mountain tract, ordinarily crossed in six hours, between the conquerors and Constantinople. The Turkish camp had been taken, and the mob of the city would have been the only army left to the Sultan. Turkey was without an ally, or without one near enough to stand between her and ruin. The Russian army was headed by its favorite chief; that noble old man who was yet to be the more than conquerors, the deliverer of Europe. The Russian government was at last in sight of the realization of all its splendid dreams; and was pouring out its whole infinite strength to take possession of the Mother City of the Eastern Empire. In a moment, the whole assault was checked, even at the foot of the rampart. The French trumpets sounded in the rear of this confident and triumphant host. A new invader had been urged against Russia. A great work was to be done there too. The long arrear of Western blood and blasphemy was to be paid in the Russian deserts, and it was paid with a terrible fulness, beyond the power or the expectation of man. But it stopped the ruin that hung over the empire of the Ottomans. The Russian armies were torn back from the prey, like hounds that had already fastened their fangs in its palpitating flesh, and been sent to hunt down a still more savage and guiltier victim. The Turks, from broken and almost suppliant enemies, were instantaneously raised into equals and allies, and by the treaty of 1812, were gladly reinstated by Russia in every right and province lost by the sword.

All those are things out of the common course of earth. It is an extraordinary thing to see a nation of

barbarians fixed in a Christian land, and that too the most sacred, the most fondly revered by Christian feelings. It is an extraordinary thing to see a nation utterly resisting the approaches of that brilliant and productive civilization which absolutely surrounds and urges itself on it in every form; a stubborn and more than iron mass, that lying in the very furnace to which the ancient ruggedness of all European barbarism has given way, yet refuses to be softened, or purified, or even to be warmed. It is an extraordinary thing to see an empire, the old and perpetual object of ambition to its greater military neighbours, who have often combined for its spoliation, still secure; feeble in all its parts, yet firm in its whole—unable to advance a foot beyond its own boundaries, yet defying the advance of all others within them—with a rebellious populace and a mutinous army, a short sighted and brutal policy, a King taken from the Seraglio, and a ministry gathered from the shambles and the streets; yet making head against the disciplined strength, the regular resources, the improved and combined policy, and the accomplished knowledge, military and ministerial, that are to be found along the whole immense lines of hostility openly or secretly arrayed against them. It is an extraordinary thing to see Mahometanism preserved in a portion of Europe, and preserved in its original strictness, blindness, and ferocity, when it has been superseded, or decayed in its original seats, when as a national religion, it has been unsustained by almost any of those forms of privilege and emolument which seem necessary for the permanence of religion in the conflicting and worldly urgency of human pursuits and professions; and even with a vast proportion of its most productive subjects, nearly the entire of its tributaries, its merchants, its foreign agents, and its manufacturers, Christian. It is an extraordinary thing that a cruel and despotic Domination, over whose utter ruin every heart in Europe would exult—for which not a voice would be raised



from one end to the earth to the other, to whose fall the most patriotic and enlightened philosophy looks as to life from the dead, to the restoration of Asia, to the recovery of the loveliest region of the globe to knowledge, peace, and religion—should be still undiminished, should cover that glorious land, like the mass flung out from the volcano, the fiery torrent checked indeed in its headlong career, but there hardened into incorrigible rock, a huge and sullen heap of sterility, to be nether cultivated nor removed by the power of man.

The Greek insurrection assumes to us an aspect of loftier importance from those considerations. Whatever might be our sympathies with the fortunes of a brave and unhappy people, striving with their naked hands to tear off the manacles that have cut them to the soul, we feel a still stronger interest in this generous struggle, from its giving the signal of mightier changes perhaps throughout the whole extent of the civilized world. It may be extinguished, and the time, which shall yet surely come, may be thus deferred; but if it should succeed, it will have made the only actual aggression on the fabric of the Turkish power, the only permanent inroad into that great interdicted desert, it will have stricken the first blow on the Talisman on which is engraved the spell that has for ages kept the Ottoman throne inaccessible to the hostility of human nature.

It is impossible that this godless, corrupt and infidel kingdom should be tolerated but for the purpose of punishing. There have been other criminals, revolt-ers from the faith, abusers of the benevolence of Heaven, on whom the Ottoman has been brought as the locust, to destroy the living vegetation of their strength and prosperity. The pestilence and famine are the inferior agents of wrath, but the time for the cessation of punishment may be as deeply determined as for its infliction; and then comes the retribution on the punisher. Human violence was used in the whole course of

the Jewish Annals for the castigation of the crimes of Israel. The Assyrian idolator was made great for his day by the fall of the chosen people. But when the hour of deliverance was ordained, there was ordained with it the ruin of the instrument of slavery and blood, and Assyria was cast from her golden supremacy, and Babylon was condemnèd into the haunt of the vulture and the lion forever!

The Geographical division of Greece adopted by the Provisional Government is as follows :—

### INHABITANTS.

Eastern Hellas, containing	80,000
Western Hellas,	70,000
The Morea,	450,000
Crete and the Islands,	350,000
Epirus,	400,000
Thessaly,	300,000
Macedonia,	700,000
	<hr/>
Total,	2,350,000

Of this population but about one third can be called original Greeks. The rest are Albanians and Turks, with some few thousands of Franks and Jews. The mountainous regions had never been completely reduced under the Turks. The horse and scymitar had made them masters of the plain, they became feudal possessors of the territory under the usual tenure, of military service to the Sultan, and held the remaining Greeks as cultivators and serfs of the soil. But multitudes had retreated to the freedom and security of the mountain tracts, and as the Turkish chain became heavier, multitudes flung it off and flew to their free countrymen. The vacancy produced by this flight was partially filled up by forced or voluntary accessions of Christian inhabitants from Albania and Bulgaria. About two hundred years ago, a large emigration of

Christian Albanians entered Bœtia, Attica, and Argolis, where their language is still retained. The Island of Hydra, the seat of the commercial and naval enterprise of Greece, was peopled by this race, and in whatever quarter they settled they have been hardy, active and brave.

Another multitude of the original Greeks had passed over into Asia Minor during the last half century. They fled from the increased oppression of the Turks, yet they passed under a Turkish Government; but it was that of the Kara Osman Oglu family, the singularly mild viceroys of the valleys of the Hemus and Cai-cus.

There was but little severity in the established tributes of the Greeks under even the European Turks. The mode of apportioning the rent had been adopted from the usages of the Greek Empire. A seventh of the produce was set apart for the land-tax. The landlord received half the remainder, or a larger portion, according to his supply of seed, stock, and agricultural tools. The capitation tax, however exposed to vexations in the collecting, was comparatively trivial; it was levied on every Christian, but it seldom amounted to more than two pounds sterling for each family. But the real grievances remained behind; the Turk was privileged to compel the Greek peasant to sell his produce for the public use, of either the Sultan, or the local government, at whatever price the mercy of his tyrant pleased. There were perpetual demands of contributions in money or kind; soldiers were quartered on them; they were compelled to supply labour for the public works. This system of harassing and plunder was carried through the whole government, and the peasants were reduced to the lowest privation. In all conquests the inhabitants of the open country pay a heavy price for the luxuriance of the plain, and in the levels of Thessaly and Eubœa, Bœotia and Macedonia, the peasantry lived under the sword. In the mountain



districts, the Morea, and the country south of Mount *Ætna*, the Turks were more reluctant to settle, and the religious houses retained a portion of their former lands. A curious tenure preserved the rights of some other Greeks even in the more exposed territory. It had been the old custom of the Asiatic sovereigns to set apart cities and districts for the peculiar provision of their queens or households. The custom has been retained by the Sultans, and large districts of the more fertile parts of Greece belonged to the Sultanas, or to the Harem in general, or even to the Mosques. The tenantry in possession were comparatively secure, and the exactions were comparatively mild. The gentleness of female influence was felt in even this system of tyranny; and the complaints of the Greek who supplied the toilets of the Harem were seldom neglected by his imperial mistress. The Greek of the Islands was still less subject to injury. In the *Ægean*, excepting in portions of the Islands nearest the Asiatic shore, Rhodes, Cos, and Lesbos, the Greeks paid only the land-tax and capitation. But on the whole this memorable people was in the most distressed state of any Christian nation. Neither life nor property was their own. Their government was tyranny, their revenue was extortion, their law was the sword; they lived under the heel of a barbarous dominion, haughty from its nature and its creed.

In the freedom and security of our country, we possibly cannot conceive the long misery of life passed under the wild caprice and perpetual irritation of Turkish tyranny—the exposure of the deepest and dearest interests of our blood and being to brutal passion or malignant power; the bitter and constant fear that the fruits of a life of labor would be sacrificed to the avarice of some insolent slave, raised into sudden authority by his superior villany, and sent forth to live by plunder and tread down every hope of honor and prosperity in the land. God forbid, we say in the sincerity of our

souls, that this should last, even if the subject nation were but a step above the beasts that perish ; even if there were no seed of manliness among them ; if, in the long series of ages, they had never given proof of a noble thought, or an action worthy of human nature.— God forbid that man bearing his image, however humiliated, and defiled with the dust of slavery, should not at length clear away the stain ; that the day of oppression should not have an end, and the lash and the fetter at length cease to resound in this mighty dungeon ; or still more, that England, the very throne of Christianity and Freedom, should not be the first to command this merciless desolation of gallant hearts and Christian faith to be at an end ; and if her remonstrances should fail in the majesty of justice, and by the high privilege of her power, delegated for such things, finally wring the scourge from the hand of the godless oppressor.

But that this unfortunate people are eminently worthy of the interference and interest of enlightened Europe, we have evidences of the most sufficient kind. Of this order is Colonel Leake, who from his official residence, his professional rank, and his peculiar study of the people and language, is undeniable authority. This officer tells us, in his late very interesting Memoir,\* that “ though the condition of the peasant is, on the whole, miserable, he is in general industrious, much attached to his family, anxious for the education of his children, and equal if not superior, in intelligence, to the peasantry of the most civilized countries of Europe.”

He proceeds to tell us, that this distinguished characteristic of the ancient Greeks is retained by their descendants of every condition in a degree so striking as to attract the attention of all strangers, even of those most disposed to think harshly of the Greeks : that among the most uncultivated and ignorant of this unhappy people, even in those provinces where the Turkish ty-

\*Historical outline of the Greek Revolution. By W. M. Leake.

ranny would have been almost enough to extinguish the heart and understanding of man, the stranger is forced to acknowledge "the curiosity, ingenuity, keenness, and elocution of their famous forefathers, and the natural effect of which upon the present race was an extreme impatience of their present condition." "Not a traveller from Europe could pass without exciting the hope that some interference in their favor was in contemplation; and he never failed to hear from them many bitter reproaches against us for allowing our fellow-Christians to remain enslaved under the yoke of infidels."

Colonel Leake attributes a large portion of the misrepresentations of the Greek character to the route pursued by the ordinary tourists. Individuals accustomed to the indulgences of civilized countries, are suddenly plunged into the privations and inconveniences of a depressed and poor state of society; or they come with romantic notions borrowed from antiquity; or to avoid the common hazards of travel through the mountain countries, where the true people are to be alone found, they make a party of pleasure through the beaten track of Athens, the islands, the Asiatic coast the plain of Troy and Constantinople; a road where, of course, travellers are as much the accustomed prey as upon other frequented roads, and where extortion is the natural lesson. "Their journey is concluded before they have acquired a sufficient knowledge of the language to form any impartial estimate of the national character and they come in contact chiefly with those classes upon which the long subjection to the Turks has had the greatest effect; such as persons in authority under the government, or otherwise in Turkish employ—servants, interpreters, the lower order of traders, and generally the inhabitants of those towns in which the Turkish population has a great preponderance of numbers."

"It is obviously not in those situations, but in the more unfrequented islands, and on the continent of



European Greece, where the Turks do not form the tenth part of the population, that the inquiry ought to be made, whether any of the ancient talents and virtues of the Greeks have survived the centuries of Musulman oppression which supervened upon the debasement caused by Byzantine despotism, weakness and superstition. In such an inquiry, it would be further necessary to distinguish between the inhabitants of the plains and those of the mountains ; for those two classes have been placed in very different circumstances ever since the establishment of the Ottoman power in Greece."

The Turkish oppression has been so directly the source of the chief defects in the character of the Greek of our day, that in exact proportion as that fatal influence is enfeebled, so rises the national character. Its nature is elastic, and it springs up even in every momentary removal of the pressure ; but its true displays are to be found where the Turk dares not come. The most remarkable contrast to the inhabitants of the plains is to be found in those Islands of the Ægean, "where there are no Turkish inhabitants ;" and in the mountainous parts of Crete, of Laconia, Arcadia, Ætolla, Locris, Epirus, Thessaly, and Macedonia. Here the Greeks bear "the most striking resemblance," in both their virtues and vices, to their illustrious ancestors—"industrious, hardy, enterprising heroic ; ardently attached to their homes and country ; living on little, or lovers of wine and gaiety, as the occasion prompts ; sanguine, quick, ingenious, imitative." The picture has its dark side—"Vain, inconstant, envious, treacherous, and turbulent." This picture is not from the hand of an enthusiast ; the stains are too faithfully marked. But we must remember, that these defects would be the natural qualities of any people leading the distracted and uncertain life of the Greeks—even in his strongest place of security, pent up amid wild tracts of barren country, shut out from general communica-

tion, condemned to the habits of the hunter and the marauder, liable to annual inroads of a merciless enemy, and from his cradle to his grave, either the spoil or the antagonists of the oppressor. Poverty, suspicion, loneliness—the inclemency of the elements—a life of hazard—flight or attack—what original constitution of virtue could have attained its true stature? There is not a national character under Heaven that would not have hardened and darkened under this perpetual rudeness of fortune. That the Greek retains any qualities entitling him to rank among men, is the phenomenon the powerful evidence of what illustrious qualities he may yet show forth, when misery and shame shall cover him no more, and he shall be called to take his armed stand in the great field, where nations struggle for more than the glory of the sword.

The true author of the Greek insurrection was Ali Pasha. This man's ambition, intercourse with Europeans, and fierce and oriental catastrophe, have thrown all the circumstances of his life and character into public knowledge. His birth was honourable among his barbarian countrymen; he was the descendant of a long line of warrior robbers, lords of some of those small districts into which a mountain country is naturally divided.—A remote ancestor, and robber, Muzzo, had made himself master of Zepeleni, a town on the left bank of the Voiussi. Mouktar Bey, Ali's grandfather, was a distinguished soldier, and slain at the siege of Corfu. Veli Bey, the youngest of Mouktar's sons, and father of Ali, had been Pasha of Delvino, but, driven from his Paschalik, and reduced to his origin lordship, he died of grief. At this period Ali was but fourteen. He had been born at Zepeleni, in 1748. The death of his father exposed the town to the rapacity of all the surrounding clans. Khamco, his mother, a true barbarian heroine, instantly threw aside the distaff, sword in hand rallied the dependants of the family, and repelled the invaders. In one of these attacks, she and her

daughter Shunitza were taken prisoners by the people of Gardiki, who treated them with the undesirable insults of a robber's victory. They were released at the end of a month by ransom ; but the insult sunk deep into Ali's spirit, and he treasured it for almost half a century, till it was wiped away in the blood and ashes of Gardiki.

Ali had all the restlessness and craft of the savage, mingled with the rapacity of the robber, and the native activity and bravery of the Greek mountaineer. From the age of sixteen he was a soldier and a plunderer, continually engaged in brief expeditions against the neighboring tribes, carrying off cattle, or making descents among the richer population of the valleys. Success and defeat were for awhile alternate, but at length he was on the point of ruin. An attack near the sources of the Chelydnus had been followed by the total dispersion of his wild troop, and Ali fled alone to Mount Mertzika, so reduced that he was compelled to pledge his scymitar to buy barley for his horse. He made the attempt again with a force of six hundred men, and was again beaten. Khamco, for whom he had always felt a singular homage, had commanded him, in almost the words of the Spartan mother, "Never to come back but dead, or a conqueror." As he gathered the remnant of his soldiers from this disastrous field, he went into the ruins of a church, near Valera, to rest and think over what was to be done. There, in his agitation, he stood, unconsciously, striking his stick into the ground. It at last struck upon something that returned a sound.—He dug up the spot, and, to his astonishment, found a box filled with gold coin. He had now found the true way to the barbarian victory. It would be a fine juncture for the pencil to seize upon the figure of this mountain warrior at the moment; the countenance lighted up with the wild exultation and fiery foresight of the whole long career of triumph, that burst upon him in the discovery. The accessories, too,



of the picture would be powerful. The military equipments, stained and purpled by toil and battle; the sacred ruin round him, with its broken altars and weedy columns; the remnant of his defeated troops covering the hill side; the brilliant mountains and sky of Greece above all.

With this treasure, Ali raised an army of two thousand men, renewed the campaign, swept the enemy before him, and returned to Zepeleni, a conqueror, never to be repulsed again from the way to sovereignty.

On his triumphant return, he, by force or persuasion, induced his mother to resign Zepeleni.—The heroine retired to the Harem, where she soon after died. Ali now furnished with the means of indulging his natural impulses, indulged them to the utmost, and became the most renowned among the marauding chieftains of the hills. He threw troops into the principal passes of the chain of Pin<sup>d</sup>us, and was thus master of the whole traffic of Thessaly and Macedonia. Merchants, caravans, public convoys, all fell into the hands of this young and enterprising lord of the "robbers." The slow vigilance of the Turkish government was at length roused, and Kourd Pasha, the Dervindji Pasha, or "Governor of the passes," the officers appointed to protect the communications, were ordered to crush the less licensed plunderer. But Ali's dexterity evaded an open encounter, with the Sultan, and the attack which was to have been his ruin, ended in an alliance with the Pasha, and a marriage with the daughter of the Turkish Governor of Argyro Castro. A succession of mountain conquests rapidly raised him into higher notice, until the next "Governor of the Passes" found it the wiser policy to make Ali his deputy. The old craft of the Greek was not forgotten. The deputy, instead of extinguishing the Kelphts, sold licenses for plunder to the amount of 150,000 pastrees. The story reached Constantinople. The Pasha was recalled, and beheaded for his neglect or corruption. Ali, still dexte-

rous and fortunate, bribed the ministers, and at once escaped punishment and fixed an interest in the Seraglio.

His character as a leader was now distinguished, and he was summoned to the command of a body of Albanians in the war with Russia. — Ali had now first come within the circle of European politics, and his ambition was suddenly awakened to the more brilliant object of independent power. The purpose of Russia was to assail Turkey at once on the north and south, to penetrate to Constantinople, by an army from Moldavia and a fleet from the Mediterranean. To detach the Albanian chieftain became important. The capture of one of his nephews gave an opening for his correspondence with Potemkin, and it seems authenticated that there was twofold conspiracy, by which Potemkin, at the head of the Russian army, was to make himself sovereign of Constantinople, and to confer on Ali the kingdom of Epirus. But the war ceased in the midst of Russian victories. Potemkin, the most powerful subject in the world, sunk into shade, probably from the detection of his designs, and Ali's dream vanished for the time. Yet his sagacity saw where his own strength and the weakness of Turkey lay; and from that period he kept up a correspondence with Russia until he was master of Epirus without its aid; and if he had nothing to fear from its hostility, he had nothing to hope from its friendship.

Human nature may justly shrink from the mingled ferocity and cunning, the contempt of faith, and the furious passions, that characterise the career of this memorable barbarian. But it is impossible not to be struck by the display of vigorous and original ability, that throws a kind of sullen splendour over his whole gloomy and precipitous track. His purpose from the beginning is power; he is repeatedly baffled, but he rises again from the ground with fresh resolutions; he hunts his prey through every difficulty with the fierce stanchness of a bloodhound. Treachery and valor,

bribery and generosity, are alike unsparingly his instruments ; where craft and labour will carry him through, he is perfidious without measure ; but when he cannot wind round the rock, he tries some bold expedient, he blasts the rock, and finally makes a royal road to the throne.

By his conduct at the head of the Albanians, Ali had gained eminence as a soldier with both the Russian and Turkish armies. His reward was a Pashalik of two tails. He chose his new province with that political eye whose keenness never failed him. He was appointed to the government of Triccala in Thessaly. This appointment showed at once the habitual blindness of the Porte in its remoter possessions, and the unwearied sagacity of its new favorite. Triccala was chosen with the skill of a first rate tactician. By its position on the Great Passes between Western Greece and Constantinople, it threw the corn trade into its viceroy's hands. It equally intercepted the commerce of the districts of Joannina and the whole mountain country of the west. Ali was in fact master of Thessaly, the most productive province of Greece ; and by the same step was raised within sight of the sovereignty of the whole western dominions of the Ottoman. He now lost no time in the consummation of his bold project.

The Beys in the neighborhood of Joannina, whether from their native turbulence, or, as is equally probable, excited by his intrigues, had burst into sudden tumult. Assassination, robbery, and open conflict, raged through the country. The people groaned under the multitude of petty tyrants, and grew ripe for the authority of one. In the midst of the perpetual sound of battle and misery, Ali's trumpets were heard from the hills. The civil conflict ceased, for the rival Beys knew that when he advanced all were equally a prey. They joined their troops, and fought a fierce battle with the invader at the head of the Lake of Joannina. The discipline of Ali's Albanians broke their irregular



force, and after a long struggle, they were utterly defeated, and driven into the city. But it was among the characteristics of this extraordinary man never to run an unnecessary hazard. The walls of Joannina, garrisoned by a dispirited army, would probably have been mastered by his troops, however untrained to sieges. But he had a more secure, though a more circuitous way to victory.—By threats and money he formed a party in the country, and induced them to send a deputation to Constantinople, proposing him for the government. The Beys, aware of the mission, instantly sent to deprecate the appointment. They succeeded. Ali's talents had already rendered him formidable at Constantinople, and his deputation returned with a Firman, commanding him to the bitter measure of withdrawing from the prize already within his grasp, and even disbanding his army. Nothing could have been more anxious than the alternative. Resistance would have been rebellion and ruin, soon or late. The dismissal of his troops would have been, on the Ottoman principles, probably followed by the loss of his head. But by an act of more than Punic skill, he evaded this formidable dilemma, and actually triumphed. He had received intelligence of his failure, and of the Firman, from an agent who had rode some days in advance of the deputation of which he was one. The agent was immediately sent back to rejoin it. The deputation was received in pomp by the Beys, who advanced beyond the gates of Joannina, to receive the Sultan's order with becoming homage. It was solemnly opened in the assembly, each Bey first touching it with his forehead in token of that submission of life and death, which is due to the will of the great King of the Moslems. To the astonishment and alarm of all, the Firman declared Ali lord of the Pashalik of Jonnina! This daring forgery was instantly exclaimed against; but the forger was not a man to leave time for the growth of opposition. He instantly marched upon the

city, now thronged with his partizans, augmented by those who either believed the reality of the Firman, or looked for some personal advantages from the known profusion of the invader. Ali's conduct in this crisis was politic; he lavished money on his friends and the populace; he disclaimed all revenge, and pledged himself to the protection and advancement of the Beys, who still continued in the territory. His chief opponents had fled to the hills on the entrance of his army, and all was peace and popular acclamation. Yet, in the midst of this public revel, he provided against a reverse with the coolness of a veteran politician. He marched a strong force into the citadel, and thus placed himself out of the power of public change. But Constantinople was still to be propitiated. Without loss of time, he sent a deputation of the principal inhabitants to the Porte, bearing his own account of the transaction, and bearing the still more irresistible argument with a Turkish Ministry, of large means of corruption. It was felt too, that he was now in possession of a power which it must take a war to break down; the policy of the Porte, furious and vindictive as it is, has always been to temporise until it can destroy; and the Pashalik was finally confirmed to its dexterous and daring usurper.

Ali was now a King in all but the name, and his kingdom extended over a number of provinces that still touch us with noble classical recollections. The Pashalik of Joannina comprehended Locris (Ozolæ,) Ætolia, Acarnania, Thesprotia, Molossia, Chaonia; and among the towns of those provinces were Actium, where the Empire of the Roman world was once decided; and Dodona, the great central oracle of ancient superstition. And this was the achievement of a barbarian, unfurnished with the knowledge of politics of civilized states; probably unable to read or write; unsustained by alliance; and forced to fight his way foot by foot under severities of fortune worse than the storms of

his own inclement skies, and still more perilous, under the remorseless and subtle jealousy of the Ottoman.

The great scale of European ambition—the magnitude of the triumph—the magnitude of the means, throw exploits like those of Ali among his mountain tribes into the shade. But (throwing morality out of the question,) in the innate materials that constitute the superiority of the man as the conqueror and the ruler;—in the distant and eagle-eyed vision which he fixed on his purpose from the beginning;—in the resistless activity of his pursuit;—the inexhaustible dexterity of his intrigue; and still more, in that unhesitating turn, from the most creeping subterfuge to the fiercest and most daring violence, the singular mixture of the wiliest craft that belongs to cowardice, with the boldest risk that makes the character of heroism; Ali, Pasha of Joannina, has had in our time neither equal nor rival but one—Napoleon, Pasha of the European world.

The Russian and Austrian alliance now issued in a war against Turkey. A secret treaty had been framed between Catherine and Joseph the Second, during the celebrated progress to the Crimea in 1787, for the dismemberment of European Turkey. The strength of the attack was to have been thrown on the western frontier; agents were despatched to prepare the Greeks; engineers in disguise took plans of the country; and the people were taught to look up to Austria as their natural protector. The Turks, impatient of insults, struck the first blow, and plunged into the war. They lost Belgrade and Ockzakow; but one of those interpositions which have so often and so signally saved the Porte, stopped the tide of Russian conquest; the Emperor Joseph died; Potemkin's views of sovereignty transpired, and Catherine, probably alarmed at treason so near the throne, suddenly checked her long predicted march to Constantinople.



Ali had been commanded to join the Vizier with his Albanians, but he had gained his object. Hazard was now misplaced, and he had other views than those of mingling his blood with the nameless carnage of a Turkish field. He is said to have seen scarcely more than even the smoke of the Russian outposts, when he returned to his dominions to indulge in safer conquests for the aggrandizement of his personal power.

To be master of the whole Western Greece, was the grand object of his ambition. He attacked the Suliot tribe in 1791, and it is one among the many instances of the power to be found in poverty and valour, that those mountaineers resisted, and often defeated, the trained troops and regular and vast resources of the great Pasha. But twelve years of battle and privation, an extraordinary period for either attack or defence, at length wore out the brave population; and the remnant of the Suliot palikars, which had never exceeded three thousand soldiers, was reduced to capitulate in December 1803, on the terms of emigrating where they pleased. The conditions were atrociously violated, and the greater part of this valiant tribe were slain on the road to the coast. Some passed into the Russian service, and formed an Albanian battalion.

During this entire period Ali was exerting his restless sagacity in balancing between the various European interests that were alternately springing up along his borders. The victories of Napoleon made the Pasha a partizan of France for the time. The possession of the Ionian Isles by the Russians instantly converted him into a sworn friend of the Autocrat. The battle of Leipzig, and the hoisting of the British flag in Corfu, changed his policy once more, and his great passion was an intimate alliance with the Lords of the Seas. Difficult as it was to steer through those opposing interests, Ali continued his perilous navigation, perpetually obtaining some personal advantage; till he had placed himself in a state of power, which wanted only virtue to have

made him monarch of Greece, in scorn of Emperor and Sultan. His knowledge of the Porte, and the skill with which he baffled its perpetual machinations against him were admirable. In the campaign against Paswan Oglu, the Grand Vizier summoned Ali to meet him in full divan, for the purpose of receiving some signal honor for his services. The Pasha well knew what fatal honor the Porte would have conferred on a subject so prosperous. But policy compelled him to attend the divan. He approached the Vizier's tent, but it was at the head of six thousand of his Albanians. The Vizier received this formidable guest with well-dissembled courtesy,, and Ali returned to his quarters in open triumph, and secret scorn.

Another memorable instance of his eluding the vengeance of his suspicious court occurred in 1812. He had seized the neighbouring Pasha of Delvino, and flung him into prison, where he soon died, and it was presumed, of hunger. Ali had long been obnoxious to the Porte, and he doubtless felt that this new murder would not be forgotten in the register of his crimes. His expedient to prove himself the victim of evil reports, was incomparable. Ibrahim Pasha, an old rival, had fallen into his hands, and after some time had disappeared. Some obscure circumstances, made the report of his murder universal. Information of it had reached the Porte, and even the French Consul had sent the intelligence by a courier to Constantinople. The Porte instantly despatched a public officer to Joannina, commissioned to make inquiry into the assassination, and probably, as is the established Turkish custom, to bring back the head of the offender. On his arrival and introduction to Ali, the Pasha was all astonishment, and bade the officer follow him. He led the way to an inner apartment, where to the utter surprise of the Turk, he showed him the supposed victim, sitting surrounded by oriental luxury, in the midst of his family. Ali now triumphed in his turn. The refutation of all previous charges was

of course included in the falsehood of this. The Capidgi Bashi returned to Constantinople, secured by bribes, and carrying with him the means of confirming the Pasha's interest at court; and Ali was more firmly seated than ever!

The British tourists through Greece have given us a more familiar knowledge of the habits and resources of this extraordinary man, than Europeans had hitherto obtained of any of the Turkish governors. It is honourable to the intelligent curiosity of our countrymen, that they alone should have, through all the opposing difficulties of distance, the ocean, and, more formidable than both, the war, obtained for us within these few years a more complete knowledge of Continental Greece, and its sovereign, than had been acquired by the whole multitude of the French and German literati, military officers, or diplomatists, though planted on the very frontier of his dominions, embarked in public relations with his government, and even in some instances resident in his capital. How little do we know even now of the Turkish governments in the interior; from the borders of Hungary to the Black Sea! Paswan Oglu fought the Porte for twenty years of our time, and the sound of the cannon of Widdin was scarcely beyond the ears of the Austrians, yet his history was left in almost the obscurity of an Arabian tale. Even of the half-Christian provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, constantly as they were the seat of European battle and diplomacy, and constantly pervaded by French, Russian, and German agents, the only intelligible account has been given a few years since, and that by an Englishman. Of the vast line of country lying on a parallel from the western frontier of Turkish Croatia to the shores of the Euxine, including Bosnia, Servia, and Bulgaria, we are almost totally ignorant, though they run along the edge of the Austrian kingdom of Hungary. Of the whole mighty mass of country lying to the southward from the Dalmatian frontier, and known by the barbarous names of



Herzegovinia and Rumelia, we are acquainted with scarcely more than a few miles inward from the Mediterranean. To the Englishman, distance, loss of time, and ignorance of the language, must be serious obstacles to the inquiry. To the German, those must nearly vanish, overlooking, as he does, the immense region below, and able, by his various faculties, to traverse the whole country in little more than the time of the voyage from England. It is impossible to doubt, that there must be found in this huge and magnificent territory a vast unopened volume of human nature—fine qualities, however crushed by suffering and situation; curious pictures of superb Oriental caprice, mingled with the rugged virtues and bold defiance of the dweller among the deserts—the human mind, in that mingling of degradation and nobleness, which characterizes barbarian life—society, under that strange aspect of prodigal luxuriance, and abject privation, that belongs to the dominion of the Turk, and which, whether in the gold purple of the Pasha, or the nakedness of his vassal, makes one of the most striking contemplations of the philosopher.

Ali's career was now about to close.

Without penetrating into the deeper sources of the moral, we are often compelled to observe, how near the complete possession of human objects is to a change of prosperity. A Plutarch would have given this prosperous old man eloquently down to us as the parallel to Cræsus or Polycrates. But Ali deserved his fall. His career had been one continued progress of perfidy; even the proverbial treachery of the Porte had been outrun by the dexterous duplicity of the Greek; yet while his genius was thus engaged, he might have been almost forgiven. But he loved blood. His havoc among his own gallant mountain tribes was merciless; his violation of all treaties with their remnant, was worse than barbarian, for savage life does not reject the principle of honour. The heart of all but a tiger in hu-

man shape must have shrunk at the sight of the catastrophe of Zalongo, where, we are told, that a crowd of women and children flying from the ambush into which the Suliot exiles had been betrayed, and finding no resource but death from the insults and horrors of their pursuers, the mothers first flung their children down the rocks, and then joining hands, and screaming out some of their wild songs, whirled round and round in a dance of despair and madness, till they trod on the edge of the precipice, and all plunged below.

His slaughter of the Gardikiote had the stern and relentless perseverance, and the unsparing execution of a spirit of darkness. He had laid up his resolution of vengeance for forty years. But it never slept. When his time of power came, he at length attacked the Gardikiotes in their citadel. They defended themselves like men who had no alternative but victory or extinction; but, after baffling the first besiegers, a large force was poured in, which carried the walls. The greater part of the tribe perished sword in hand; but their conqueror's vengeance was not yet glutted. The prisoners to the number of seven or eight hundred, were led to a large Khan on the frontier of their district. There they were murdered. Their bodies were left above ground, and the gate way of the Khan, their sepulchre, was walled up, with the inscription, the solemn Oriental curse, written on its front.—“Thus perish all the enemies of Ali's house!” Gardiki itself was levelled with the ground, and the fierce command issued, that “it should never again become the place of human beings.” It is a striking evidence of the love of gain, compatible with the most atrocious cruelty, that in the midst of this sweeping slaughter, the Pasha seized upon an expedient for raising money, which would perhaps have escaped any other sagacity than his own. The Gardikiotes had extensive commercial dealings with Greece. He seized their books, declared himself the general representative of the dead, and in the name of

the very men whose bodies were reeking under his scymitar, compelled payment of the money due to them to the last piastre. In 1819, Ali made his final acquisition of territory. The retreat of the unfortunate Pargiunotes left him without an enemy or a spoil. He was now at the summit of his ambition, and was master of Continental Greece, "from the Attic boundary of Parnes, to the rugged mountains of Illyricum."\*

The obscure rumours of a despotic court assign various causes for the immediate fall of this formidable chieftain. But his notorious assumption of power, was sufficient to have numbered him among those offenders whom the Porte marks for the dagger. Turkey must see with bitterness the Ionian Isles torn from her grasp, even though in the hands of her most honorable ally.—The open intercourse of the Pasha with the government of the Isles, and the knowledge, that in the event of a war with England, he would instantly sacrifice his allegiance for sovereignty and English connexion, might have hurried the blow. The Sultan Malimoud, too, is a reformer; and the state of the European provinces might well have called for some of that fierce energy which has not spared even the troops of his capital.—But the immediate cause is said to have been that greediness for gold which has from the beginning disgraced and stimulated the Ottoman sword.

The palace of Topeleni had been burned down, whether by accident, or by the more probable means of some attempt at plunder. One of the Pasha's hoards was discovered in the ruins. The story of his immense wealth, of itself sure to bring down wrath on the possessor, was urged by an old enemy, Ishmahel pasha, at the Seraglio. Ali had grown avaricious with age, and perhaps contemptuous of the Sultan, with increased power. He had diminished the amount of his bribes, and it was determined in the Divan, that he was ripe

\*Hughes' Travels.



for the bow-string. Ali received at once the double and alarming intelligence, that his enemy was nominated Capigi Bashee, or Imperial Messenger, and that his second son Veli, was removed from the important Pashalik of Thessaly to the inferior one of Lepanto. Ali was now seventy-eight, but he had lost neither his early arts, nor his early activity. His first step was to send two Albanian horsemen to stop the Capigi's mission. They rode up to his door, under pretence of delivering a letter, and as he came to the window, fired at and wounded him. They were hotly pursued : one was taken sixty miles from Constantinople, examined, and after confessing the name of his master, was hung before the Seraglio gate. The Divan instantly issued an order for Ali to attend before " the golden threshold of the gate of Felicity, within forty days, on pain of the wrath of the Brother of the Sun and Moon, and Light of all the princes of the earth." A curse of excommunication was pronounced by the Mufti, and the more effective instrument of an army was set in motion, with Ismael Pasha at its head, declared Pasha of Joannina !

The old tyrant now felt retribution coming on him in a flood. At another time of life, he might have easily broken the attack even in Constantinople. But avarice had extinguished his prudence ; and it had even enfeebled the haughty courage of the famous chieftain of the Albanians. He wavered in his declaration of open war, and was undone. A variety of bold schemes crossed his mind, and he was said to have been once on the point of calling himself a Christian, taking the title of King of Greece, and summoning all the tribes to the renovation of their old glorious name.

Yet he had the means of resistance which might have encouraged a less sanguine spirit to defy the feeble and tardy power of the Porte. He had no less than twenty-five fortresses equipped and garrisoned. He had seventeen thousand of the bravest soldiers of the empire in the field, and one of the most difficult countries of the

world for his grand fortification. The defeats of the Ottoman troops in their advances through the defiles of the Pashalik, during the six years of war since, have showed how formidable must have been their defence with a gallant and native army to guard them. But the cruelty and perfidy of the Pasha had alienated all his people ; the "true honor, and troops of friends," were not to be found in the circle of his hazardous and polluted councils. As the Turkish armies ascended through the passes, all resistance melted away, like the snow under their feet ; the Albanians, instead of defending their mountain ramparts, where a few hundred men might have given over the whole Turkish hosts to the wolves and vultures, came down and joined them. Omer Bri-  
oni, the favorite officer of Ali, carried over his whole division to the enemy. The towns opened their gates, even his own family fled or surrendered, and Ali saw himself, without a shot being fired, reduced to the solitary fortress of Joannina.

Still he retained the means of making a desperate and even a successful resistance. The castle and fortress mounted two hundred and fifty pieces of cannon ; it was garrisoned by eight thousand Albanians, and provisioned for four years. The lake on which it stood was an additional entrenchment, and it was secured by a squadron of gunboats. But the war was now pressing close upon him, and he had the mortification of seeing his city of Joannina pillaged and set in a blaze under his eyes. He had the still keener mortification of hearing the shouts of the Ottoman army for his old enemy Ismael, as, on the 20th of August, 1820, he rode into the city yet burning, and was proclaimed Pasha ! Ali furiously answered the proclamation by a heavy fire from all his cannon.

Of all warlike nations, the Turks are the feeblest in the attack of fortified places. But, for the destruction of a rival, the new Pasha urged his troops to extraordinary vigour, and before the winter, upwards of five thou-

sand bombs had been thrown into the place. Disaffection, and the habitual fickleness of the Greek soldiery, were, now, however working for the besieged. The levies retired to the hills, or quarrelled in the camp; winter set in and the passes became impervious through snow, or were blocked up by Odysseus, that bold but dubious partizan who has since figured so largely in the patriotic war.

If Ali, in these hours of his fate, was gratified by the fall of a puissant enemy, the Porte indulged him with it in the dismissal and disgrace of Ismael Pasha. Despotism and democracy meet in their revenge on the unlucky; and the only distinction between Constantinople and republican Paris, was that the defeated general of the Turk sometimes escaped with life; guillotine was more prompt and unfailing. The delays of the seige of Joannina had overthrown Ismael's credit at court; and Kourchid Pasha was ordered to take upon him the desperate enterprise of reducing the "Old Lion," as Ali was termed with scarcely Oriental exaggeration.

But this den was not to be entered by such hunters as could be found within the dominions of the Turk, and the war lingered through the greater part of 1821.— But an accident accomplished what might have been hopeless to force. In July, a fire had broke out in the castle of Joannina. It had spread to the magazines of provision; and in a wasted country, and in the presence of the enemy, the loss was irreparable. Kourchid Pasha returned with a large additional force, and in November it was announced that all was ready for the assault. The failure of provisions, and the evidence of increased activity in the besiegers, disheartened the garrison, who now saw no prospect but of dying by famine or the Turkish artillery. Desertion took place, and the garrison was soon reduced to six hundred men. A still more alarming omen occurred, in the desertion of the chief engineer, Baretta, a Neapolitan, who increased the value of his treachery by directing the guns of the



besiegers to the more vulnerable points of the castle. The island of the lake was soon after seized by a Turkish flotilla. Kourchid, now in sight of triumph, and stimulated by the immense wealth still buried in the fortress, pressed the siege with fierce vigour, until Ali was forced to abandon all the lower fortress, and shut himself up in the citadel with but sixty soldiers. Still the great prize of the war eluded the grasp of the Ottoman general. The countless gold of the "Old Lion" was in the citadel, covered with barrels of gunpowder, and the whole treasures, castle and besiegers, might have been blown into the air at the moment of the storm. Ali's character, old as he was, forbade the idea that, if he were pressed, he would die, but sword in hand and in the midst of some fierce act of revenge. Kourchid shrank from this extremity, ordered the assault to be stayed, and tried the slower, but not less fatal, way of negotiation.

The last hours of Ali have been variously narrated ; but the most authentic account is thus given by Mr. Waddington, as the "Official Statement of the Turkish Secretary of State to the British Minister, Lord Strangford." It is worth preserving, even as a curious instance of a Turkish state paper.

"Kourchid Pasha sent his Silikdar to Ali to propose to him to surrender at discretion ; to restore that part of the citadel which he possessed, and to consign his treasures to this officer ; for such appeared, in the extremity to which he was reduced, the only rational determination for him to adopt. He added, that he knew that a report had been spread, that Ali had resolved in case he should be thrown into despair, to set fire to the powder and blow up himself, his treasures, and all those who surround him ; but that his threat did not frighten him, and that if Ali did not decide immediately, he would come himself and apply the torch. Ali Pasha replied to the Silikdar, that he was well assured that, in

his situation, there was no other choice, and that he was determined to surrender as soon as he should be assured of his life.

“ The Silikdar undertook to carry his answer to his master ; and returned soon afterwards to inform him, in the name of Kourchid Pasha, that the fulfilment of his request depended exclusively on the Sultan ; that the Pasha would willingly give him his good offices with his Highness ; but that he could not do it with any hope of Success, unless Ali should previously deliver up all he possessed ; that he proposed to him, consequently, to effect the surrender of the fort, the treasures, of the stores, &c. &c. and to retire and await the arrival of the resolution of the Sultan in the small island on the lake near the citadel.

“ Ali Pasha asked time at first to reflect on the decision which he should make. At last, after several conversations with the Silikdar, he consented to leave the citadel ; and he retired into the island with all his little troop, with the exception of one of his trusty friends, with whom he agreed on a signal, which would instruct him whether he was to set fire to the powder, or give up all that was intrusted to his care to the officers of Kourchid Pasha.

“ The Silikdar received Ali Pasha in the island at the head of an equal number of men with that which accompanied the vizier. They paid him all the honor due to his rank ; and, after having been treated for several days by Kourchid Pasha with the greatest respect, Ali had confidence enough to order the surrender of all that he had left in the citadel. They immediately made haste to transport the powder into a place of safety.

“ Directly afterwards, Ali Pasha requested, that one of his officers, who commanded a small party of a hundred men in the environs of Joannina, might be permitted to join him in the island. Kourchid Pasha consented to this, but sent at the same time a detachment,

composed of an equal number of men, to keep Ali's troops in awe.

“ Different Pashas of inferior rank had been several times to visit Ali. On the 13th day of the moon Djemazial Awwel, (the 5th of February,) Mohammed Pasha, governor of the Morea, offered to procure for Ali every possible comfort, naming particularly provisions. Ali replied to this offer, that he desired nothing more than a supply of meat ; he added, however, that he had still another wish, though his unwillingness to offend the scruples of religion forbade him to give utterance to it. Being pressed to name it, he owned that it was wine that he wished for, and Mohammed Pasha promised that he should receive it. The conversation continued for some time in the most friendly manner, till at last Mohammed Pasha rose to take leave. Being of the same rank, they rose at the same moment from the sofa, according to the usual ceremony ; and, before leaving the room, Mohammed Pasha bowed profoundly. Ali returned the compliment :—but at the instant of his inclination, Mohammed executed the will of his sovereign ! and put him to death, by plunging a poinard into his left breast. He immediately quitted the apartment, and announced that Ali had ceased to exist. Some men of Mohammed's suite then entered, and divided the head from the body. The former having been shown to the Sultan's troops, as well as to those who had embraced the rebel's part, a strife followed, in which several men were killed. But the minds of the people were soon calmed, and all discord was appeased by shouts of “ Long live Sultan Mahmoud, and his Vizer Kourchid Pasha !”

Thus perished Ali, by an act of the basest treachery, not palliated by even any supposed necessity, but executed in the mere savage love of craft and murder, that makes, and has always made the passion of the Turk. The conquest was already secure—the old man was on the verge of the grave—the separation of his revolt



from the general Greek cause had long been complete. But no triumph gratifies the Turk in which he cannot dip his perfidious dagger. It must be an indulgence to every feeling of honour and humanity, that this infamous act produced nothing but the fruits of disappointment. The treasures were wasted on the subsequent disastrous campaigns of the Ottoman; they may have even tempted the Divan into those precipitate campaigns which sacrificed so many thousand Turks in the great defiles between Eastern and Western Greece. The Pushalik of Joannina was scarcely more Turkish in the hands of Omer Vrionis, the new Albanian Pasha. The Divan actually lost in Ali the man, who of all others, if reconciled to the Porte, would have been the most effectual guard of Western Hellas against the insurrection; and the only return for all the sacrifices, was the barbarian joy of seeing (February 1822) the head of an old man of eighty blackening over the gate of that Acedema, the Scraglio.

In this conception we are strengthened by the testimony of that intelligent observer Col. Leake, who remarks, "that though Ali may have thwarted all those measures of the Porte which tended to reduce his authority, and in general those which did not originate with himself, or transmitted a larger sum to Constantinople, in the shape of presents to persons in power, than in that of tribute to the imperial treasury; and, in the latter respect, he may never have sent as much as would satisfy the wishes of government, nevertheless, it is probable, that the Porte, during his reign, was more truly master of Greece than it had ever been before; and that it derived, upon the whole, as much revenue from the country. While it is certain, that by leaving Ali to oppose the armed Greeks to one another, and to suppress the spirit of revolt by the military strength of Albania, it most effectually secured itself against the bad consequences of foreign intrigues among the Christian subjects of European Turkey; that the concentra-

tion of power in Ali's hands was the best protection which the empire could possess on a frontier, where it was at one time endangered by the power of France, not less than the north-eastern side was menaced by the encroachments of Russia. Affairs, in fact, became less favorable to the future influence of the Porte after his fall, than they had been under Ali, or than they would have been under the government of his sons."

The death of Ali had been preceded by that of his sons. They had strangely given themselves up to the Turks at an early part of the contest, under promise of personal safety. Ali heard of this feeble act with, as may be presumed, a burst of scorn and indignation; and, declaring that they were unworthy of him, pronounced his soldiers to be "thenceforth his only children." The captives were taken to Asia, and fixed in temporary governments, probably with some expectation that they might influence their father's war. But the imperial dagger thirsted for their blood; and in a few months, under pretence of carrying on a correspondence with the Pasha, they were murdered.

This man's career arrests the eye from its vividness, singularity, and success—from its bringing into the regulated and formal presence of our latter age, the barbaric pomp, eccentric grandeur, and fearful and precipitous catastrophes of the feudal times,—and last and most striking, from its being the summoner to the great insurrection which is now shaking the throne of the Sultan. If the Greek war can be traced to the influence or act of man, the trumpet that called its spirit from the tomb was the lips of Ali.

But the more remote causes are worthy of memory. In the latter half of the eighteenth century, the Greek islanders, and the other nations bordering on the Mediterranean and black Sea, had been led to engage in commerce to a considerable extent. The advance of the Russians on the north-east, and their zealous patronage of the Greek merchants, had excited a strong

inclination to those pursuits of which commerce is the parent. The knowledge of modern languages, general literature, and an acquaintance with the policy of the leading countries of Europe, were rapidly making way among the hitherto fettered and ignorant minds of the Greek population.

It has been providentially decreed, that, of all the stimulants to freedom, the most energetic, as the noblest, should be the enlightening of the public mind. The Greek advanced, the Turk was stationary. The Greek youth were studying in the foreign universities, or travelling through the continent, or mingling in the active and engrossing concerns of political life in Austria, Russia, and more than either, in France, in her hour of dazzling and storm excitement; while the opulent Turkish youth were enervating their understandings in the listless and licentious round of the most self-indulgent life on the globe. Some of the most enterprising foreign officers were Greek,—some of the most dexterous diplomatists, particularly of Russia, were Greek,—some of the most extensive commercial houses Germany were Greek,—and it is to be recorded, as a striking proof of how much the vices of the national character are due to the national misfortunes, that the Greek Houses were proverbial for honourable dealing. In the universities, the Greek students were remarkable for acuteness and brilliant facility of acquirement, and scarcely less for that comeliness of countenance and form, which seem equally the stamp of nature on the ancient land of genius and beauty.

The return of those classes of intelligent and manly minds to their fallen country, must have filled them with indignation. The utter ignorance of the Turk—his savage ferocity and brutal arrogance must have made their souls burn within them. The time was of itself pregnant with thoughts of illustrious change. It is remarkable that the first open attempt at awaking the Greek nation to a sense of their slavery, was almost si-



multaneous with the commencement of the French Revolution, when it was still comparatively fruitless, and France and Europe were alike dazzled by the rising splendours of that flame which was harmlessly to consume all abuses of kings, and all injuries of nations, but which so soon turned into resistless and fatal conflagration.

In all the great public changes, there must be a multitude of strong circumstances, to each of which men will attribute the origin of the change, according to their opportunities of judging.—There is no instance of a great catastrophe originating in a single motive, nor in one individual. The mighty stream which is to devastate or revive the prosperity of empires, is not to be fed from a solitary fountain. Yet if among the earliest sources of the Greek struggle, we should fix upon the efforts of one man, that one would be the celebrated Rhiga.

The man's character, acquirements, and pursuits, comprehended, by a striking coincidence, those of all the classes to which have been attributed in these pages the final outbreak of the insurrection. He was a merchant, a philosopher, and a poet. His personal hazards, and the fearless intrepidity with which he encountered them in his noble course, showed what he might have been at the head of his army. Rhiga was a Thessalian, born in 1760; he travelled in his youth, and completed his education in various countries of Europe. He finally became a merchant; and from his connexion with German houses, took up his residence in Vienna. There he devoted the chief part of his leisure and his wealth to the revival of literature in Greece. He made, with the assistance of some scientific men, a map of Greece on a large scale, which is to this day looked as the most valuable, and which, when we consider the extreme suspiciousness and difficulty of the undertaking in a country freely traversed only by robbers, and domineered over by the Turk, is

a wonder of perseverance, ability, and zeal. He formed a literary union of the most intelligent of his countrymen residing in Vienna; and in combination with them, translated into the Romaic, some of the chief modern works which touched on the antiquities the original fame, and the opening prospects of their country. But his highest service was one which he shared with no associate—the composition of a number of impassioned poems and songs adapted to national music, and which are sung to this day.—It was almost a crowning honor due to this brave and brilliant mind, that it should become an object of the fiercest wrath to the Ottoman, and that Rhiga should perish the martyr of liberty, as he had lived the hero and the bard. But it is to the endless dishonour of a christian court, that he should have been delivered into the hands of the barbarians. The Turkish envoy at Vienna was ordered formally to demand him as a subject of the Porte. The demand was nominally refused: But Rhiga was privately enjoined to quit the city. There may be some palliation for this act, discoverable in the menacing nature of the time. It was in 1792. The French Revolution was already turning to that aspect of ferocity and blood which deepened hour by hour until it threatened the existence of civilized society. The phenomenon which in its rise might have been hailed by the philosopher and the philanthropist as the omen of new productiveness and beneficent splendour, had suddenly assumed a broader disk, and seemed rushing down with augmented fires to wrap the world in conflagration.

The seizure of the Royal Family of France, under the pretext of their liberty, surrounded the name with terror and suspicion; and the songs of Rhiga for the freedom of his aggrieved country, startled the Austrian ministers as the echo of French Jacobinism. He was finally compelled to leave Vienna; and from that period his fate is obscure. But it is certain that he per-

ished by a premature and violent death. Whether by compulsion or treachery, he took his way towards the Danube. It has been said, that he was about to pass that river, he and his little escort of friends were pursued by a troop of Turkish cavalry ; that they fought, and after a long resistance, finding that escape was impossible, struck their daggers into each others bosoms. Another and more probable statement is, that Rhiga was arrested by the Turkish authorities, and carried towards Constantinople ; that on the way, an order was received to put him to death, and that he was thus basely and cruelly murdered.

But his spirit lived in his songs ; and the modern Myrtæus—a name given to him by his countrymen—a name itself a glorious monument—has sharpened many a sword against the national oppressor. His “Confederation of Seven,” formed from the more zealous of his associates, was the first effort of combined council in the cause, and has probably served as the model for all that have followed.

The next burst of light came from the north.—Russia had been the old protector of the fugitive Greeks, as instruments of that future conquest which has haunted her dreams since the days of the first Peter. Maurokordato, one of the exiled Hospodars of Moldavia, formed in 1802 the plan of a Greek Association. Its ostensible object was the general instruction and literary advancement of Greece. But the ground on which he stood must have filled his eye with projects of a bolder ambition. The hope of conciliating his powerful protector, personal aggrandizement, and the growing passion of his country for its independence, all lay in the prospect beneath the exile's feet ; and neither his penetration nor his principles were of a nature to shrink from the deepest result of his enterprize.—But in 1814, death broke up his plans, and the association seemed to have withered away.



It is with the liberty of nations as with the day ; its first advances are scarcely distinguished from the night ; even the lights of the darkness must perish before the true morning—the stars must never fade before sunrise. Maurokordato was scarcely in his grave when a new confederation started into shape and vigor. The success of German secret unions, formed towards the close of the French war, had excited the Greeks resident in Germany and the north. The enthusiastic and mysterious tone of this warlike free-masonry accorded with the Greek imagination ; and the oath of the confederacy was an extraordinary compound of aspirations after political change and personal morality, solemn principles of government, and fantastic ideology. The “oath” declared, in the presence of the true God, that the associate would never betray its secrets, nor ever acknowledge to acquaintance or friend a knowledge of them. That he would nourish in his heart an irreconcilable hostility to the tyrants of Greece—that he would ever be a virtuous man ; tolerate in religious matters ; the counsellor of the ignorant ; the supporter of the feeble ; the healer of the sick ; the general reverencer of the tribunals and government of the country in which he lived—that he would increase the society by all obvious means, &c. ; and, finally, that, “by his sacred and suffering country, her long endured tortures, the bitter tears shed during so many hundred years, and the future liberty of Greece, that he consecrated himself wholly to her service ; her honor to be henceforth the front of his thoughts, her glory the impulse of his enterprize, and her triumph the reward of his toils and his blood.”

This singular oath was accompanied by the customary symbols of the German Secret Associations ; private signs of mutual recognition ; cyphers for their correspondence, and others of the frivolous yet suspicious formalities of these assemblages which may be so easily turned to the purposes of public disturbance. A

general fund was established, and deposited in the hands of Greek houses in the Crimea—agents were despatched through Europe, and particularly through Greece; but it was obvious from the position of the Etairist Committee, and the location of their fund, that Russia was felt to be the great support, and that it was from the Russian frontier that the torch was to be flung, which was to set the Greek discontents in an inextinguishable blaze.

In this state of things, an insurrection commenced in 1820, in Wallachia, under the direction of Theodore, a native of the province, who put himself at the head of sixty or seventy adventurers, and proclaimed liberty to Wallachia. The flame caught so rapidly, that in a short time Theodore found himself at the head of about fifteen hundred men. The spirit spread into the adjoining provinces, and in the month of March, the gallant Greek Ypsilanti, who sprang from an illustrious line of Grecian ancestors, proclaimed liberty to Moldavia.—The people rose in arms, flocked in crowds to his standard, and marched to Wallachia, to support their brethren. At the same time another insurrection commenced in Moldavia, at Galatz, on the Danube, and the patriots marched to support Ypsilanti.

The Sublime Porte took the alarm, and threatened a general massacre of the Greeks at Constantinople, in order to overawe the insurrection.

Such was the spirit of the Greeks, that before the month of March, 1821, had terminated, an insurrection had commenced in the Morea; and Germanus, Archbishop of Patras, put himself at the head of about 3,000 patriots, who drove the Turks into the citadel of Patras.

The Senate of Calamata assembled at the same time, and issued their proclamation to their countrymen, calling upon them to rise in the majesty of themselves, and protect the cause; also upon the Turks, promising them peace and safety, provided they would remain

tranquil. They also addressed foreign nations in justification of their views and measures, and called upon them to lend their aid in support of suffering humanity, struggling in defence of her dearest rights.

At this eventful moment, Jussuf Selim, Lieut. of Churshid, Pasha of the Morea, commenced an attack upon Patras, carried it by assault, and put to the sword about 800 Greeks, of all ages, and both sexes. This roused the Greeks to the contest, and Gregory, a monk, like Peter, the hermit, of old, erected the standard of the cross, and rallied his countrymen to the contest.— In a few days he assembled at Corinth several thousand men.

The principal Islands of Greece caught the flame, and roused to the contest, with their fleets and privateers; and even Novlina, a heroine, to revenge the death of her husband, who had been murdered by the Turks, fitted out three vessels at her own expense, and took the command in person. This zeal upon the water gave a general support to the patriot cause.

Pending these movements in Greece, the Emperor of Russia, by his influence, effected a counter-revolution in Wallachia and Moldavia, and the insurrection was crushed in those provinces.

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## CHAPTER II.

### *General Operations Continued.*

#### SUMMARY VIEW.

About the 1st of April, 1821, the Turks at Constantinople clamored against the government, and caused the Grand Vizier to be displaced; and the mob put to death



Gregory, the Patriarch of the Greek Church, because he had not suppressed the insurrection in the Morea, and his body was thrown into the Bosphorus. On the same day the Bishop of Ephesus and the Prelates were put to death. Such was the rage of the populace and the alarm of the Porte, that ten days had not elapsed before the new Grand Vizier was deposed and executed, and the Sultan called upon the whole empire to rally to the contest, and suppress the insurrection. Large bodies of troops were assembled and marched towards the provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia, which so alarmed the Russian minister at the Porte, that he remonstrated, and a long negotiation ensued. The Emperor of Russia assembled a strong force in Bessarabia, to watch the motions of the Turks, and continued the negotiations; the dispersed insurgents of Wallachia and Moldavia kept up a predatory war; but Ypsilanti, their chief, was seized and imprisoned in Austria, where he suffered a long confinement.

The Greeks assembled their forces in the Morea, and strengthened their fleet; and the war raged by sea and land through the summer, with great severity, and even cruelty; but the Greeks were generally successful.

In the month of November the Greeks called a convention to frame a constitution, which was completed and published on the 1st of January, 1822; and Prince Alexander Mavrocordato was chosen President of the Executive Council of Five. The Greeks next established printing presses; commenced the circulation of newspapers, and began to coin money, levy taxes, &c. All Greece had now rallied to the contest.

The Sublime Porte assembled a strong force, under the command of the Pacha Churshid, in Albania, with orders to penetrate into the Morea, by the isthmus of Corinth, where he was to be supported by the Turks by the way of the gulf of Lepanto.

The Greeks anticipated these movements, and defeated the whole plan, by cutting to pieces the several

divisions before they formed the proposed junction at the isthmus of Corinth.

The Turks, enraged at the success of the Greeks, seized on the island of Scio, or Scios, which contained a population of about 150,000 Greeks, with a college, in a very flourishing situation, and enjoying an extensive trade. They razed the city, and murdered or carried away captive the whole Greek population, under the most distressing displays of cruelty and barbarity. To avenge this wanton, savage act, the Greeks entered the harbor of Scios, with two fire ships, and destroyed the Turkish admiral's ship, with her commander and crew, and one other ship of the largest class, with her crew, consisting in the whole of more than 1000 men.

The news of this event threw Constantinople into high commotion; the Divan was torn with feuds; the people were in confusion, and the Janizaries rose in rebellion. The Sultan ordered a large body of troops, stationed without the city, to march in and quell the insurrection; a bloody contest ensued; but the Janizaries were overpowered and subdued, and the survivors were led to immediate execution.

In the month of July the Turks concentrated their forces, and commenced an attack upon the Morea, by sea and land. They entered the isthmus, took the city of Corinth, about the first of August, and penetrated to Argos, where they were met by the Greeks; an action commenced; the Turks were routed, and their Lieut. General was slain. Churshid, their general, made a hasty retreat out of the Morea; his soldiers deserted his standard in such numbers, that it was with the greatest difficulty he could recover his former position in Thessaly, which closed the operations of his army for this year.

The Turks, upon the island of Cypress, rose upon the Greeks, and put to death more than 40,000, with the most cruel barbarity; razed the churches, and laid waste the country for more than 40 square leagues.—

They attempted the same in Candia or Crete ; but the Greeks opposed them successfully, and kept their ground.

Pending these movements, the Turkish admiral attempted to return with his fleet within the Dardanelles, but the Greeks pursued and overtook them off Tenedos, commenced another attack with fire ships, and set fire to the admiral's ship, which blew up, with the destruction of the admiral and crew, without the loss of one Greek.

This event gave a new shock to the capital, and in connexion with the unpopular measures of the Porte, caused a general insurrection, and the city was repeatedly on fire. The Vizier was deposed, and his head taken off, and Churshid passed through the ceremony of the bowstring. The Greeks at the same time seized on Athens and Napoli de Romani, the strong holds of the Turks in Greece. Thus closed the year 1822.

At the commencement of the year 1823, the Turks held no fortresses of any importance in the Morea, except Patras and the Castle of Corinth.

The plan of the campaign for this year was the same as that of the last. The first movement of the land army was an attack upon Missolonghi, in Livadia, near the entrance of the gulf of Lepanto. The Turks commenced an attack on the 6th of January, but were defeated with great loss. They attempted to move eastward towards the isthmus of Corinth, but were opposed by the Greeks, at the river Aspropotamo, with such success, that the whole of the Albanians withdrew from the army, and the Seraskier, or general, was unable to make any important movements.

At this time the new elections in Greece commenced, and the elective body met at Astros in the month of April. Mavrocordato declined a second election, and Mavromichalis was chosen president, and John Orlando was chosen president of the senate.



At this time an insurrection of the Greeks commenced at Mount Pelion, and upon the eastern shore of the gulf of Volo. The Seraskier put his army in motion to suppress it, but the Greeks made a manful resistance, and maintained their ground.

At the same time the Capudin Pasha, or admiral of the Turkish fleet, sailed from Constantinople, with seventy ships of war, and thirty transports. And about the first of June he appeared off the island of Negropont, and landed a strong force, drove the Greeks from the island, and penetrated into Attica, as far as Athens; but they were soon obliged to retire to Negropont, to defend their possessions there.

The Seraskier, Mahmet Ali, put his army in motion towards the Morea; and the Capudin Pasha moved with his fleet towards the gulf of Lepanto; but the Greeks annoyed the Turks so successfully on their march, that the Seraskier halted at the convent of St. Luce, where the Greeks overtook him, routed and dispersed his army, and rioted in the spoils of the Turkish camp. The Seraskier with his fugitives escaped to Carpenitza.

In the mean time, the Suliote chief, Marco Bozzaris, fell upon an army of 5000 men, which the Turks had landed at Condyla, to act in concert with the Seraskier, and cut them to pieces, took them prisoners, or dispersed them as fugitives.

The Greeks now began to collect their troops in force, in order to attack the Turks at Carpenitza; but finding the place too strong, they abandoned the plan, and listened to the following purpose of Bozzaris.

“I have with me 340 brave Suliotes, and will at their head, enter the Turkish camp, with no other arms than our sabres and pistols. Do you present yourselves in force, at different points, and commence your fire, when we are recognized, so as to distract the Turks; and if you second me, we will seize the Pasha, alive or dead.”

This measure was adopted with much applause, and immediate preparations were made for its execution.— At midnight, Bozzaris took an additional force of 100 chosen men, and forming the remainder of the troops into four divisions, he marched off his detachments for the conflict, with this address :

“ My friends, if we scatter, you will be sure to find me round the tent of the Pasha.”

The adventure succeeded ; the Turks were surprised and routed ; the Pasha was taken by Bozzaris himself ; but in the very act, the hero fell mortally wounded ; was borne off by his brave companions in arms, and as he expired, thus addressed them :

“ My friends, to die for liberty is a pleasure, not a pain. Freedom is never acquired but by great sacrifices. I die content, because I have contributed to the independence of my country.” The Pasha was slain in the conflict,

The Capudin Pasha attempted to seize upon the island of Skiatho, near the gulf of Vola, but failed, which closed the operations of this campaign.

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### CHAPTER III.

#### SUMMARY VIEW—1824.

This year the war opened upon Greece with more formidable preparations than those of any former year. The Turkish fleet was greatly augmented by a powerful fleet from Egypt, and threatened the destruction of the Greeks ; but their valor rose in proportion to the danger that pressed upon them, and they met their enemies firmly and valiantly. The capture of Ipsara by the

Turks, and its recapture by the Greeks, will fully show the spirit and success of the parties. The scenes of Scios were renewed at Ipsara. The Turks became masters of the island on the 4th of July. The Ipsarists killed more than 20,000 of the enemy before they were overpowered and taken.

On the 23d of July, the Greeks reinforced their fleet, and made a descent upon Ipsara, and retook the island, with a terrible slaughter. The whole Turkish garrison fell in the field, or were put to the sword, amounting to more than 2000 men. The Greeks at the same time attacked the Turkish fleet, and took or destroyed 55 gun-boats, eight sloops, a corvette, and three frigates.—Total loss of the Turks in the capture and re-capture of Ipsara, is estimated at 23,000 men.

The Greeks were equally successful against the Egyptian fleet, and against the land army of the Turks, that was marching upon Athens.

Extract of a letter from the Minister of the United States, at the Court of Great Britain, to his friend in Washington.

“Permit me to congratulate you upon the success of the Greeks. They have been victorious in every engagement, both by sea and land. They now command the Dardanelles. By an account I have lately read, 550 Greeks fought 8000 Turks, at Hermopylæ, from 8 o'clock in the morning till 6 at night, leaving more than 700 Turks dead upon the field of battle, besides the wounded, and lost but few themselves—not 20. It seems as if the Almighty favored them.”

The most important news is from Greece to which, of course, our columns must be principally devoted this evening. In addition to the accounts contained in the English papers, an arrival at Boston from Smyrna, has brought us letters from our valued correspondent at that place, as late as the 25th of July. With bleeding



hearts our readers have already perused some partial details of the fall of Ipsara. Our correspondent has furnished a more particular and interesting account of that bloody and treacherous affair. But the gloom produced by this intelligence, is in a very considerable degree dispelled by advices of the subsequent naval success of the Greeks, and the recapture of Ipsara. This gratifying news is positively asserted by our correspondent, and is mentioned in a letter from an American Gentleman in Smyrna, of July 22, to the Editors of the Daily Advertiser, and is also mentioned in letters received and published at Boston. The only circumstance that casts a doubt upon it, is the fact stated by Capt. King, who arrived at Boston, and who asserts "that on the 26th, when he passed Ipsara, the Turkish fleet was then off that Island." But there was evidently some mistake in this matter, as we have a letter from Constantinople of the 22d of July stating that "the Captain Pasha had returned to Mytelene to land his wounded, and to repair four frigates which cannot keep the sea." In addition to this, the accounts of the Greek successes, is published in the Grecian Gazette extraordinary, and the news had caused great rejoicings among the Greeks who had ordered Te Deums to be sung. It appears from this paper, that all the Grecian vessels had gone from the other islands to assist the Ipsariots, and that this fleet after having been to Caso, and saved that isle where there was equally brave resistance, by the Casiots against the Turks, returned to Ipsara with their fleet of upwards of 80 sail, where the Turkish fleet was beaten with the loss of three vessels sunk and the fleet put to flight. But we will proceed with our Smyrna correspondence, and follow it with such particulars as we may find most important in the London papers.

The Turks having commenced an attack on the land batteries at Samos, a Greek fleet, consisting of about 20 Ipsariot brigs &c. under Admiral Apostolina, fortu-

nately arrived in time to succor the island. The foremost ships of the Turkish fleet consisting of a razee, frigates, &c. having got well in with the land, in the channels, a Greek brig passed under the stern of the razee, and did her considerable damage ; and escaped without much injury. By this time several other vessels were engaged ; when the Greeks brought up four fire ships, which, taking the advantage of a favorable time, they launched on the razee, a frigate of 50 guns, and two sloops of war, with unexampled boldness ; and steered their little barques with such precision, that in a moment the two sloops of war were in a blaze. The one launched on the razee went down before it reached. The Turkish vessels were immediately in confusion, and crowded all sail before the wind to escape. The fire ship directed against the frigate did not come up with her till she had got before the wind, and a chase commenced, during which time a heavy fire was kept up from the frigate's chasers ; but the fire ship sailing swift came up, and run her bows into the stern of the frigate, and in a few moments she was in a blaze, and blew up with a terrible explosion. The rest of the fleet escaped into Boudroun. A braver and more daring action it is believed does not exist on record. The brave, noble, and generous Constantine Canari, commanded the fire ship that burnt the frigate which carried 55 guns : was a first rate ship, and was crowded with troops. I saw her in Smyrna a short time since.

It was estimated that from 15,000 to 20,000 Turks perished before Samos.

### GREEK NAVAL VICTORY—OFFICIAL.

After we had compelled the enemy to retreat in a shameful manner in the two first attempts to approach us, he yesterday made a third attempt, with all his ships of war to the number of 22. The combat commenced at half past 10 A. M. The enemy first approached

with all his large vessels, and then with the smaller ones. As we had not yet prepared our fireships, we ordered only 16 vessels of Hydra and Spezzia, which had just arrived with an Hydriot fire ship, and a vessel of Captain Canaris, which had also just arrived, to oppose them. The combat was obstinate on both sides, and the tactics of our Hydriots and Spezziots were displayed in a most brilliant manner. Our fire ships accompanied by our vessels, sailed against the ships of the enemy and threw them into complete disorder, obliging them to retire with disgrace, much farther than in their two former attempts.

You may easily conceive with what courage this happy result inspired our men, and on the contrary, how discouraging it was for the enemy, and principally for those troops which had been collected on the mountains of Asia Minor, and were now witnesses to the defeat of their fleet.

But a more signal victory awaited the Greek fleet! This morning we saw the enemy make an approach towards us with the wind in his favor. We immediately ordered all our fire ships to set sail, accompanied by different ships of war. About 10 A. M. the fire ship commanded by Captain Demetrius Zapli, approached a frigate of the first rank off Cape Saint Maria, and grappled her. There was a slight breeze, and the frigate, helped in some manner by it and towed by four galleys, escaped the danger which threatened her, and our fire ship did not succeed; but it afforded an opportunity to the brave Captain Canaris to go against the same frigate in the fire ships, which he himself commanded, and he succeeded towards eleven o'clock, A. M. in grappling her whilst in full sail. In a short time she was in flames, and the fire having penetrated to the powder magazine, soon blew her up, and the sparks and pieces of wood, which flew on all sides, not only destroyed all who were on board, to the number of 600, but several



on the neighboring coasts, and burned nearly 20 transports, which were in readiness to transport the troops to Samos.

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## CHAPTER IV.

### GENERAL SUMMARY—1825.

The Sublime Porte made early preparation to prosecute with rigour, the war against the Greeks in 1825. He placed great dependence on the co-operation of the Pasha of Egypt, who put in requisition all the resources of his dominions, and took the field in person.

On the 8th of May the Pasha appeared off Navarino with a fleet of 100 vessels; 60 of which were ships of war, and 40 transports. He entered the harbour on the 12th, and landed a strong force; but the Greeks were prepared to receive him. During the night the Greeks attacked the fleet of the Pasha with fire ships, and succeeded in capturing the whole.

On the same day, the Greeks attacked with fire ships, the Turkish fleet in the harbour of Modon, consisting of 40 ships of war, and transports, and destroyed the whole. Such European vessels as were in the harbour of Modon escaped to Zante, without their anchors, and otherwise much damaged by the conflagration.

The fortress of Navarino, after a long and obstinate resistance, was forced to capitulate to Ibrahim Pasha, on the 23d of May, for want of provisions. The garrison (12,000 men) marched out with baggage, and every thing except their arms.

The naval operations of this year, were particularly glorious to the Greeks; and their naval heroes gained fresh laurels by their many brilliant achievements.

The success of the Greeks by land have been almost uninterrupted, and had they possessed an undivided union, and a government of energy and decision, they doubtless might have continued the defence of Navarino, and preserved the place ; but failing in those two points, they were constrained to suffer Navarino to fall into the hands of the enemy. The capture of this strong hold was a triumph to Ibrahim, worth the labors of a whole campaign, because it covered his army through the winter, and enabled him to open the campaign the next season, to the best possible advantage.

#### EXTRACT.

Yesterday I had an audience with Mavrocordatos. I was accompanied to the place by Col. Jarvis. The Prince received me with much politeness, and expressed his satisfaction at the conduct of our government, in regard to the interest it takes in the sufferings of Greece. He asked me many questions, in reference to the views which were entertained by the Americans of the character of the Greeks. To all his questions I endeavored to give as correct answers as possible. I told him that all the exertions, which the different committees were making in America, were for the liberty of Greece ; and that it was my opinion that nothing further would be done by the Americans, if the Greeks should consent to accept of a foreign King. He replied that nothing but a foreign force would ever place them under a King. I told him I was willing to bear arms in Greece as long as there was a prospect of her being free, but no longer. With this reply he appeared to be well pleased ; told me to make myself acquainted with the language as soon as possible ; and that I should have a station of some importance in the army. While we were consulting, a Courier arrived with news of a recent victory, gained by sea, over the Turks. There were two engagements. The first took place about the 9th of November, between the Islands of Sa-

mos and Nicaria ; the second in the channel of Candia, between Candia and the Island of Caso. The fleet of the Pacha of Egypt has been entirely defeated and dispersed. Seven ships of war were burned or sunk, and 12 transports taken, most of which were under European colors. On board these transports were 1200 Egyptian soldiers, all of whom fell into the hands of the Greeks.

The Greek victory at Navarin, over a part of the Egyptians, is amply confirmed. Ibrahim Pasha is in the neighborhood of Modon, and, as all agree, in a very critical situation. There was indeed a report of another battle. An English vessel from Modon bound to Odesa, had stopped at Constantinople, the master of which reported that he was an eye witness to the defeat of the Egyptian army of 10,000 men, which was almost annihilated. The story was contradicted by some masters of French vessels arrived from the neighborhood of Modon. But on the other hand, a letter from Augsburgh states, that at the departure of the courier from Trieste, a rumor prevailed of a bloody battle having been fought in the environs of Modon, in which the Egyptians were signally defeated, and part of them had laid down their arms. Ibrahim Pasha is said to be among the prisoners of war. The probability, therefore, is, that there has been another engagement. Reschid Pasha seems entirely to have failed in his attempt to penetrate the Morea, and thus create a diversion in favor of the Egyptian chief. His conduct has been such, that he has caused a civil war to break out against the Turks in Epirus, and rendered the Albanians once more hostile to the Sultan. It is said he has been compelled to shut himself up in the castle of the lake of Janina.—Every thing indicates that the Albanians and Hellenists will make common cause against the Turks, and thus materially aid the Greek cause. In the mean time the Bey of Egypt is endeavoring to send succors to his son at Modon. A division of the Egyptian fleet, consisting



of 3 frigates, 13 brigs, 20 corvettes, and 20 transport vessels, sailed on the 4th of March for the Isle of Candia ; but a few days after, being overtaken by a violent tempest, they returned into the port of Alexandria greatly damaged. The crews, as well as the troops on board, immediately dispersed themselves, and hastened to regain their homes. This event put the Viceroy into such a rage, that he ordered the heads of several naval officers to be cut off.



## CHAPTER V.

### GENERAL SUMMARY—1826.

The campaign of 1826 was opened with more formidable preparations on the part of the Turks, than either of the former. The Pasha of Egypt (Ibrahim) moved from Navarin, at the opening of the season, and as he advanced into the Morea, laid waste the country with fire and sword. On the 20th of March, after four successive assaults, he carried the strong fortress of Missolonghi ; but the Greeks fought bravely and desperately. All the garrison (1400) were killed, and a great number of women and children drowned in the neighboring lakes. Before the first attack, the garrison were reduced to four ounces of bread a day per man. They took the sacrament, and recited the burial service, then retired to their posts, determined to sell their lives as dear as they could. Before the last attack, the garrison was reduced to 427 fighting men.

The Turks were aided by French officers, or they could not have taken the place.

Ibrahim Pasha, it is stated, had given orders to kill all the prisoners, and even unarmed peasants, in order

to complete the number of six thousand heads and pairs of ears, that the Sultan had ordered him to send to Constantinople. It appears that he could not make up this number at Missolonghi.

Ibrahim continued his ravages in the Morea, and the strong fortresses of Napoli de Romania and Tripolizza fell into his hands; and the same barbarities followed as at Missolonghi.

The siege of Athens commenced in form about mid-summer, and was conducted with vigor and cruelty; but the Greeks were firm and determined in their defence. In the month of September, the garrison commenced a successful sortie, drove the Turks from their entrenchments, with great slaughter, and plundered and destroyed their camp. But the Turks recovered the shock, and renewed the siege until November or December, and then raised the siege, and withdrew.

### FALL OF MISSOLONGHI.

The heroic defenders of Missolonghi have ceased to live! Reduced to 1,400 men, who were reduced to four ounces of biscuit, they saw, till the 17th of February, the storm gathering which was to swallow them up; the Egyptians, directed by Europeans, among whom there were unhappily some Frenchmen, having at that time completed the pontoons, by means of which they were to cross the shallows, to attack Missolonghi on the side of Mavri Alik, at which point there were no fortifications, because the lagoon defended the town on that side. On the 18th, the enemy examined the ground, and the Turkish fleet having re-appeared at Procopanistos, at the entrance of the Gulf of Missolonghi, there was every reason to expect an attempt to storm. From that day every individual prepared himself for death; and from the 19th to the 21st of February, all the Christians celebrated their obsequies. The Bishop Jo-

sepradministered the sacrament to them, and, the service for the dead having been recited, every one repaired to his post.

From the 22<sup>d</sup> to the 25<sup>th</sup>, all was tranquil in the camp of Ibrahim, and the enemy began in the night to place his pontoons. Two hours after sun-rise the European engineers had succeeded in approaching within 100 toises of the town, and shouts announced the attack. Two lines of pontoons ending at the same point joined, the cannon of the christians began to roar, the firing of the musketry commenced, and at eleven o'clock two pontoons having been destroyed, the barbarians retired in disorder. Acclamations and cries of joy announced to the inhabitants of Missolonghi the triumph of the Cross.

The 26<sup>th</sup> of February Ibrahim, having united all his forces, made a second attack, but without success. On the 2<sup>d</sup> of March, in a third attack, the barbarians made themselves masters of the head of the causeway, and from that moment, the pontoons having been united at that point, the destruction of the Christians, who had only 427 able to fight, was considered inevitable; yet no thought of surrender entered any body's mind, and no mouth pronounced the word capitulation: every one seemed only to think of selling his life dear. At length, on the 8<sup>th</sup> of March, (20<sup>th</sup> of March, new style,) the last hour of the Christians sounded. At ten o'clock the Turks had taken Missolonghi by storm, the Bishop Joseph had been burnt by a slow fire, all the men had been put to the sword, and the number of corpses of drowned women and children choked up the lagoons.

The fatal assault on Missolonghi, it appears, was made by a force of 20,000 men, 185 cannons, and 48 mortars. The majority of the garrison was killed, and the place in ruins before it surrendered. The Governor of the citadel blew it up with 2,000 Turks. The writer of the letter of which this is an extract, was one of 3,000 who fought their way out of the garrison. Upwards of 4,000 Greeks were destroyed.



Missolonghi has fallen. The heroic city, which for eighteen months had defeated the power of the Infidels and repulsed 82 attacks, was taken by storm on the 10th. Poor St. Aubyn fell on the occasion, but he died nobly. On the 8th, while we were rejoicing for our late victory, Ibrahim having been reinforced by 7000 troops, arrived before the place, and again summoned us to surrender, promising favorable conditions, which being refused, a sharp affair took place, the result of which was that he fell back, having lost 700 killed, 200 wounded, 400 prisoners, 4 pieces of cannon, and two standards. On the 9th he returned with 20,000 men, and a formidable train of artillery, surrounding the town on all sides.

We had only 7,000 men to oppose to him, and those worn out with fatigue, but all resolved to conquer or die. In the evening we received the Sacrament in the church of St. Sophia, and marched to our posts, from which few returned. At 12 o'clock the enemy opened a tremendous fire from 135 cannons and 48 mortars, which continued, without intermission, till 10 o'clock next morning, when the walls became a heap of ruins. The enemy then vigorously attacked us in four directions, and after two hours' fighting, forced their way into the town. The conflict was now raging in the most deadly form. The streets were choked with the dead and wounded, whilst the blood was running in streams. The slaughter of the Turks was excessive, as every house was a complete fortress, and the ground disputed at the point of the bayonet, inch by inch. Our gallant French volunteers did wonders. Three times, headed by our brave and lamented St. Aubyn, they charged and drove back the enemy with great loss, taking a number of prisoners; but in making a fourth and desperate attack, our gallant St. Aubyn was shot in the breast, and died in my arms, begging me with his last breath, to die rather than yield.

In the mean time the Governor defended himself with heroic obstinacy, in the great Church, but the doors being forced, and most of his men killed or wounded, he sprung the mine, which destroyed both that and the citadel, overwhelming himself and two thousand Turks in one tremendous ruin. The enemy having now entire possession of the hard fought town, we collected about 300 of the brave fellows who had fought so well, and after a hard contest, we succeeded in cutting our way out, leaving them in possession of a heap of ruins which I have learned, has cost Ibrahim nine thousand of his best troops in the last attack alone. I joined General Gouras on the 12th, with 2,500 men, 150 prisoners, six cannons, and nine standards taken from the enemy during the last fatal attack. We brought the body of St. Aubyn off with us, which will be interred to day with military honours. I received three slight wounds, but am now fast recovering.

On the 22d April, about six o'clock in the evening, Caraiscachi having reached the tops of the mountains Carasora, with about 500 of his men, they fired a volley, as a signal to the rebels of Missolonghi, of having come to their assistance. The garrison of Missolonghi having decided to retire from that place, they made the necessary preparations, and hoped to succeed without being perceived by our troops; and about three hours after dark, they directed the two Chieftains Macri and Becacello to make a sortie with 300 men, and to attempt to gain possession of one of our batteries, situated on the sea shore leading towards the Convent, which was manned by the Arabs. They did this in the view, that after having taken possession of the battery, they might open the way to the remainder of the garrison and their families, and escape unperceived. More than a thousand women and children, who were unwilling longer to remain in the town, followed these two chieftains, armed and dressed as males with the hope of being able to make good their flight; having reached the

battery, they were not able to stand against the continued fire of the Arabs, and attempted by flight to reach the mountains without being discovered by our commanders; but in this they were disappointed, for Rumely Valsey, and his brother Morea Valsey Pacha, had taken every precaution when they saw the flashes of the musketry discharged by the men under Caraiscachi, feeling convinced from the reports of the prisoners respecting the want of provisions in the town, that a flight would be attempted, and had not failed to reinforce our troops at the different forts, and to line all the country at the foot of the mountains with regular and irregular troops, infantry and cavalry.

“The above mentioned chieftains in their flight to the mountains were thus met by our troops, and in the hopes of relieving themselves of their superfluous loads, and escaping, they put to death 800 women and children, (as unable to keep company with them,) and fled up to the mountains, crying out to each other to save themselves as well as they could.

“The remainder of the Greeks, who waited in Missolonghi until the capture of our battery, observed that their two chieftains had taken flight, and got so alarmed and confused that they abandoned their posts. Four hundred of them shut themselves up in the wind-mill, and above 500 others took refuge in their different batteries on the shore; the rest dispersed themselves in parties of tens and twenties, and were all put to death by the continued firing which was kept up.

“Our troops observing the confusion of the rebels, rushed in, part by sea and part by land, and took possession of the fortifications, and as a signal of their success, set fire to them in different places. At this time, many women and children, who were without protection, in order to escape being taken by our people who were coming up to them, ran to the ditches and drowned themselves.



“ Our troops having received orders to subdue the town that night, and to put to the sword all they might meet with, rushed into the town of Missolonghi, and either took prisoners or destroyed all whom they found. Many women and children were taken prisoners.

The 500 Greeks who were above mentioned as having shut themselves up in the batteries on the shore, were then attacked, and after considerable firing, in the space of two hours were all destroyed.

After this, none were left, except the 300 who were shut up in the wind-mill. These were assaulted by our people, and the rebels (most of them officers) observing their imminent danger, set fire to their gunpowder and blew themselves up.”

“ The destruction of the rebels has been unexampled—their numbers killed in the town are reckoned at

	2100
Killed at the foot of the mountain,	500
Taken alive in different parts (men,)	150
Women killed,	1300
Women and children drowned,	800
Women and children taken prisoners,	3400

Total 8250.

## CHAPTER VI.

### GENERAL SUMMARY—1827.

The Turks commenced their operations this year, for the subjugation of Greece, with more formidable preparations than ever they had done before. Ibrahim drew into his service, from Egypt, greater forces, by sea and land, than those of the last year, and the cause

of the Greeks became so desperate, as to unite the three great Christian powers of Europe, Great Britain, France, and Russia, in a coalition treaty for the support and protection of Greece, signed at London, July 1. The result of this treaty has been an armed combined squadron, which entered the Archipelago in the month of September, and attempted to check and suppress the ravages of Ibrahim by an armistice, until a treaty could be amicably settled with the Sublime Porte; but when they found this to be impracticable, the allies entered the port of Navarino, on the 20th of October, and in one of the most memorable naval actions on record, succeeded in destroying the whole Turkish fleet, which consisted of more than 60 sail, of all classes.

“The affair at Navarino was known at the Seraglio on the 29th, and so exasperated the Sultan, that no one dared to go near him for twelve hours. The Reis Effendi, at length, on the 3d of November, sent for the drogomans of the three powers, and appeared in a state of consternation which cannot be described. Without speaking to them of the consequences of the affair, he asked them the reason of such a breach of faith, and dismissed them, after giving an evasive answer, with forced composure, adding this remarkable declaration, “The Porte deeply regrets having listened for a moment to the insinuations and promises of the three ambassadors.” Their presence at Constantinople is indifferent to the Porte. No advice will be given either to go or stay. They are at liberty to determine what they shall do. The Sultan has resolved to break off all intercourse with them.”

### BATTLE OF NAVARINO.

*London Gazette Extraordinary, }  
Admiralty Offices, Nov. 10, 1827. }*

Despatches, of which the following are copies or extracts, have been this day received at this office, ad-

dressed to John Wilson Crokey, Esq. by Vice Admiral Sir Edward Codrington, K. C. B. Commander in Chief of his Majesty's ships in the Mediterranean:—

*His Majesty's ship Asia, in the Port of Navarino,*  
October 21, 1827.

SIR,

I have the honor of informing his Royal Highness the Lord High Admiral, that my colleagues, Count Heyden and Chevalier de Rigny, having agreed with me that we should come into this port, in order to induce Ibrahim Pasha to discontinue the brutal war of extermination, which he has been carrying on since his return here from his failure in the Gulph of Patras, the combined squadrons passed the batteries, in order to take up their anchorage, at about two o'clock yesterday afternoon.

The Turkish ships were moored in the form of a crescent, with springs on their cables, the larger ones presenting their broadsides towards the centre, the smaller ones in succession within them, filling up the intervals.

The combined fleet was formed in the order of sailing in two columns, the British and French forming the weather or starboard line, and the Russian the lee line.

The *Asia* led in, followed by the *Genoa* and *Albion*, and anchored close alongside a ship of the line, bearing the flag of the Capitana Bey, another ship of the line, and a large doubled banked frigate, each thus having their proper, opponent in the front line of the Turkish fleet. The four ships to windward, part of the Egyptian squadron, were allotted to the squadron of Rear Admiral de Rigny; and those to leeward, in the bight of the crescent, were to mark the sections of the whole Russian squadron; the ships of their line closing those of the English line, and being followed up by their own frigates. The French frigate *Armide* was directed to



place herself alongside the outermost frigate; on the left hand entering the harbour; and the Cambrian, Glasgow, and Talbot next to her, and abreast of the Asia, Genoa and Albion; the Dartmouth and the Musquito, the Rose, the Brisk, and the Philomel were to look after the six fire vessels at the entrance of the harbour. I gave orders that no gun should be fired, unless guns were first fired by the Turks; and those orders were strictly observed. The three English ships were accordingly permitted to pass the batteries to moor, as they did with great rapidity, without any act of open hostility, although there was evident preparation for it on board all the Turkish ships; but upon the Dartmouth sending a boat to one of the fire vessels, Lieut. G. W. H. Fitzroy and several of her crew were shot with musketry. This produced a defensive fire of musketry from the Dartmouth and the La Sygene, bearing the flag of Rear Admiral de Rigny. That was succeeded by a cannon shot at the Rear Admiral from one of the Turkish ships, which of course, brought on a return, and thus, very shortly afterwards, the battle became general. The Asia, although placed alongside of the ship of the Capitana Bey, was even nearer to that of Moharem Bey, the commander of the Egyptian ships; and, since his ships did not fire at the Asia, although the action was begun to windward, neither did the Asia fire at her. The latter indeed sent a messenger, "that he would not fire at all," and therefore no hostility took place between our two ships, for some time after the Asia had returned the fire of the Capitana Bey.

In the mean time, however, our excellent pilot, Mr. Peter Mitchell, who went to interpret to Moharem my desire to avoid bloodshed, was killed by his people in our boat alongside. Whether with or without his order I know not; but his ship soon afterwards fired into the Asia and was consequently effectually destroyed by the Asia's fire, sharing the same fate as his brother Admi-

ral on the starboard side, and falling to leeward a mere wreck. These ships being out of the way, the Asia became exposed to a raking fire from vessels in the second and third line, which carried away her mizen mast by the board, disabled some of her guns, and killed and wounded several of her crew. This narration of the proceedings of the Asia would probably be equally applicable to most of the other ships of the other fleet. The manner in which the Genoa and Albion took their stations was beautiful : and the conduct of my brother Admirals, Count Heyden, and the Chevalier de Rigny, throughout, was admirable and highly exemplary.

Captain Fellows executed the part allotted to him perfectly, and with the able assistance of his little but brave detachment saved the Syrene from being burnt by the fire vessels. And the Cambrian, Glasgow, and Talbot, following the fine example of Captain Hugon, of the Armide, who was opposed to the leading frigate of the line, effectually destroyed by their opponents, and also silenced the batteries. This bloody and destructive battle was continued, with unabated fury, for four hours, and the scene of wreck and devastation which presented itself at its termination was such as has been seldom witnessed. As each ship of our opponents became effectually disabled, such of her crew as could escape from her, endeavoured to set her on fire, and it is wonderful how we avoided the effects of their successive and awful explosions.

It is impossible for me to say too much for the able and zealous assistance which I derived from Capt. Curzon throughout this long and arduous contest ; nor can I say more than it deserved for the conduct of Commander Baynes and the officers and crew of Asia, for the perfection with which the fire of their guns was directed ; each vessel in turn, to which her broadside was presented became a complete wreck. His Royal Highness will be aware, that so complete a victory by a few, however perfect, against an excessive number, howev-

er individually inferior, cannot be acquired but at considerable sacrifice of life; accordingly I have to lament the loss of Capt. Bathurst, of the *Genoa*, whose example on this occasion is well worthy the imitation of his survivors. Capt. Bell commanding the Royal Marines of the *Asia*, an excellent officers, was killed early in the action, in the steady performance of his duty; and I have to mourn the death of Mr. William Smith, the Master, admitted for the zeal and ability with which he executed his duty, and beloved by all for his private qualities as a man. Mr. Henry S. Dyer, my Secretary, having received a severe contusion from a splinter, I am deprived temporarily of his valuable assistance in collecting and keeping up the general returns and commutations of the squadrons; I shall therefore retain in my office Mr. E. J. T. White, his first Clerk, whom I had nominated to succeed the pursers of the *Brisk*. I feel much personal obligation to the Hon. Lieut. Col. Craddock, for his readiness, during the heat of the battle, in carrying my orders and messages to the different quarters after my Aides de Camp were disabled; but I will beg permission to refer his Royal Highness for further particulars of this sort to the details of the killed and wounded, a subject which it is painful for me to dwell upon: when I contemplate, as I do with extreme sorrow, the extent of our loss, I console myself with the reflection, that the measure which produced the battle was absolutely necessary for obtaining the result contemplated by the Treaty, and that it was brought on entirely by our opponents.

When I found that the boasted Ottoman word of honor was made a sacrifice to wanton, savage devastation, and that a base advantage was taken of our reliance upon Ibrahim's good faith, I felt a desire to punish the offenders. But it was my duty to refrain, and refrain I did; and I can assure your Royal Highness, that I would still have avoided this disastrous extremity, if



other means had been open to me. The *Asia*, *Genoa*, and *Albion*, have each suffered so much, that it is my intention to send them to England as soon as they shall have received the necessary repairs for the voyage. The *Talbot*, being closely engaged with a double-banked frigate, has also suffered considerably, as well as others of the smaller vessels; but I hope their defects are not more than can be made good at Malta. The loss of men in the Turko-Egyptian ships must have been immense, as his Royal Highness will see by the accompanying list, obtained from the Secretary of the Capitana Bey, which includes that of two out of the three ships to which the English division was opposed. Captain Curzon having preferred continuing to assist me in the *Asia*, I have given the charge of my despatches to Commander Lord Viscount Ingestre, who, besides having had a brilliant share in the action, is well competent to give his Royal Highness the Lord High Admiral any further particulars he may require.

I enclose, for his Royal Highness's further information, a letter from Captain Hamilton, descriptive of the proceedings of Ibrahim Pasha, and the misery of the country which he has devastated—a protocol of a conference which I had with my colleagues, and the plan and order for entering the port, which I gave out in consequence.

I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed)

E. CODRINGTON,  
*Vice Admiral.*

### PROTOCOL.

The Admirals commanding the squadrons of the three Powers which signed the Treaty of London, having met before Navarino, for the purpose of concerting the means of effecting the object specified in the said Treaty, viz: an armistice de facto between the Turks

and the Greeks have set forth in the present protocol the result of their conference.

Considering that after the provisional suspension of hostilities to which Ibrahim Pasha consented in his conference of the 25th September last, which the English and French Admirals, acting likewise in the name of the Russian Admiral, the said Pasha did the very next day violate his engagements by causing his fleet to come out, with a view to its proceeding to another point in the Morea :

Considering that since the return of that fleet to Navarino, in consequence of a second requisition addressed to Ibrahim by Admiral Codrington, who had met him near Patras, the troops of this Pasha have not ceased carrying on a species of warfare more destructive and exterminating than before, putting women and children to the sword, burning the habitations, tearing up trees by the roots, in order to complete the devastation of the country :

Considering that, with a view of putting a stop to the atrocities which exceed all that has hitherto taken place, the means of persuasion and conciliation, the representations made to the Turkish Chiefs, and the advice given to Mahomet Ali and his son, have been treated as mockeries, whilst they might, with one word, have suspended the course of so many barbarities :

Considering that there only remains to the Commanders of the allied squadrons the choice between three modes of fulfilling the intentions of their respective Courts, namely :

1st. That continuing, throughout the whole of the winter, a blockade, difficult, expensive, and perhaps useless, since a storm may disperse the squadrons, and afford to Ibrahim the facility of conveying his destroying army to different points of the Morea and the islands.

2dly. The uniting the allied squadron in Navarino itself, and securing by their permanent presence, the

inaction of the Ottoman fleets ; but which mode alone leads to no termination, since the Porte persists in not changing its system.

3dly. The proceeding to take a position with the squadrons in Navarino, in order to renew to Ibrahim propositions which entering into the spirit of the Treaty, were evidently to the advantage of the Porte itself.

After having taken these three modes into consideration, we have unanimously agreed that this third mode may, without effusion of blood and without hostilities, but simply by the imposing presence of the squadrons, produce a determination leading to the desired effect.

We have in consequence adopted it and set it forth in the present protocol.

October 18, 1827.

(Signed)

EDWARD CODRINGTON,

Vice Admiral and Commander in Chief of his Britannic Majesty's ships and vessels in the Mediterranean.

LOUIS, COUNT DE HEIDEN,

Rear Admiral of his Imperial Majesty the  
Emperor of all the Russias.

H. DE RIGNY,

Rear Admiral, commanding the squadron  
of his Most Christian Majesty.

Extract of a letter from Captain Hamilton, of his Majesty's ship Cambrian, to Vice Admiral Sir Edward Codrington, dated Kitries, the 18th Oct. 1827.

I have the honour of informing you that I arrived here yesterday morning in company with the Russian frigate Constantine, the Captain of which ship had placed himself under my orders. On entering the Gulph we observed, by clouds of fire and smoke, that the work of devastation was still going on. The ships were anchored off the pass of Ancyre, and a joint letter from myself and the Russian Captain was despatched to the Turkish commander, a copy of which I en-



close ; the Russian and English officers, the bearers of it, were not allowed to proceed to head quarters, nor have yet received any answer. In the afternoon, we, the two Captains, went on shore, to the Greek quarters, and were received with the greatest enthusiasm. The distress of the inhabitants driven from the plain, is shocking!—women and children dying every moment of absolute starvation, and hardly any having better food than boiled grass ! I have promised to send a small quantity of bread to the caves in the mountains, where these unfortunate wretches have taken refuge.

It is supposed that if Ibrahim remains in Greece, more than a third of its inhabitants will die of absolute starvation.

As the squadron of the Allied Powers did not enter Navarino, with a hostile intention, but only to renew to the Commanders of the Turkish fleet propositions which were to the advantage of the Grand Seignor himself, it is not our intention to destroy what ships of the Ottoman navy may yet remain, now that so signal a vengeance has been taken for the first cannon shot which has been ventured to be fired on the allied flags.

We send, therefore, one of the Turkish Captains, fallen into our hands as a prisoner, to make known to Ibrahim Pasha, Mouharem Bey, Tahir Pasha, and Capitana Bey, as well as to all the other Turkish Chiefs, that if one single musket or cannon shot be again fired on a ship or boat of the Allied Powers, we shall immediately destroy all the remaining vessels as well as the forts of Navarino, and that we shall consider such new act of hostility as a formal declaration of the Porte against the three Allied Powers, and of which the Grand Seignor and his Pashas must suffer the terrible consequences.

But if the Turkish Chiefs, acknowledging the aggression they have committed by commencing the firing, abstain from any act of hostility, we shall resume those terms of good understanding which they have

themselves interpreted. In this case they will have the white flag hoisted on all the forts before the end of this day. We demand a categorical answer, without evasion, before sunset.

Signed by the English, French, and Russian Admirals.

*His Britannic Majesty's Ship Asia,  
Navarin, 23d Oct. 1824.*

Monsieur L'Amiral—

When your Excellency did me the honor of voluntarily placing yourself and the Russian squadron under my command, you gave me a right to judge of your conduct in that situation by making me in a great measure responsible for it. I take advantage then of that right to say, that I contemplated your way of leading your squadron into battle on the 20th with the greatest pleasure, that nothing can exceed the good management of the ships under your special direction, and that my having had you under my orders in that bloody and destructive engagement, will be one of the proudest events of my life.

I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD CODRINGTON.

To his Excellency, Rear Admiral Count Heiden, &c.





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