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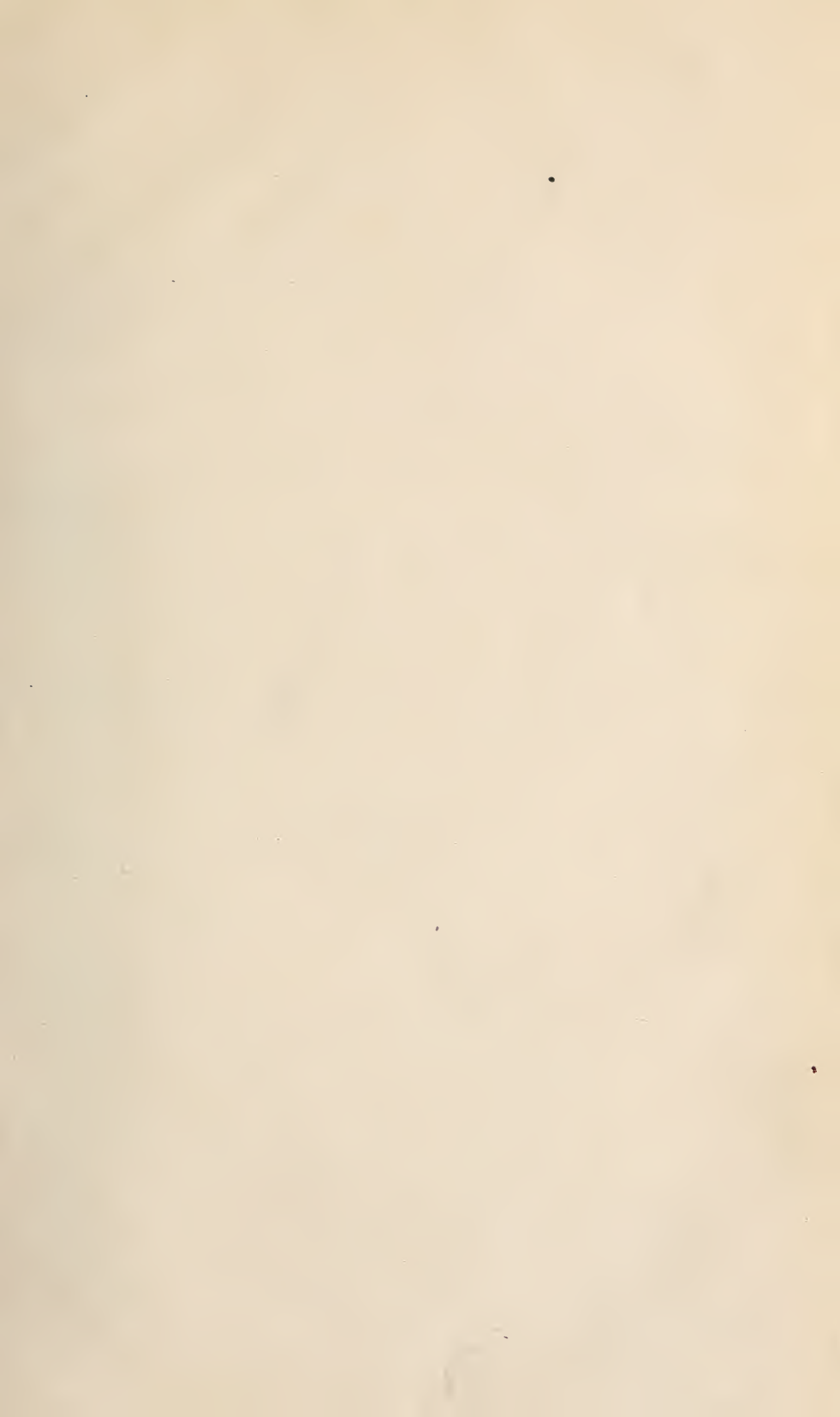
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THREE HISTORIC FLAGS

AND

THREE SEPTEMBER VICTORIES.

A PAPER READ BEFORE
THE NEW-ENGLAND HISTORIC, GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY,
JULY 9, 1873,

By GEO. HENRY PREBLE.

Illustrated with Heliotypes from the three flags.

Please acknowledge receipt



FLAG OF THE
"BON HOMME RICHARD"
worn during her action with the "Serapis."



September 23rd.

1779.

— DIMENSIONS 10½ X 6½ FEET. —

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1874.

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[Reprinted, with additions, from THE HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL REGISTER
for January, 1874.]

PRESS OF DAVID CLAPP & SON:
Boston.





THREE HISTORIC FLAGS AND THREE SEPTEMBER VICTORIES.

IT is a pleasure to have the privilege of exhibiting to this society, this afternoon, through the kindness of their owners (two of whom are present), three interesting mementos of our national history and victories:—The flag of the *Bon Homme Richard*, 1779; the flag of the *U. S. Brig Enterprise*, 1813; and the flag of *Fort McHenry*, 1814. I regret their introduction has not fallen into more able hands; but in obedience to the behests of my associates of this society, I will endeavor to explain to you their history and satisfy you as to their authenticity. The mute voices of their battle and time-stained remains, speak more eloquently than can words of mine.

I.

THE FLAG OF THE BON HOMME RICHARD, 1779.

Your attention is first called to the flag suspended over my head, which, though the smallest in size, from its age and history is worthy of the first place. It was worn by the *Bon Homme Richard* ninety-four years ago, during the action with the *Serapis*, September 23, 1779, and there is reasonable if not convincing circumstantial evidence for the claim that it was the first flag bearing the stars and stripes ever hoisted over an American vessel of war, and the first that was ever saluted by a foreign naval power.

The story of the flag is this:—About ten days before the battle between the *Richard* and the *Serapis*, Commodore Jones captured a British man-of-war and her prize, an American armed ship called the *Kitty*, commanded by Capt. Philip Stafford. The Englishman had put his prisoners in irons, and on their re-capture, Jones, with retributive justice, transferred those bracelets to the officers and crew of the British vessel. On their release, the entire crew of the *Kitty* volunteered to serve on board the *Bon Homme Richard* in revenge for the treatment they had received from their British captors.

Among these volunteers was a young man named James Bayard Stafford, a nephew of the commander of the *Kitty*, and the father of the present patriotic owner of this flag. Being an educated and active young man, he received an appointment as an officer on board the *Richard*.

When the battle was raging most furiously this flag was shot away, and young Stafford jumped into the sea and recovered it, and was engaged in replacing it when he was cut down by an officer of the *Serapis*. His left shoulder blade was cut in two, so that in after years the bone separated, leaving his arm helpless, and causing him intense suffering.

When the *Bon Homme Richard* was sinking, the flag was seized by a sailor and transferred by Paul Jones to the *Serapis*, and thence by him to the *Alliance*, when he took command of that frigate at the *Texel*. The flag remained on board the *Alliance* until the close of the revolutionary war, when the vessel was sold to Robert Morris, the great financier of those times, and was fitted under his auspices for the East India trade. Shortly after her sale, the secretary of the marine committee wrote to Lieut. Stafford, that by the advice of Commodore John Barry, and in consideration of his services in recovering the flag after it had been shot away in the action between the *Bon Homme Richard* and *Serapis*, the committee had decided to present to him this flag, the medicine chest of the *Richard*, and a Tower musket taken from the *Serapis*. These relics were preserved by Lieut. Stafford until the day of his death, August 19, 1838, and by his widow until her death, August 9, 1861, when they came into the possession of his only daughter, Miss Sarah Smith Stafford, their present owner.

About 1690, her great-grandfather, John Howard Stafford,¹ was sent with troops to garrison the first fort in Norfolk, Va. It is said that finding its location unhealthy, he removed the troops to a point of land near Norfolk, which bore the name of Point Comfort in the early days of Virginia, is so called on Capt. John Smith's map, and for many years has been known as "Old Point Comfort."

His troops were after a while transferred to Wexford, Ireland, where his wife died; and he married Mrs. Catherine Barry, a widow with three sons, one of whom became the celebrated Commodore John Barry of the continental navy. This connection with the Staffords accounts for his interest in James Bayard Stafford, whom he appointed an acting lieutenant on board the *Alliance*, when he commanded that vessel, and afterward recommended to the marine committee as the proper custodian of this flag.

¹ Miss Stafford has some ancestors and relatives to be proud of. On the maternal side she claims descent from old Michael Bacon, a captain of yeomanry, well known to our Puritan annals, who emigrated to this country about 1630, and lived on what is now Mount Auburn, Cambridge, Mass. Two of her mother's uncles were killed in the battle of Lexington: Lieut. John Bacon of Needham, and Lieut. John Smith of Natick, whose trusty swords are now in her possession. Their deaths are recorded in Gordon's History of the Revolution. At the battle of White Plains, her maternal grandfather was mortally wounded, and is buried in the "God's Acre" of the Old South Meeting-House in Natick.

Her father was the grandson of John Howard Stafford and Aurelia Fairfax, both the children of British officers.

I learn from Miss Stafford that she was personally acquainted with several of the crew of the *Bon Homme Richard*, and that she continues with patriotic devotion to care for their graves. They often called upon her father when living, and were shown this flag, for which they expressed the deepest reverence and not unfrequently shed tears, as it brought to mind the perils they had shared under it. One of these sailors, Thomas Johnson,¹ a Norwegian, who assisted Jones in lashing the *Richard* to the *Serapis*, and was probably the last survivor of that celebrated combat, died at the U. S. Naval Asylum, Philadelphia, on the 12th of July, 1851, aged 93 years, where he had been for many years a pensioner, and was known by the sobriquet of "Paul Jones." When shown this flag he recognized it as the flag of the *Richard*. Miss Stafford was a frequent visitor to him while living, and annually visits his grave now he is dead: a tribute the humble sailor does not often receive, whatever his services.² Miss Stafford says her father was enthusiastically attached to this flag, and often said to his visitors that the *British Lion* had been made to crouch to its stars and stripes.

¹ His name is given as *George Johnson* in the roll of the *Bon Homme Richard's* crew, from official sources, printed in *Sherburne's Life of Paul Jones*.

² According to the records of the U. S. Naval Asylum in Philadelphia, Thomas Johnson was admitted to the asylum on the 11th of Nov. 1841, aged 81 [83 ?] years. He died on the 12th day of July, 1851. His remains were buried in the grave-yard on the Asylum grounds, but have been removed to Mount Moriah Cemetery, where the stone erected by Miss Stafford continues to mark their resting place.

Johnson was the son of a pilot of Mandel, a seaport on the coast of Norway, where he was born in 1758. In the absence of his father, he towed the first American vessel—the *Ranger* 18, commanded by Paul Jones—into the harbor of Mandel. After their arrival Jones sent for the young pilot, and presenting him with a piece of gold, expressed his pleasure at his expert seamanship which he had minutely watched during the towing of his ship into harbor. He had made the port of Mandel for the purpose of recruiting the crew of the *Ranger*, and satisfactory arrangements having been made with his father, Johnson was received on board as a seaman. On assuming the command of the *Bon Homme Richard*, Jones transferred some thirty volunteers from the *Ranger*, among whom was this Thos. Johnson, who following the fortunes of his leader, went with him to the *Serapis*, next to the *Alliance*, and finally arrived with him in the *Ariel* in Philadelphia, Feb. 18, 1781, when 23 years of age, the first time he had seen the land of his adoption. At this time congress was sitting in Philadelphia, and several of the members were removing their families to that city. Application having been made to Capt. Jones to furnish a man to take charge of a sloop to Boston to convey the furniture of John Adams to Philadelphia, he appointed Johnson, who performed the service. "This circumstance often brought Johnson in contact with Mr. Adams, who knew that he was one of the crew of Captain Jones, and consequently must have been in the conflict of the *Serapis* and *Richard*, which having occurred so recently, was a subject of general conversation. Many of the sailors frequented the hall of congress, and Johnson became interested in listening and observing what was so new to him that he was a daily visitor. When the members found that the sailors were part of the crew of Captain Jones, they frequently left their seats, and came over to them to inquire the particulars of the recent engagement. Mr. Adams particularly engaged the attention of Johnson. To use the veteran's own words, he says, 'a nervous sensation seemed to pervade the patriot as he listened to the description of the battle given by the sailors; fire flashed from his eyes, and his hair seemed perfectly erect; he would clasp his hands, and exclaim, What a scene!'

"During the time they remained in Philadelphia, General Washington arrived, and was presented to congress; Johnson was present and listened to the introduction by President Hancock, and the reply by the general. Some days after, when the sailors were in the hall, Mr. Adams brought General Washington to them, who kindly shook each by the hand, calling them our gallant tars! and asking them questions relative to the many successful adventures they had recently achieved.

"Johnson soon after left the navy, and engaged in the merchant service for some years, but eventually returned to it again, and he remained in it till near the end of his life's voyage."

The flag is or was about three and a half yards long, and two yards and five inches wide. It is made of English bunting, and is sewed with hempen or flaxen thread, and contains twelve white stars in its blue union, and thirteen stripes alternately red and white. The stars are arranged in four horizontal parallel lines, with three stars on each line. Why so small a flag, scarcely larger than a boat's ensign of the present day, was used, may be explained by the action having been fought at night, and because of the high cost of the English material, and the difficulty of procuring it. The flag has been several times loaned for display at fairs and festivals. It was exhibited at the great fairs in Philadelphia and New-York, in behalf of the sanitary commission, and at the great fair in Trenton, N. J., in 1862. A piece was cut from the fly of the flag at the beginning of our civil war, by direction of Mrs. Stafford, the mother of the present owner, and sent to President Lincoln, who suitably acknowledged the gift.

The flag, with its twelve stars and thirteen stripes, bears evidence of its age, if not of its authenticity. Our flag, as established by law of congress, from 1777 to 1794 had thirteen stars and thirteen stripes. After 1794 and up to 1818, it had fifteen stars and fifteen stripes. In 1818 a return was had to the thirteen stripes. Miss Stafford, who was born in July, 1802, recollects this flag from April, 1806, sixty-seven years ago, when, as a great favor, she was permitted by her father to carry it across the street in a family moving; and an aged friend of hers, now a resident on Long Island, recollects its having been shown to her, many years before that, and of being told that it was the flag of the *Bon Homme Richard*. It must therefore date before 1794.

Why its union has but twelve stars, unless they filled it, leaving no symmetrical place for the odd star, is a mystery. It has been suggested that only twelve of the colonies had consented to the confederation at the date of its manufacture; but that is not so. All the colonies had confederated before the adoption of the stars in 1777, and the consent of Georgia, the last to give assent, was symbolized in the flag of thirteen stripes, alternately red and white, which was raised by Washington in Cambridge, on the first of January, 1776.

In an agreement signed by Paul Jones, and the captains of his Franco-American squadron, June, 1779, it was expressly stipulated that the squadron should fly the flag of the United States. We may be sure, therefore, that the stars and stripes were flown in the fight between the *Richard* and *Serapis* as they had been in the fight between the *Drake* and *Ranger*, six months earlier, as Jones himself has stated.

The conflict between the *Bon Homme Richard*, an old condemned East Indiaman, the *Duc de Duras*, whose rotten sides were cut through and pierced for forty-four guns, and the *Serapis*, a strong, new and fast double-decked frigate of forty-four guns, which had just cost his Majesty a quarter of a million of dollars, representing double

that money value of the present time, is one of the most remarkable and desperate naval contests on record.¹

The vessels closed with each other between seven and eight o'clock in the evening. The weather was clear, the surface of the sea was unruffled, and just as the *Richard* came within gunshot of her opponent, the moon rose with unusual splendor, to reveal the terrible struggle which was about to open to the anxious spectators who had crowded to the edges of the cliffs of Flamborough Head, which opposite the scene of the combat formed the coast of old England. "What ship is that?" hailed the captain of the *Serapis*, as the *Richard* approached within hailing distance. "Come a little nearer, and I will tell you," was the equivocal reply. "What are you laden with?" was the next inquiry. "Round, grape and double-headed shot!" replied Jones defiantly; and with that the *Serapis* immediately returned a broadside, and the action commenced.

Time will not permit, and it is needless for me to follow out the details of the fight; they can be found in any of our naval histories, and are familiar to every school-boy. A particularly good description of the fight is given by H. B. Dawson in his *Battles of the United States by Sea and Land*, it being collated from the official reports, English and American, and from several contemporary and reliable accounts by eye-witnesses. I propose to give only an outline of it.

The ships were soon lashed together: Thomas Johnson, the Norwegian, and Paul Jones himself assisting to make them fast. The *Serapis* dropped an anchor, hoping the *Richard* would drift clear of her, but the device did not effect its object, the vessels continued fast to the end of the engagement, and such a mauling as ensued was never before and has never since been witnessed. As has been said of General Taylor at the battle of Buena Vista, Jones was several times whipped, but did not know it, and finally achieved victory by sheer endurance.

The vessels were ten or twelve times on fire, and alternately combating each other and the flames, which threatened destruction to both. At last a hand-grenade, thrown by a topman from the *Richard* upon the main deck of the *Serapis*, exploded a number of cartridges lying on that deck from the mainmast to the extreme after part of the ship, killing over twenty and wounding thirty-eight of her crew, and decided the action in favor of the American ship. At half past ten o'clock at night, after an engagement of over three hours, captain Pearson struck the colors of the *Serapis* with his own hands, none of his crew daring to expose themselves for that purpose. As soon as it was known that the *Serapis* had surrendered, Lieut. Richard Dale passed on board and took possession of the prize, while Capt. Pearson with his officers passed over to the *Richard* and sur-

¹ A letter dated L'Orient, Oct. 20, 1779, says:—

"The *Serapis* is a fine new ship, sheathed with copper, on an entire new construction, and thought to be the fastest sailing vessel in Europe. She has two entire batteries, the lower of which is 18 pounders, so that she may be said to be almost double the force of the *Poor Richard*."

rendered their swords to Commodore Jones. In surrendering his, Capt. Pearson rudely said: "It is with reluctance I am obliged to resign my sword to a man who may be said to fight with a halter about his neck." Jones, with gentlemanly courtesy and becoming dignity, replied: "Sir: you have fought like a hero, and I make no doubt your sovereign will reward you for it, in the most ample manner."¹

As soon as Lieut. Dale had received a prize crew on board the *Serapis*, the lashings were cut, and the *Richard* slowly drifted away; the prize following her as soon as the cables could be cut, when a new danger presented itself. The *Richard* was both sinking and on fire, and it was only by the assistance of the other vessels of the squadron that she was preserved long enough to secure the removal of the wounded of her crew. An examination early next morning showed that abaft, on a line with the guns of the *Serapis* which had been served after the vessels were lashed together, her siding and timbers had been entirely demolished, a few futtocks being the only support of her poop and spar-deck. Her rudder had been cut from her stern post; her transoms had been nearly driven out of her; the flames had got within her ceilings and menaced the magazine; and the pumps by constant use could hardly keep the water at the same level.

After securing the safety of all that were on board, about 9, A.M., the 25th of September, the officer in charge, with his crew, took to their boats, and about an hour later the *Bon Homme Richard*, having fought her good fight and finished her course, settled slowly into the sea and disappeared bow foremost. The *Serapis* was taken into the *Texel*, under jury-masts.

The loss of life was unusually severe. A writer in the *Analectic Magazine* states that the *Richard* had no less than one hundred and sixty-five killed, and one hundred and thirty-seven wounded and missing; and that the *Serapis* had one hundred and thirty-seven killed and seventy-six missing; her whole crew at the commencement of the action having been three hundred and twenty. But these statements are deemed exaggerations and have been denied. Capt Pearson, in his official despatch to the admiralty, states the loss of the *Serapis* as forty-nine killed and sixty-eight wounded, which was about one-third of her crew, and is probably correct. When a midshipman, I was informed by an old sailor who was on board the *Bon Homme Richard*, that she was painted black and the *Serapis* yellow, at the time of the engagement.²

¹ Capt. Pearson was subsequently knighted by George III. for his heroism in this action. Robert C. Sands, one of the biographers of Jones, discredits the story of Capt. Pearson's rudeness in delivering up his sword, assigning as a reason that Capt. Pearson was a gentleman. Gentlemen, however, sometimes forget themselves, and the story, often repeated in other biographies and naval histories, rests on the authority of C. W. Goldsborough's *Naval Chronicle*.

² Jones, in his account of the battle, says: "It was then full moonlight, and the sides of the *Bon Homme Richard* were all black, while the sides and masts of the prize were all yellow."

This action, fought within sight of the shores of England, exercised as important an influence upon our affairs in Europe, as did the fight between the *Kearsarge* and the *Alabama* in recent times, and was a parallel to it in that a portion of the crew of the *Serapis*, after her surrender, attempted to escape in one of her boats to the Countess of Scarborough, or to the shore, as a portion of the *Alabama's* officers and crew did escape to the *Deerhound*, a British yacht.

The wonderful obstinacy with which this battle was maintained attracted general attention, and Franklin wrote home that Jones's name was on every lip for nine days in Paris. The poets of the day were swift to tune their lyres in description of the fight. Chief among these was Philip Freneau, who has graphically described it in the lines beginning:—

“ O'er the rough main with flowing sheet, A ship of less tremendous force
The guardian of a numerous fleet, Sailed by her side, the self-same course,
 Serapis from the Baltic came; Countess of Scarborough, her name.”

And ending thus :

“ Go on, great man to scourge the foe The stars that, clad in dark attire,
And bid these haughty Britons know, Long glimmered with a feeble fire
They to our ‘thirteen stars’ shall bend; But radiant now ascend.”

By way of example, I will read you a few verses from a homelier versifier, a favorite upon the fore-castle, who appears to have been a sailor on board the *Richard*. His description is better than his grammar or the smoothness of his verse :

“ An American frigate—a frigate of fame,
With guns mounted forty—Goodman *Richard* by name,
Sailed to cruise in the channels of Old England,
With a valiant commander—‘ Paul Jones ’ was that same.

“ He had not cruised long before he espies
A large forty-four, and a twenty likewise,
Well manned with bold seamen, well laid in with stores,
In consort to drive him from Old England's shores.”

The writer of the ballad proceeds to say that *Percy* came alongside “ with a loud speaking trumpet,” whatever that might be, and that *Jones* answered his hail and broadside, charging his men to stand firm to their guns, and continues :

“ The contest was bloody, both decks run with gore ;
The sea seemed to blaze while the cannons did roar.
‘ Fight, my brave boys,’ then Paul Jones he cried,
‘ And soon we will humble this bold Englishman's pride.’ ”

After several verses, which I will not tax your patience by repeating, the poet continues :

“ They fought them eight glasses,¹ eight glasses so hot,
Till seventy bold seamen lay dead on the spot ;
And ninety brave seamen lay stretched in their gore,
While the pieces of cannon most fiercely did roar.”
* * * * *

“ Now all you valiant seamen, wherever you may be,
 Who hear of this combat, that's fought on the sea,
 May you all do like them, when called to the same,
 And your names be enrolled on the pages of fame.”

But there is claimed for this flag a higher significance than it derives from having been worn by the *Richard* in her combat with the *Scrapis*. You can decide what weight to give to the testimony. On the authority of Mrs. Patrick Hayes, a niece of Miss Sarah Austin, who became the second wife of Commodore John Barry, and who had the story from her aunt, it is stated that some patriotic ladies met in the old Swedes' Church, in Philadelphia, and, under the direction of John Brown, secretary of the new Board of Marine, formed or arranged a flag, which was presented to Capt. Paul Jones by the Misses Mary and Sarah Austin (the latter the aunt of Miss Hayes above referred to) in behalf of said ladies. After the presentation, Jones procured a small boat, and, unfurling the flag, sailed up and down the harbor, before Philadelphia, to show the assembled thousands what the national flag was to be.

I have been unable to ascertain the facts of the case, or the date of the organization of the Marine Committee with John Brown for its secretary, and John Meyler as his assistant. The records of the old Swedish Church, which I have had examined, do not record such a meeting, and a diligent search of files of Philadelphia newspapers for 1776 and '77 has failed to disclose an account of such a presentation.¹

It is a well-known fact that Paul Jones's appointment to command the *Ranger*, and the resolve which added the stars of a new constellation to the stripes as our national ensign, were included in the same series of resolutions.² He has recorded that he was the first to hoist "the new constellation" over an American ship of war, when he assumed command of the *Ranger*, in Portsmouth, N. H., as he was the first to have it acknowledged by a salute from a foreign nation, February, 1778, in Quiberon Bay.³

In a letter to the Naval Committee, dated Feb. 22, 1778, Jones says :

“ I am happy to have it in my power to congratulate on my having seen the American flag, *for the first time*, recognized in the fullest and completest manner by that of France. I was off this bay on the 13th inst. and sent a boat on the next day to know if the Admiral would return the salute. He answered he would return me as the senior continental officer in Europe, the same salute as he was authorized to return to an admiral of Holland, or any other Republic, which was four guns less than the salute given. I hesitated at this, *for I had demanded gun for gun*.”

¹ Is it not possible this may have been the flag made by Mrs. John Ross, and claimed by her descendant, Wm. J. Canby, of Philadelphia, to have been the first *starred* flag ever made? Paul Jones, in a schedule of his property dated July 13, 1792, twice mentions his "friend John Ross, of Philadelphia."

² See Resolutions of Congress, June 17, 1777.

³ The MS. diary of Dr. Ezra Green, surgeon of the *Ranger*, now in the possession of the N. E. Hist. Gen. Society, notices this salute.

"Therefore I anchored in the entrance of the bay at a distance from the French fleet; but after a very particular inquiry on the 14th, finding that he really told the truth, I was induced to accept his offer, the more as it was an acknowledgment of *American Independence*.

"The wind being contrary and blowing hard, it was after sunset before the Ranger was near enough to salute La Motte Piquet with 13 guns, which he returned with nine. However, to put the matter beyond a doubt, I did not suffer the 'Independence' to salute until the next morning, when I sent word to the Admiral that I would salute him in open day. He was exceedingly pleasant, and returned the salute with nine guns."

In his letter to the American Commissioners at Paris, dated at Brest, May 27, 1778, he mentions that in the action between the Ranger and the Drake, on the 24th of April preceding, when the latter hoisted the English colors, "the *American Stars* were displayed on board the Ranger."

What more probable then than that the flag presented by the ladies of Philadelphia, the first of the kind ever raised over an American vessel of war, the first to receive a salute from a foreign power, and worn in the close ensuing victory over the Drake, highly valued by Jones, should be carried by him to the Bon Homme Richard, when he hoisted his flag on board of that ship, be worn during the action with the Serapis, and be transferred first to her on the sinking of the Richard, and finally to the Alliance, when Jones took command of that ship? The original log-books of the Ranger and Bon Homme Richard, which are said to be in the possession of the Earl of Selkirk, and of Mr. George Napier in Scotland, might throw much light upon the subject.¹

On the 17th of December, 1779, three months after the combat between the Serapis and Richard, the Alliance, to which, according to this theory, this flag had been transferred when Jones took command, was lying in the Texel. The Dutch admiral wrote to him, asking to be informed whether the Alliance was a French or an American vessel. If the first, the admiral expected him to show his commission and display the French ensign and pennant, announcing her belonging to that nation by firing a gun; but if an American, that he must lose no occasion to depart. The French Commissary of Marine urged him to satisfy all parties by hoisting French colors; but Jones refused to wear any other than the American flag, and sent word to the Admiral that *under that flag he would proceed to sea* whenever the pilot would carry the ship out.

At length, on the morning of the 27th of December, Jones had the satisfaction of announcing himself at sea in the Alliance, whence he wrote to M. Dumas, by the pilot: "I am here, my dear Sir, with a good wind at east, and *under my best American colors*."

¹ "Paul Jones's log-book is preserved at St. Mary's Isle, Lord Selkirk's seat. It was presented to the late earl by a merchant of Boston, in whose hands it had fallen."—H. CURRIER, Cor. *London Notes and Queries*.

Favored by a strong wind, the Alliance the next day passed through the Straits of Dover, with her colors set, running close to the Goodwin Sands, in full view of the fleet anchored in the Downs, three or four miles to leeward, and on the 29th reconnoitred the fleet at Spithead, — still showing her colors, — and on the first of January, 1780, was fairly out of the channel. Jones would, of course, consider the flag presented to him by the patriotic ladies of Philadelphia as "his best American colors," and hoist it on these occasions.

Miss Stafford's faith in this flag as the veritable flag of the Bon Homme Richard is shown by the fact, that, unwilling to trust it to any hands but her own, she has journeyed from Trenton to Boston expressly to enable me to exhibit it to you, and will return with it when this meeting is over.

NOTE.

Miss Stafford is the patriotic *elderly* lady (I suppose I may call her so without offence, as she acknowledges to forty years over thirty) whose petition to congress for a pension on account of her father's services, ninety-three years before, created such a sensation in 1872. Her home in Trenton is a museum of revolutionary relics, and her doorplate is ornamented with an enamelled portrait of Washington. At the commencement of our civil war, she loaned twelve thousand dollars, all in double eagles, to the state of New-Jersey, to aid in equipping the first volunteers from that state. This was several months before the issue of any bonds had been authorized, and was tendered and accepted before any such security could be given for it. Others gave of their abundance, but this woman gave all of her substance, — ever trusting to her motto, "The Lord will provide." "What is money without a country?" she asked, when advised not to thus peril all she had.

With regard to her pension, she writes me: "Twenty-four years ago, Senator Clayton, of Delaware, presented my petition to Congress, asking to be allowed compensation for my father's services. Senator Evans, of South Carolina, reported adversely, believing I was entitled to prize-money, but papa being a volunteer on board the Richard and not attached to her, was not entitled to any. Afterward, mama having received money from her relatives in Massachusetts, where she was born, and lived for many years, I thought no more about Congress for some time. In 1860 my petition was renewed, and a bill passed the house of Representatives, but did not reach the Senate.

"In 1872, the committee on revolutionary claims, repeating a House report of the same purport in 1860, reported relative to my father's services as follows:

"It fully appears from the testimony before the committee that James Bayard Stafford entered the Navy at the beginning of the war of Independence, and was in constant and active service, and in frequent battles, and remained in the service until the close of the war; that his ship was captured by a British cruiser, and subsequently recaptured by John Paul Jones, when he volunteered in the Bon Homme Richard, where he received wounds, which, owing to unskilful treatment, broke out after a time, disabling both his arms.

"Commodore Barry, of the Alliance, writes that 'Lieutenant Stafford served through the whole war. At the request of the secret committee of Congress, I sent him with a message to Henry Laurens, Esq., a prisoner in the Tower of London. This duty he performed with great fidelity and success.' It will be remembered that Colonel Laurens, ex-President of Congress, and ambassador to Holland to negotiate for aid in our revolutionary struggle, had been taken prisoner and confined in the Tower of London, as stated by Commodore Barry. The secret committee of Congress felt the necessity of warning Colonel Laurens not to make any terms or accept of any compromises which the British might propose. This dangerous and difficult communication was offered to Lieutenant Stafford, because his patriotism had been proved by his abandonment of a lucrative business for the naval service, his courage often tested in action, while his education in England and Ireland gave him a familiarity with localities and manners most necessary for success. Your committee have the affidavits of many aged persons, cognizant of the above facts, and of the difficulties of the service. Disguised as an Irish laborer, Lieutenant Stafford walked from Wexford, in Ireland, to London, except the short passage from

Dublin to Holyhead. The log-book of an American officer describes the fate Lieutenant Stafford would have been subjected to had he been captured in this perilous undertaking. 'They were marched upon a floating machine, their bodies, legs, and arms so ironed that they could not bend either; the machine was towed at high water to a gallows erected by government orders; the hangman made the halters fast to the gallows, and left them to die at leisure—that is, by inches, as the tide fell.'

"It has been urged against the payment of naval service, that the revolutionary congress promised to pay the army only. This cannot be proved to be other than an omission, and is no reason why meritorious services should not be rewarded by us. Your committee believe that the sufferings and perils endured by Lieutenant Stafford in the navy were equal to those undergone by any officer in the army.

"To show how much was received by the navy in the way of prize-money, it should be remembered that only one-third was allowed to the captors. By far the greater number of the prizes were sunk or burned as a matter of necessity. Sixty valuable merchantmen were abandoned to secure the *Serapis* for the use of the naval service. It was long before the prize-money was distributed. In the instance of the *Serapis*, just referred to, the money was not ordered to be paid until the year 1837, when but few of the captors were left to receive it.

"Lieutenant Stafford was a volunteer in this world-renowned action of the *Richard*; his name, therefore, was not on the rolls, and his daughter can receive no prize-money under the law.

"Congress annually appropriates money for secret service which requires neither patriotism, great ability, nor involves any danger. The pay for such service is always in proportion to the ability required and the hazards to be encountered.

"In consideration of Lieutenant Stafford's naval service throughout the war, of his wound, of the secret services rendered, for all of which he never received any payment or prize-money, your committee decide that the prayer of the petitioner should be granted, and report a bill accordingly.'

"Following this report, on the 21st of January, 1872, the Trenton Bank was robbed, and my bonds stolen therefrom. I was then in Washington, and received a telegram from the cashier that all my means that I had deposited there were gone. I took the telegram to Senators Stockton and Frelinghuysen, of New-Jersey, who at once brought forward my claim, and a bill passed allowing me seven years' lieutenant's half pay, under existing laws, amounting to \$3,000. So the Lord will provide for those in adversity, if we but put our trust in Him. Probably you read of the passage of the bill in June, 1872, as there was much notice of it in the newspapers, on account of the patriotic expression of the members, and my being overcome at the time."

Of the stolen bonds, amounting in all to about the sum she loaned the state in 1831, she has only been able to recover \$3,400, which, being registered, were duplicated; the remainder of the stolen property, including many valuable family papers, is a total loss.

All luck seems to pursue Miss Stafford's investments, as I learn from her that between four and five thousand dollars of the money granted by congress was invested in North Pacific Railroad bonds, the present value of which the recent financial panic has disturbed.

Miss Stafford furnishes me with the following description of her father:

"The first recollection I have of my father he wore a deep blue coat with yellow buttons, blue breeches, and white stockings. His hair was long and powdered, and tied in queue. His shirts were ruffled, and he wore ruffles at his wristbands. At times he wore a brown velvet coat and breeches, at other times a black velvet suit. When he attended court, he wore a black silk gown. Justices of the Peace from 1804 to 1810 held courts in New-Jersey, called quarter sessions, and he was on the Justices bench in Mounouth County many years.

"He was the principal of Allentown academy for seven years, and dressed in school in a plain morning gown. Out of school he wore a velvet suit, then fashionable among professional men, and in cool weather a surcoat or surtout of blue, with yellow metal buttons, and in still colder weather a blue cloth cloak. He also wore a cocked hat. My father was an highly educated gentleman, and taught Latin, French, Navigation, Surveying and Book-keeping. Occasionally he had private students that boarded with our family. Lawrence Lewis, one of the directors of the old U. S. Bank, was a pupil of his. He surveyed land for his neighbors and established bounds in difficult and perplexing cases. His glebe, printed in latin, I have in my possession. My father had a brown suit, trimmed very tastefully, which he wore occasionally, and a dress he called his court dress, trimmed with gold lace. I have the buttons of this dress, which are large and appear as if covered with glass with a gilt rim around them.

"In 1818, Doct. John Stafford and his mother visited us at Allentown, N. J., and he and my sister urged my father to change his dress and assume the 'Puritan' or American dress. After considerable argument he acceded to their wishes, and submitted to the change. His hair was cut short, and was no longer powdered, and he wore a black broad-cloth coat and pantaloons with a black satin vest. He, however, never was satisfied with this change in

his costume, was always unhappy about it and attributed to his awkward dress, as he styled it, what I suppose was due to his increased years, the re-opening of his old wound.

"My father was very lively in his early days, and fond of dancing, and was so graceful in the minuet, that his London teacher presented him to the king, before whom he exhibited his skill. He was the most accomplished gentleman I have ever met, and was known all over the country by the name of 'the Old Squire.' He married, I think, more couples than any other Justice of the Peace for many miles around. He never swore, and always said no gentleman would ever swear or spit upon the floor."

The following is a list of the officers of the *BON HOMME RICHARD* on the 23d of Sept. 1779 (from an official record):

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Birthplace.</i>	<i>Rank.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
John Paul Jones,	Scotland,	Commodore.	
Richard Dale,	Maryland,	1st Lieut.	Badly wounded.
Henry Lunt,	Massachusetts,	2d "	"
Cutting Lunt,	"	3d "	"
Samuel Stacey,	New-Hampshire,	Master.	"
Lawrence Brooks,	"	Surgeon.	"
Mathurin Mease,	Massachusetts,	Purser.	"
—— Staek,	France,	Lieut. Col. Marines.	"
—— Macarty,	"	Lieut.	"
—— O. Kelly,	Ireland,	Lieut.	"
John White,	America,	Mate.	"
Thomas Potter,	"	Midshipman.	Wounded.
Nathaniel Fanning,	"	"	"
Benjamin Stubbs,	Massachusetts,	"	"
Reuben Chase,	"	"	"
Beaumont Groulee,	"	"	"
Jonah Carroll,	America,	"	Killed.
William Daniel,	"	"	"
John Myrant,	South Carolina,	"	Wounded.
Robert Coram,	New Hampshire,	"	"
John L. White,	America,	"	"
Richard Wat,	"	"	"
Gilbert Wat,	"	"	"
John Robinson,	England,	"	"
John Gunnion,	America,	Carpenter.	"
William Clarke,	"	Sailmaker.	Wounded.
Jacob True,	"	2d Gunner.	"
Iehabod Lord,	Massachusetts,	Carpenter.	"
Thomas Turner,	England,	Boatswain.	Killed.
William Physic,	"	Carpenter.	Killed.

The following statement of the force of the ships, on the 23d of September, 1779, is from Sherburne's Life of Jones:—

<i>BON HOMME RICHARD.</i>		<i>SERAPIS.</i>	
6	18 Poundsers on Lower Gun Deck.	20	18 Poundsers on Lower Gun Deck.
14	12 " " Middle " "	20	9 " " Upper Spar "
14	9 " " " " "	6	6 " " Quarter "
2	6 " " Quarter "	4	6 " " Forecastle.
2	6 " " Spar deck—one in each gangway.	Total weight of shot, 600 lbs.	
2	6 " " on the Forecastle.	Crew, 335 men and about 15 lascars.	
Total weight of shot, 428 lbs.			
Crew, 380 men and boys.			

Sands, in his Memoir of Paul Jones, on the authority of a French official inventory, copied from one filed by Congress, states the armament of the *Bon Homme Richard* as 6 eighteen-pounders, 25 twelve-pounders, and 6 nine-pounders. Total weight of shot, 47½ pounds.

Only seventy-eight of the officers and crew were American born.

— FLAG WORN BY THE —
U. S. Brig Enterprise. —



DURING HER ACT ON WITH THE

H. B. M. BRIG BOXER.

— SEPTEMBER —

— PHOTOGRAPHED BY J. S. BROWN —

— COURTESY OF THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES —



II.

THE FLAG OF THE ENTERPRISE.

YOUR attention is next invited to the flag worn by the U. S. Brig Enterprise in her action with H. B. M. Brig Boxer, Sept. 5, 1813. It is now owned by Mr. Horatio G. Quincy, of Portland, Me., who has kindly loaned it for this occasion. He truthfully remarks, in his letter which accompanied it, that the flag which the dying Burrows requested might never be struck, is now almost struck to decay, neglect and old age, the devouring teeth of time. The flag is, as you see, about double the size of the Richard's, being seventeen feet nine inches in length by eleven feet three inches in width, and has fifteen stripes, and it may be supposed it had fifteen stars, arranged in three parallel lines of five each, though many of them have been obliterated by the causes above named. The union is eleven feet six inches, by five feet six inches.

This was an old flag at the date of the engagement, and was patched up only the day before with pieces of a still older flag, by Mr. Metcalf, the sail-maker of the brig, who still lives and recognizes this flag as the one he worked upon.¹ After the victory, the body of Capt. Burrows was wrapped in it when it was taken on shore and laid in state in the hotel of Mr. Coolidge (afterward a captain in the U. S. Revenue Service), to whom, drenched as it was with the hero's blood, it was presented by the surviving officers of the Enterprise. For better preservation, Capt. Coolidge sent it to the old Portland Museum, which citizens of that city half a century and less ago will remember. When the museum was sold out, and its contents scattered, Mr. Quincy obtained possession of this flag by purchase, and has held it in precious trust ever since. He writes me: "I loan you the old flag of the Enterprise with pleasure to exhibit with the other flags named by you. It stands as high in the estimation of all Americans, especially of a Portland boy, as either of the others." He adds that "after the action it bore the marks of fifty-nine shot holes," probably chiefly from musketry, as the engagement was close and muskets were much used throughout it.

¹ I am informed by Mr. Quincy that he was one day carrying this flag, under his arm, rolled up, when he was met by Mr. Metcalf, who asked what he had there. On being told, "The Flag of the Enterprise," he said "Let me see it; I ought to know that flag, as I repaired it the day before the action, and remember patching the union with the hunting of an older flag." When the flag was displayed to him, he at once recognized it and his work upon it.

THE BATTLE BETWEEN THE ENTERPRISE AND BOXER.

On the 4th of September, 1813, the U. S. Brig *Enterprise*¹ sailed from Portland on a cruise to the eastward, having received information of several privateers being off Monhegan, and being, it is said, also attracted by the sound of cannon in that direction. On the following morning, in the bay near Pemaquid Point, a brig was discovered getting underway, which proved to be H. B. M. Brig *Boxer*, to which the *Enterprise* immediately gave chase. The *Boxer* fired several guns and stood for the *Enterprise*, with four ensigns hoisted. When the vessels had approached to half pistol-shot the action between them commenced, and was continued for about a quarter of an hour, when the *Enterprise* ranging ahead of her enemy, rounded to, and raked her. Soon after this the maintopmast and topsail yard of the *Boxer* came down, when the *Enterprise* was enabled to take a position off her starboard bow, and continued to rake, until about forty

¹ The "lucky" *Enterprise*, built originally in Baltimore, in 1799, was schooner-rigged, mounted twelve guns, was of 135 tons burthen, and cost \$16,240. In a cruise of eight months under Lieut. J. Shaw, she fought five actions and captured nineteen vessels. Owing to these gallant services, she was the only small cruiser retained in our navy after the French war. During the Tripolitan war she was always actively employed in the Mediterranean, under Lieuts. Sterrett, Hall, Decatur, Robinson, and others. In 1809, she went to Europe under command of Lieut. Tappan. Returning in 1811, she was rebuilt, her tonnage increased to 165 tons, her armament to fourteen guns, and she was altered to a brig. She cruised near our coast from 1811 to 1814, successively under the command of J. Blakely, Wm. Barrows, and J. Renshaw. While off the coast of Florida in company with the *Rattlesnake*, she captured a British privateer, and both vessels were chased by an English 74. Renshaw cast all her guns overboard in order to increase her speed. It was of little avail; nothing saved the "lucky" little brig from capture but a favorable shifting of the wind. Not long after she sailed into Charleston, and was there made a guard ship. Her cruises were continued after the war until 1822, with her usual good fortune, in the Mediterranean, West Indies, &c., under Lieut. Kearny. She was lost at Little Curacoa in 1823, while in command of Lieut. J. Gallagher, but her crew was saved. She was succeeded in the service by a schooner *Enterprise*, 10 guns and 194 tons, built in New-York in 1831.

In her action with the *Boxer*, she was armed with 2 long nine pounders, and 14 eighteen-pounder carronades, and her complement of officers was 102. The *Boxer* was 182 tons, and mounted 12 eighteen-pounder carronades, and 2 long sixes. Her complement has been variously stated as from 70 to 100 men. Commodore Hull counted ninety hammocks with beds in them, stowed in her nettings, besides several beds without hammocks, which would argue a crew of at least that number. The *Enterprise* had 2 killed, 12 wounded in the action; the *Boxer*, 7 killed, 14 wounded. The *Enterprise* had 1 eighteen-pounder shot in her hull; the *Boxer* 18, and several of her guns were dismounted.

Lieut. McCall in his official report says: "As no muster roll that can be fully relied on has come into my possession, I cannot exactly state the number of killed and wounded on board the *Boxer*, but from information received from the officers of that vessel, it appears there were between twenty and twenty-five killed and fourteen wounded."

Sixty-four prisoners were taken, including seventeen wounded. On an examination of the prize, she was adjudged wholly to the captors, agreeably to law, as a vessel of superior force.

The English, in all their accounts of the engagement, state that the *Enterprise* was a much larger vessel than the *Boxer*. Allen says: "The *Boxer* measured 181 tons; the *Enterprise* 245, and had a crew of 120 men and 3 boys." Prenton says: "The American schooner was nearly double her [the *Boxer*'s] force in number of men, and greatly superior in guns and in size." Rulife, in his *Naval Chronology*, 1803-1816, does not mention or refer to the action. As the dimensions and armaments I have given are from official records, they can be relied upon.

Old "Wade," who was the gunner of the U. S. Frigate *Macedonian* in 1839, when I was a midshipman on board of her, was one of the crew of the *Enterprise* in her fight with the *Boxer*, and he told me that the *Boxer* fired two broadsides before the *Enterprise* returned a gun; and that when about two hundred feet distant, Lieut. McCall gave the order: "Give her the bow gun [a long nine], my lads;" and this, the first gun on our side, took off the *Boxer*'s jib-boom close to the cap. The action was fought under topsails, and occasionally jib and spanker. The *Enterprise* had three ensigns hoisted.

minutes after the commencement of the action, when the enemy ceased firing, and hailed, saying he had surrendered. His colors having been nailed to the mast, could not be hauled down.

Lieut. William Burrows, the commander of the *Enterprise*, was struck by a musket ball at the commencement of the action,¹ which was then continued by Lieut. McCall, the officer next in seniority.² Burrows, however, refused to be carried below, and raising his head requested that the flag might never be struck. When the sword of the vanquished enemy was presented to him, the dying conqueror clasped his hands and exclaimed: "I am satisfied, I die contented!" Then, and not till then, would he consent to be carried below, where every attention was vainly paid to save his life. A few hours after the victory he breathed his last.

"His couch was his shroud, in his hammock he died,
The shot of the Briton was true;
He breathed not a sigh, but faintly he cried
Adieu, my brave shipmates, adieu.

"Away to your stations, let it never be said
Yon banner you furled to the foe;
Let these stars ever shine at the maintopmast head,
And the pathway to victory show.

"Remember the accents of Lawrence the brave,
Ere his spirit had fled to its rest:
'Don't give up the ship,' let her sink 'neath the wave
And the breeze bear her fate to the west."³

¹ Lossing says he was assisting the men in running out a carronade, and, in doing so, placed one foot against the bulwarks to give lever power to his efforts. While in that position, a shot, supposed to be a cannister ball, struck his thigh, and, glancing from the bone to his body, inflicted a painful and fatal wound. He lived eight hours.

² The officers of the *Enterprise* in her action with the *Boxer* were:—

William Burrows, lieut. commandant.	Killed in the action, Sept. 5, 1813.
Edward R. McCall, first lieutenant.	Died in the service, a captain, July 31, 1853.
Thomas G. Tillinghast, second lieut.	Lost in the U. S. S. <i>Wasp</i> , 1815.
William Harper, sailing master.	Resigned, June 25, 1814.
John H. Aulick, master's mate.	Died in the service, Aug. 26, 1873, a commodore.
Bailey Washington, surgeon.	Died in the service, August 4, 1854.
Edwin W. Turner, purser.	Died in the service, March 6, 1819.
Kervin Waters, midshipman.	Died of his wounds, Sept. 25, 1815.
William F. Shields, "	Resigned, Oct. 12, 1813.
Vincent L. Lassier, "	
Richard O'Neal, "	Resigned, Aug. 9, 1827.
Horatio Ewart, gunner.	
John Ball, boatswain.	
Mr. Metcalf, acting sail maker.	

Lieut. Wm. Burrows was born Oct. 6, 1785, at Kinderton, near Philadelphia, the seat of his father Wm. Ward Burrows of South Carolina, who was lieut. col. commandant of U. S. Marines from 1800 to 1804, when he resigned. He was educated chiefly under the eye of his father, a gentleman of accomplished mind and manners, and at the age of 13 was as well acquainted with German as with his mother tongue. An interesting memoir of him, written by Washington Irving, can be found in the *Analectic Magazine*, vol. ii. pp. 394-402.

Lieut. Edward Rutledge McCall was born in Charleston, S. C., August 5, 1790, and was therefore but 22 years and 11 months old when the action was fought.

Congress ordered to the nearest male relative of Burrows a gold medal with "suitable emblems and devices." As no portrait of him had ever been painted, the medal struck in his honor contains on its obverse, instead of the usual effigy, an urn standing on an altar, on the side of which was his name. A gold medal was also presented to Lt. McCall, who continued the action, bearing his effigy on the obverse. The reverse of both medals represents the action, and has the same legend and motto.

³ The action between the *Chesapeake* and *Shannon* was fought May 29, 1813. Commander Blyth served as a pall bearer at the funeral of Lawrence in Halifax.

“ He said, and a gun to the leeward was heard,
 ’Twas the enemy’s gun well he knew ;
 He raised up his head, and three times he cheered,
 And expired as he uttered adieu.”

Commander Samuel Blyth, of the *Boxer*, was killed by the first broadside from the *Enterprise*, an 18-pounder cannon shot passing through his body and nearly cutting him in two ; after which the command devolved on Lieut. David McCreery, the senior lieutenant.

The remains of the two commanders were brought to Portland, where they were interred side by side. The youthful midshipman, Waters, who was mortally wounded in the fight, and was promoted a lieutenant for his heroism, after lingering for over two years, died on the 25th of September, 1815, at the age of 18, and was buried by the side of his beloved commander. The young men of Portland were accustomed to sit by his side in turn for a whole day at a time, and as often as once a week, to amuse him and minister to his comfort. Aged persons now living in Portland remember the appearance of the two vessels after the fight. My brother often told me of his visiting them immediately after they arrived in Portland, on the afternoon of the engagement. The decks of the *Enterprise* had been cleared, he said, and presented the wonted neat appearance of a vessel of war, but those of the *Boxer* remained just as she came out of the battle ; blood was smeared around and lay in pools upon the deck.

The bodies of the two commanders were brought on shore in tenoared barges, rowed at minute strokes by masters of ships, accompanied by most of the barges and boats in the harbor. Commodore Isaac Hull had charge of the funeral arrangements. A grand procession was then formed from Union wharf, where the landing was effected, to the Second Parish Church, where the Rev. Dr. Payson officiated. The corpse of Burrows, draped in the flag you see before you, headed the procession ; that of Blyth followed, covered in like manner with the ensign he had caused to be nailed to the mast, and did not live to see lowered, and which is now one of the trophy-flags preserved at the Naval Academy in Annapolis.

The interment took place with all the honors that the civil and military authorities of Portland could bestow ; the officers and crews of the two vessels followed their lamented leaders to the grave, and Forts Scammel and Preble awakened the echoes of the beautiful bay with the mournful sound of their minute guns. Equal honors in every respect were paid to the young commanders.

Longfellow, in his beautiful poem of “ My Lost Youth,” thus refers to this fight and the graves of these heroes :—

“ I remember the bulwarks by the shore, And the fort upon the hill, And the sunset-gun with its hollow roar, The drum-beat repeated o’er and o’er, And the bugle wild and shrill.	“ I remember the sea fight far away, How it thundered o’er the tide, And the dead captains as they lay [bay, In their graves o’erlooking the tranquil Where they in battle died.” ¹
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¹ Recently it was proposed to remove the remains from the Eastern to Evergreen Cemetery, but such opposition was created that they were suffered to rest in peace where

The *Boxer* was sold in Portland, and purchased by Thomas and William Merrill, for the merchant service. She was afloat as late as 1845. In September, 1814, she was temporarily armed with the guns of a Portuguese prize-ship, and hauled into position by the Portland rifle corps, to defend Vaughan bridge. Her own guns, which were eighteen-pounder carronades, were put on board the privateer *Hyder Ali*, built and fitted out in Portland.

There is an incident connected with this fight, and which, in fact, led to it, not generally known, which I must relate to you.

Both the British and our governments, during the progress of the war, found it necessary to relax the strictness with which the rules

our fathers had placed them. There was also a proposition some years since to remove the present monumental stones, and erect one imposing monument in their stead; but that was opposed, on the ground that the present monuments are public in their nature and should not be removed. The following are the inscriptions on the tombstones:—

Beneath this Stone
moulders
the body of
WILLIAM BURROWS,
late commander
of the

United States Brig *Enterprise*
who was mortally wounded
on the 5th of Sept. 1813,
in an action which contributed
to increase the fame of
American valor by capturing
His Britannic Majesty's Brig *Boxer*
after a severe contest
of forty-five minutes.

Æt. 28.

A passing stranger¹ has erected this
monument of respect to the manes of
a Patriot, who in the hour of peril
obeyed the loud summons of an injured
country, and who gallantly met,
fought and conquer'd
the foe-man.

In memory
of
Capt. SAMUEL BLYTH,
late commander
of

His Britannic Majesty's Brig *Boxer*.
He nobly fell
on the 5th September, 1813,
in action
with the U. S. Brig *Enterprise*.
In life honorable,
in death glorious,
his country will long deplore one of her
bravest Sons;
his friends long lament one of the
bravest of Men.

Æt. 29.

The surviving officers of his crew offer
this feeble tribute of admiration
and respect.

Beneath this marble,
by the side of his gallant commander,
rest the remains of
Lieut. KERVIN WATERS,
a native of Georgetown, District of
Columbia, who received a mortal
wound Sept. 5th, 1813,
while a Midshipman on board the
U. S. Brig *Enterprise*
in an action with H. B. M. Brig *Boxer*,
which terminated in the capture
of the latter.
He languished in severe pain,
which he endured with fortitude,
until Sept. 25th, 1815,
when he died with Christian
calmness and resignation,
aged 18.
The young men of Portland
erect this stone in testimony of their respect
for his valor and virtues.

¹ The "passing stranger" was Silas M. Burrows of New-York, who visited the cemetery, saw the neglected condition of the young hero's grave, and ordered a monument to be erected.—*Lossing's War of 1812*. Willis, in his *History of Portland*, says it was Silas E. Burrows, a relative of Lieut. Com'dt B.

of war excluded British importations. In fact they actually winked at their violation. Accordingly Mr. Charles Tappan, a brother of the late well-known philanthropist Lewis Tappan, and now a venerable resident of Brookline, Mass., received intimation from the custom house that our government had given directions not to scrutinize too narrowly the importation of British goods, with an added caution to look out for American privateers which were beyond its control. Acting on the hint thus conveyed, he sent one of his vessels to Europe, and putting her under the Swedish flag, ordered her to England, where she took in a cargo for St. John's, N. B. On learning of her arrival at that port, Mr. Tappan went there, where he found Capt. Blyth of the Boxer, who agreed with him for £100 sterling to convey Mr. Tappan's Swedish brig to the mouth of the Kennebec. In pursuance of this arrangement, Mr. Tappan drew his bill of exchange on London for £100, and giving it to Capt. Blyth, returned to Portsmouth, N. H., where he was doing business, to await the arrival of his vessel in the Kennebec; while Capt. B. commenced his convoy, keeping at a suitable distance until, when near Eastport, the fog permitted him to approach and take her in tow. In this way the two vessels neared Seguin, when the weather having become clear, and privateers appearing in sight, Capt. Blyth fired a few blank shots at his convoy as if in chase of her, and to deceive them. That device was successful, and the Swedish Brig arrived at Bath, whence her cargo was transhipped to Portsmouth; but it so happened, the wind being easterly, that the sharp ears of Lieut. Burrows caught the boom of the guns, and he instantly made sail in the direction of the sound, with what result I have related. When Mr. Tappan heard of the battle, he was anxious about his bill of exchange, and went to Portland, where he boarded the Boxer, informed the senior officer of his negotiations with his deceased commander, paid him \$500 in gold, and received back the bill of exchange for £100, which was found in the breeches pocket of Capt. Blyth as he lay on board the captured brig.¹

¹ Since reading this paper, I have received the following account of this transaction in the autograph of Mr. Tappan.

“ Cambridge, Mass., Sept. 9, 1873.

“ At the commencement of our war with Great Britain in 1813, the United States had but few if any factories for the manufacture of woolen cloths and blankets, and the soldiers were clad in British cloths and slept under British blankets. It was understood no captures would be made of British goods owned by citizens of the United States, and many American merchants imported, via Halifax and St. John's, N. B., their usual stock of goods. In 1813 I went with others in the 'Swedish' brig *Margaretta* to St. John's, N. B., and filled her with British goods, intending to take them to Bath, Maine, and enter them regularly and pay the lawful duties thereon. All we had to fear was American privateers; and we hired Capt. Blyth, of H. B. M. Brig *Boxer*, to convey us to the mouth of the Kennebec river, for which service we gave him a bill of exchange on London for £100. We sailed in company, and in a thick fog, off Quoddy Head, the *Boxer* took us in tow. It was agreed that when we were about to enter the mouth of the river two or three guns should be fired over us, to have the appearance of trying to stop us, should any idle folks be looking on. Capt. Burrows, in the U. S. Brig *Euterprise*, lay in Portland harbor, and hearing the guns got underway, and as is well known captured the *Boxer*, after a severe engagement, in which both captains were killed. Our bill of exchange we thought might in some way cause us trouble, and we employed Esquire K. to take 500 specie dollars on board the captured ship and exchange them for the paper, which was found in Capt. Blyth's breeches pocket.

“ Capt. PREBLE.

Yours respectfully,

CHAS. TAPPAN.”

"Flag of Fort M'Henry."

MADE IN GREAT BRITAIN BY THE BANNER COMPANY, 1873.
— 1814 —



— THE ORIGINAL OF

"Our Star Spangled Banner."

— PHOTOGRAPHED 1873.

— LENGTH OF THE FLAG — 25.00 FEET



III.

THE FLAG OF FORT MCHENRY.

LAST, but by no means least in size, and certainly not least in interest from the associations which cluster around it, is the flag canopied over you, the flag of Fort McHenry, worn during its bombardment by the British on the 13th and 14th of September, 1814, "whose broad stripes and bright stars" which age has left undimmed, when "seen by dawn's early light" on that memorable morning, inspired the words of our national song, "The star-spangled banner." After the lapse of sixty years its colors, as you see them, are so bright it would seem as if, in the words of another of our songs, "all its hues were born in heaven."

The size of the garrison flags of our forts at this time, as established by the army regulations, is thirty-six feet fly and twenty feet hoist. The flag of Fort McHenry, as you here see it, is thirty-two feet long, by twenty-nine wide. Probably it was originally thirty-six feet, perhaps forty feet, in length,—and its greater width is due to its having fifteen stripes, instead of thirteen. It has, or rather had, fifteen stars, each two feet from point to point. You will observe that the stars are arranged in five indented parallel lines, three stars in each horizontal line, and that the union rests on the ninth, which is a red stripe, instead of the eighth, as in our present flag, which is a white stripe.

You may perhaps recollect great excitement was caused in New-Orleans, at the commencement of our late civil war, in consequence of the displaying of a flag, by the ship *Adelaide Bell*, of New-Hampshire, from her mast-head, in which the union rested on a red stripe, and which the mob decided was "a black republican flag." The flag was hauled down, the vigilance committee persisting in the assertion that such a flag was known "as the flag of the northern republican states;" yet all the flags worn during the war of 1812-14, and in fact from 1794 to 1818, were so arranged.

In order to show it to you, and for the purpose of having its frail threads photographed, I have had the flag stitched upon canvass. It

was my intention to have had it hoisted on the navy-yard flagstaff, and to have craved for it a national salute; but time has so weakened its fabric that it cannot be trusted to stand even such light, fitful breezes, as those which half-concealed and half-disclosed its beauties in 1814.

The venerable Mr. M. J. Cohen, of Baltimore, who believes himself to be the only surviving member of Nicholson's Company of Fencibles,—which mustered on the morning of the bombardment, (by count) one hundred and ten strong, and was stationed in the "star fort," the centre of the fortress where this flag was,—informs me that the flag was erected on a high mast not far from the bastion, and that he has a distinct recollection that one whole bombshell passed through it, and that it was likewise torn by several pieces of another. He recollects the flag as a very large one; but has only seen it once since, when in the possession of Mr. Chris. Hugh Armistead, a brother of Mrs. Appleton, its present owner.

There can be no doubt regarding the authenticity of this flag. It was preserved by Col. Armistead, and bears upon one of its stripes his name and the date of the bombardment in his own handwriting. It has always remained in his family, and his widow at her death bequeathed it to their youngest daughter, Mrs. William Stuart Appleton, who was born in Fort McHenry under its folds, some years after the bombardment. Mrs. Appleton, with whose presence we are favored to-day, and to whose kindness I am indebted for being able to show you this flag, informs me that it is connected with her earliest recollections, and that she has frequently seen it borne away with military honors to play its recognized part in some pageant or celebration of the 13th and 14th of September. The occasion that most impressed her was when it was used to adorn the tent in which Lafayette was entertained at Fort McHenry. The other most noted object in the marquee (which she thinks had once belonged to Washington) was the large silver vase presented to her father by the citizens of Baltimore for his successful defence of Fort McHenry. Mrs. Appleton was named Georgiana, for her father, and the flag was hoisted on its staff in honor of her birth.

THE BOMBARDMENT OF FORT MCHENRY.

On the night of Saturday, the 10th of September, 1814, the British fleet, consisting of ships of the line, heavy frigates and bomb vessels, amounting in all to thirty sail, appeared at the mouth of the Patapsco, with every indication of an attempt upon the city of Baltimore. The total force, regulars and volunteers, for the defence of Fort McHenry, under the command of Lieut. Col. George Armis-

tead, U.S.A., a young man thirty-four years of age, amounted in all to about one thousand men.¹

On Monday morning, the 12th, the enemy commenced landing troops on the east side of the Patapsco, about ten miles from the fort, and during the day and ensuing night brought sixteen vessels, five of which were bomb-vessels, within about two-and-a-half miles of the fort.²

About sunrise, Tuesday morning (the 13th), the enemy's five bomb vessels, at the distance of about two miles, opened their fire, and kept up an incessant and well-directed bombardment, which was immediately returned by our batteries, whose shot and shell unfortunately fell considerably short of the assailants. This left the defenders of the fort exposed to a constant and tremendous shower of shell, without the remotest possibility of doing him the slightest injury. Though thus exposed and perforce inactive, Col. Armistead in his report says: "Not a man shrank from the conflict."

About two, P.M., a lieutenant was killed, several were wounded, and a twenty-four pounder dismounted by one of the enemy's shells. Noticing the bustle necessarily produced in removing the wounded and in replacing the gun, the enemy, suspected the garrison was in a state of confusion, and brought his bomb-vessels up nearer, and into what Col. Armistead thought good striking distance. He therefore re-opened his fire upon them and with such effect that in half an hour they were forced to retire beyond the range of the guns of Fort McHenry, when with three cheers he again ceased firing. The

¹ George Armistead was born in New-Market, Co. Carolina, Virginia, on the 10th of April, 1780. He entered the army as a 2d lieutenant, Jan. 8, 1799. He rose to the rank of major of the Third Artillery in 1813; was distinguished at the capture of Fort George, in May, 1813, and was breveted lieutenant colonel for his gallantry. He had five brothers in the army during the "war of 1812:" three in the regular service, and two in the militia. The sense of responsibility, and the tax upon his nervous system during the bombardment, left him with a disease of the heart, which caused his death at the age of 38 years. The ancestors of his family came from Hesse d'Armstadt.

The garrison of Fort McHenry consisted of—

One Company of U. S. Artillery,	commanded by Capt. Evans.
Two Companies of Sea Fencibles	" Capts. Bunbury and Addison.
The Washington Artillery of Baltimore,	" Capt. John Berry.
The Balt. Independent Artillerists,	" Capt. Chas. Pennington.
The Baltimore Fencibles,	" Capt. Josh. H. Nicholson.
A Detachment of Flotilla men,	" Lieut. Rodman.

and detachments from the 12th, 14th, 36th and 38th U. S. Infantry, commanded by Lieut. Col. Smart, and Major Lane.

Fort Covington was manned with a party of sailors under the command of Lieut. Newcomb, U.S.N., and the six-gun battery was manned with flotilla men under Lieut. John A. Webster.

² Sir Alex. Cochrane, in his despatch to the secretary of the admiralty, dated Sept. 17, 1814, says: "So soon as the army moved forward, I hoisted my flag on the Surprise, and with the remainder of the frigates, bomb-sloops and the rocket-ship, passed further up the river. * * * At daybreak the next morning (13th), the bombs, having taken their stations within shell-range, supported by the Surprise, with the other frigates and sloops, opened their fire upon the fort that protected the harbor."

Allen, in his "Battles of the British Navy," says: Vice Adm'l Cochrane's flag ship was the Royal Oak. He does not mention the Minden, but says the frigates Severn, Euryalus, Havannah, and five mortar-ships, and the Erebus rocket ship, Capt. D. E. Bartholomew, were appointed to proceed up the river to attack Fort McHenry and other contiguous batteries. The five mortar-vessels were the Meteor, Etna, Terror, Volcano, and Devastation, commanded by Capts. Saml. Roberts, Richard Kenah, John Sheridan, David Price, and Thomas Alexander.

enemy continued, with slight intermission, throwing shells until one o'clock Wednesday morning, the 14th, when it was discovered that he had availed himself of the darkness of the night, and had thrown a considerable force above and to the right of Fort McHenry, threatening Fort Covington. As they approached that fort, they began to throw rockets, probably to enable them to examine the shores.

“ By the rocket's red glare and bomb bursting in air,
We saw through the night, that our flag was still there.”

The force landed consisted of 1250 men, who were provided with scaling ladders for the purpose of storming the fort. This force being within range, our batteries opened fire upon it as soon as discovered, and after a continual blaze of nearly two hours succeeded in driving it off.¹

Col. Armistead, in his official despatch, states that Lieut. Newcombe² of the United States Navy, who commanded Fort Covington with a detachment of sailors, and Lieut Webster³ of the flotilla, who commanded a six-gun battery near that fort, kept up during this time an animated and destructive fire, to which he was persuaded he was much indebted for repulsing the enemy. The only means our men had of directing their guns, was by the blaze of the enemy's rockets and the flashes of their guns. The bombardment continued on the part of the enemy until 7, A.M., when it ceased, and about 9, A.M., their ships got underway and stood down the river repulsed.

During the bombardment, which was continued for twenty-five hours, with only two slight intermissions, Col. Armistead calculated that from 1500 to 1800 shells were thrown by the enemy, a few of which fell short; a large proportion burst over the fort, throwing their fragments among its defenders, and threatening destruction; while many passed over, and about 400 fell within the works. Yet the loss amounted to only four men killed, and twenty-four wounded. Among the killed were Lieut Clagget and Sergeant Clemm, of

¹ Gen. Smith, in his report dated Sept. 14th, says that two or three rocket-vessels and barges succeeded in getting up the ferry-branch, and that the forts destroyed one of the barges.

Col. Armistead states in his report, Sept. 24th, that in the darkness the enemy threw a considerable force above to the right, which he has since understood consisted of 1250 picked men, provided with scaling ladders. Lossing and other historical writers have accepted 1250 as the force landed; but Allen, in his “ Battles of the British Navy,” probably on the authority of the English official despatches, says: “ At night a division of twenty boats was despatched up the ferry-branch to cause a diversion in favor of a projected assault upon the enemy's camp; but in consequence of the extreme darkness of the night, the boats separated, and eleven returned to the ships. The remaining nine boats, containing 128 officers and men, under Capt. [Charles] Napier, passed up the river some distance above Fort McHenry, and opened a fire of rockets and musketry; but Capt. Napier, not having his whole party, refrained from landing. A body of troops was quickly drawn to the spot, and Capt. N. having thus effected the principal object intended, returned down the river. When abreast of the fort, one of the officers unadvisedly discharged a rocket, and a heavy fire was instantly opened upon the boats, but which fortunately killed no more than one of the party.”

² Lieut. H. S. Newcombe, born in New-Hampshire, was appointed a midshipman Jan. 16, 1809; promoted a lieut. July 24, 1813, and drowned while attached to the Mediterranean squadron, Nov. 1, 1825.

³ Capt. John A. Webster is now the senior Captain of the U. S. Revenue Marine, and his son is also a Captain in the same service.

Nicholson's volunteers, whose loss was deplored not only for their personal bravery, but for their high standing, amiable demeanor, and spotless integrity in private life.

The prowess of Col. Armistead and his little band in defending Fort McHenry, was the theme of praise upon every lip. The grateful citizens of Baltimore presented him with a costly and appropriate testimonial of their appreciation of his services, in the shape of an elegant silver punch-bowl, in the form of and the size of the largest bombshell thrown into the fort by the British; the ladle in the form of a shrapnell shell. The body of the bowl rests upon four eagles with outstretched wings. Upon one side of the bowl is an engraving representing the bombardment, surrounded by military trophies. On the other is the inscription. There were also a dozen silver goblets representing powder barrels. The whole service was sustained by an elegant and massive silver salver. He was also voted a sword by his native state, Virginia, which after his death was delivered to his son, Christopher Hughes Armistead, now a resident of Baltimore. A marble monument was also erected to his memory, on which is inscribed :—"COLONEL GEORGE ARMISTEAD, IN HONOR OF WHOM THIS MONUMENT IS ERECTED, WAS THE GALLANT DEFENDER OF FORT McHENRY DURING THE BOMBARDMENT OF THE BRITISH FLEET, SEPT. 13, 1814. HE DIED, UNIVERSALLY ESTEEMED AND REGRETTED, APRIL 25, 1818, AGED 39."

I am informed by Mrs. Appleton that her father had orders from the general, commanding in Baltimore, to surrender the fort, as he considered it unable to make a successful resistance, the magazines not being bomb-proof.¹ Like Nelson at Copenhagen, who turned a blind eye to his orders, he defended the fort, with the prospect of a court-martial should the enemy's attack prove successful. Of course, none was thought of after his brilliant success.

Such was the scene which this flag waved over when it inspired Francis Scott Key to compose our national song. "The scene which he describes and the warm spirit of patriotism which breathes in the song," says his brother-in-law, Chief-Justice Taney, "were not the offspring of mere fancy, or poetic imagination. He describes what he actually saw, and he tells us what he felt while witnessing the conflict, and what he felt when the battle was over, and the victory won by his countrymen. Every word came warm from his heart, and for that reason, even more than its poetical merit, it never fails to find response in the hearts of those who listen to it."

The song was first published in the Baltimore American of September 21, 1814, the week after the battle, with these prefatory remarks: "This song was composed under the following circumstances. A gentleman had left Baltimore in a flag of truce, for the purpose of getting released from the British fleet a friend of his who

¹ A shell fell into the magazine, but fortunately did not explode.

had been captured at Marlborough.¹ He went as far as the mouth of the Patuxent, and was not permitted to return lest the intended attack on Baltimore should be disclosed. He was therefore brought up the bay to the mouth of the Patapsco where the flag-vessel was kept under the guns of a frigate [the *Surprise*], and was compelled to witness the bombardment of Fort McHenry, which the admiral had boasted he would carry in a few hours. He watched the flag at the fort through the whole day, with an anxiety that can be better felt than described, until the night prevented him from seeing it. In the night he watched the bombshells, and at early dawn his eye was again greeted by the proudly waving flag of his country."

A writer in the *Historical Record*, for January, 1873, says it was while pacing the deck of the *Minden*, between midnight and dawn, that Key composed this song; and the *Minden* has generally been credited with having been the vessel on board of which it was composed. From 1854 to 1859, being no more fit for the sea, the *Minden* 74 was anchored in Hong Kong as a hospital ship, where she was finally broken up, when her timbers became anxiously sought after by patriotic Americans, to be manufactured into relics. It was, however, on board Key's own vessel that the song was written.

Judge Taney, whose information was derived from Mr. Key himself, in a letter introductory to Key's poems, furnishes the following narrative regarding its composition:—"Admiral Cochrane, with whom Key dined on the day of his arrival at the fleet, apologized for not accommodating him on board his own ship [The *Royal Oak*] during this detention, saying it was already crowded with officers of the army, but that he and his friend, Mr. Skinner, would be well taken care of on board the frigate *Surprise*, commanded by his son, Sir Thomas Cochrane, to which frigate they were accordingly transferred. Mr. Key and Mr. Skinner continued on board the *Surprise* until the fleet reached the Patapsco and preparations were making for landing the troops. Admiral Cochrane then shifted his flag to the frigate, that he might be able to move further up the river, and superintend in person the attack by water on the fort, and Mr. Key and Mr. Skinner were sent on board their own vessel, with a guard of sailors and marines to prevent them from landing. They were permitted to take Doct. Beanes with them, and thought themselves fortunate in being anchored in a position to enable them to see distinctly

¹ Dr. Beanes, a leading physician of upper Marlborough, the intimate friend of Mr. Key, whose house had been the quarters of Admiral Cockburn and some of the principal officers of the army when the British troops camped at Marlborough, on their march to Washington.

In a letter to his mother (now in the possession of F. M. Etting, Esq., of Philadelphia), under date, Georgetown, 2d September, 1814, Key writes: "I am going in the morning to Baltimore, to proceed in a flag vessel to Gen. Ross. Old Doct. Beanes, of Marlboro', is taken prisoner by the enemy, who threaten to carry him off. Some of his friends have urged me to apply for a flag to go and try to procure his release. I hope to return in about 8 or 10 days, though it is uncertain, as I do not know where to find the fleet."

the flag of Fort McHenry, from the deck of the vessel. Mr. Key, with much animation, described [to Judge Taney] the scene on the night of the bombardment. He and Mr. Skinner remained on deck during the night, watching every shell from the moment it was fired until it fell, listening with breathless interest to hear if an explosion followed. But it suddenly ceased before day, and as they had no communication with any of the enemy's ships they did not know whether the fort had surrendered or the attack been abandoned. They paced the deck for the remainder of the night in painful suspense, watching with intense anxiety for the return of day, and looking every few minutes at their watches to see how long they must wait for it; and as soon as it dawned, and before it was light enough to see objects at a distance, their glasses were turned to the fort, uncertain whether they should see there the stars and stripes or the flag of the enemy. At length the light came, and they saw that our "flag was still there." And as the day advanced, they discovered, from the movement of the boats between the shore and the fleet, that the troops had been roughly handled, and that many wounded men were carried to the ships. At length Mr. Key was informed that the attack on Baltimore had failed, and the British army was re-embarking, and that he, Mr. Skinner, and Doct. Beanes, would be permitted to leave the fleet and go where they pleased, as soon as the troops were on board and ready to sail.

"Mr. Key then told me [continues Judge Taney] that under the excitement of the time he had written a song, and handed me a printed copy of 'The Star-Spangled Banner.' When I had read it and expressed my admiration, I asked him how he found time, in the scenes he had been passing through, to compose such a song? He said he commenced it on the deck of his vessel, in the furor of the moment when he saw the enemy hastily retreating to their ships, and looked at the flag he had watched for so anxiously as the morning opened; that he had written some lines or brief notes that would aid him in calling them to mind upon the back of a letter which he happened to have in his pocket; and for some of the lines as he proceeded he was obliged to rely altogether on his memory; and that he finished it in the boat on his way to the shore, and wrote it out, as it now stands, at the hotel, on the night he reached Baltimore, and immediately after he arrived. The next morning he took it to Judge Nicholson¹ to ask him what he thought of it, and he was so much pleased with it that he immediately sent it to the printer, and directed copies to be struck off in hand-bill form. In less than an hour after it was placed in the hands of the printer it was all over the town, and hailed with enthusiasm, and at once took its place as a national song."

¹ Judge N: and Mr. Key were nearly connected by marriage, their wives being sisters. Though the chief-justice of Baltimore, and one of the judges of the Court of Appeals of Maryland, he as a volunteer commanded a company in the fort at the bombardment.

The words on this broadside were enclosed in an elliptical border composed of the common type ornaments of the day. Around that border, and a little distance from it, on a line of the same form are the words: "BOMBARDMENT OF FORT MCHENRY." The letters of these words are wide apart, and each one surrounded by a circle of stars. Below the song, and within the ellipsis, are the words: "Written by Francis S. Key, of Georgetown, D. C."

The *Baltimore American*, in 1872, on the anniversary of the battle of North Point, republished the song, and said: "We have placed at the head of this article, this now immortal song, just as it saw the light fifty-eight years ago. The poet, Francis Scott Key, was too modest to announce himself, and it was not for some time after its first appearance that he became known as the author. It was brought to Baltimore and first given to the publishers of the *American* by John S. Skinner, Esq., who had been appointed by President Madison to conduct some negotiations with the British force relative to the exchange of prisoners. It was in this way that Mr. Skinner chanced to meet Mr. Key on the flag-of-truce boat, and obtained from him the song." Samuel Sands, the printer-boy, who put the song in type in the office of the *American*, still lives, and is the well-known and respected editor of the *American Farmer*.

The *Star-spangled Banner* was first sung,¹ according to one account, in a small one-story frame house next the Holiday Street Theatre, occupied as a tavern, a house "where players most did congregate." A correspondent of the *Historical Magazine*, however, who says he was one of the group, asserts that it was first sung by his brother, and about twenty volunteer soldiers, who joined in the chorus in front of the Holiday Street Theatre.² It is certain that it was soon heard within that ancient edifice, where it was received with unbounded enthusiasm.

Several copies of the song, in the autograph of the author, differing more or less from the first published and common version, are known to be in existence. One of these is in the possession of Mrs. Charles Howard, of Baltimore, a daughter of the author; another was presented by Mr. Key, in 1842, to Gen. George Keim, and is now in the possession of his son, Henry May Keim, Esq., of Reading, Penn.; a third, which he presented June 7, 1842, to James Mahar, who for many years was the gardener of the executive mansion in Washington, was exhibited in 1843, after Mr. Key's death,

¹ The song was sung to the tune of "Anacreon in Heaven," an interesting history of which can be found in the Hon. Stephen Salisbury's "Essay on the Star-Spangled Banner and National Songs," read before the American Antiquarian Society and since published in pamphlet form, with a version of "To Anacreon in Heaven," and Robert Treat Paine's song, "Adams and Liberty," which was sung to the same tune in 1798.

Alexander H. Everett wrote an ode for the Russian festival in Boston, March 25, 1813, which was sung to the same tune, and a recent writer in the *Historical Record* thinks it probable that the metre of Everett's ode was in the mind of Key when he composed the "Star-Spangled Banner."

² The Holiday Street Theatre was destroyed by fire Sept. 10, 1873. With the exception of the Walnut St. Theatre, Philadelphia, it was the oldest in the United States, dating back to 1794.

in the window of a bookstore on Pennsylvania Avenue, with a certificate to the identity of the handwriting signed by Judge Dunlap, Peter Force, Esq., and other gentlemen who were intimately acquainted with Mr. Key, and perfectly familiar with his style of penmanship.

A fac-simile of the MS. copy in the possession of Mrs. Howard was published in "Autograph Leaves of our Country's Authors," edited by John P. Kennedy and Alexander Bliss for the benefit of the sanitary fair held in Baltimore in 1864. The first verse of that version of the song is given in fac-simile in Lossing's "Field-Book of the War of 1812." I have a photographic copy of the autograph in the possession of Mr. Keim.¹ The National Intelligencer printed the version given to Mr. Mahar. These three autograph-copies, written out by Mr. Key, a few months before his death, are alike in all respects, and therefore may be considered as embodying the author's matured conception of the song.

The following is his revised version, from the autograph in the possession of Mr. Keim, to which I have appended notes showing its variations from other versions :

O say, can you see, by the dawn's early light,
 What so proudly we hailed at the twilight's last gleaming,
 Whose broad stripes and bright stars, through the clouds of the fight,²
 O'er the ramparts we watched, were so gallantly streaming?
 And the rocket's red glare, the bomb bursting in air,
 Gave proof through the night that our flag was still there.
 O say, does that star-spangled banner yet wave
 O'er the land of the free & the home of the brave?

On that shore, dimly seen through the mists of the deep,
 Where the foe's haughty host in dread silence reposes,
 What is that, which the breeze, o'er the towering steep
 As it fitfully blows, half³ conceals, half³ discloses?
 Now it catches the gleam of the morning's first beam
 In full glory reflected, now shines in⁴ the stream.
 'Tis the star-spangled banner, O! long may it wave
 O'er the land of the free & the home of the brave!

And where are the foes that⁵ so vauntingly swore
 That⁶ the havoc of war & the battle's confusion,
 A home and a country should should⁷ leave us no more?
 Their⁸ blood has wash'd out their⁸ foul footsteps' pollution.
 No refuge could save the hireling & slave,
 From the terror of flight or the gloom of the grave,
 And the star-spangled banner in triumph doth wave
 O'er the land of the free & the home of the brave.

¹ In "The History of Our Flag," I have stated, on the authority of a correspondent of one of the historical magazines, that the original draft, with its erasures, &c., was purchased by Gen. Geo. Keim, of Reading, and is probably in the possession of his heirs. The photograph in my possession shows that it is a fair copy, written out by Mr. Key, and I learn from Gen. Keim's son that the autograph was presented to his father by Mr. Key.

² "Perilous fight"—*Griswold, Dana, Boys' Banner Book, Salisbury, Common versions.*

³ "Now"—*Dana, Salisbury, Key's Poems.*

⁴ "O'er"—*Several versions; "Oa"*—*Mahar's autograph, Salisbury; "In"*—*Balt. Am. 1814.*

⁵ "Band who"—*Griswold, Dana, Banner Book, Salisbury, Balt. Am. 1814.*

⁶ "Mid"—*Griswold, Dana; "That"*—*Salisbury, Balt. Am. 1814.*

⁷ "They'd"—*Griswold; "Should"*—*Balt. Am. 1814, Salisbury, Common versions.*

⁸ "This" "his"—*Mahar's copy.* The *National Intelligencer* says: "He heard the vaunting boast of British officers that the fort would be reduced in a brief period after the attack, and that circumstance explains the use of the pronouns in the singular number." All the other versions I have seen have it 'their,' 'their,' as in the text above.

O thus be it ever! when freemen¹ shall stand
 Between their² lov'd homes & the war's desolation.
 Blest with vict'ry and peace, may the heav'n rescued land
 Praise the power that hath made and preserved us a nation.
 Then conquer we must, when our cause it is just,
 And this be our motto, In God is our trust.
 And the star-spangled banner in triumph shall wave
 O'er the land of the free & the home of the brave.

To Gen. Keim.

F. S. KEY.

I have endeavored, as briefly as is consistent with my subject, to narrate the history of these flags. Since the "new constellation" shone over that moonlight fight in 1779, it has trebled its lustre by the addition of new stars, and attained a pre-eminence in the political firmament undreamed of at its birth. It rose to herald a new nation of less than four millions of people, but within the first century of its existence it protects neath its galaxy almost ten times that number. By a happy inspiration the chosen symbol of a group of states clustered upon the Atlantic slope, it is now the sovereign emblem of a people whose dominion extends to the Pacific ocean. Confined to no latitude or longitude, it gleams over all seas, and every where is known and hailed as THE AMERICAN Flag.

"What memories for the breast that own
 One fibre of the common heart!
 What whispered warnings in the tone
 Which from its blazoned bunting start!"

"Follow its track across the seas
 Northward, till midnight kisses morn,
 Fling it abroad upon the breeze
 Beneath the burning zodiac born:
 And while its sheltering folds expand
 Above thee — sleep! devoid of fear,
 It is the symbol of a land
 Which balances a hemisphere."³

¹ "Freemen"—*Griswold, Banner Book, Salisbury, Balt. Am.* 1814; "Foemen"—*Dana.*

² "Our"—*Griswold, Dana, Balt. Am., Common versions*; "Their"—*Salisbury.*

³ Colman's "Knightly Heart and other Poems."



PROCEEDINGS OF THE NEW-ENGLAND HISTORIC, GENEALOGICAL
SOCIETY.

Boston, July 9. Pursuant to adjournment the society met this day, the President, the Hon. Marshall P. Wilder, in the chair, and listened to a paper read by Capt. Geo. Henry Preble, U. S. N., upon the history of three memorable and historic flags, namely: the flag worn by the Bon Homme Richard in her fight, under command of John Paul Jones, with the Serapis, in 1779; the flag borne by the U. S. Brig Enterprise in her encounter with the Boxer in 1813; and the flag which floated over Fort McHenry, near Baltimore, in 1814, at the time of the British naval attack on that city, and which inspired Key's "Star Spangled Banner."

Miss Sarah Smith Stafford, of Trenton, N. J., the owner of the Bon Homme Richard flag, Mrs. William Stuart Appleton, the daughter of Col. Armistead, and owner of the Fort Henry flag, and her daughters, were present.

During his reading, Capt. Preble exhibited the diary of Dr. Ezra Green, surgeon of the Ranger in 1778, which had been handed to him since he entered the room, by the Hon. James D. Green, a nephew of the diarist, and read an extract from the diary confirming his own statement regarding the first salute paid to the stars and stripes by a foreign power.

The "Star Spangled Banner," at the conclusion of the paper, was sung, at the suggestion of the president; Mrs. Baker, of Boston, a grand-daughter of the heroic defender of Fort McHenry, leading.

The Rev. Dorus Clarke, D.D., remarked upon the national song they had just listened to, and spoke of the enthusiasm with which it was received at the late Peace Jubilee when the English Royal Grenadier Band played the tune. Rear-Admiral Thatcher, being called upon by the president, expressed briefly his gratification and interest in the occasion.

Col. A. H. Hoyt then offered the following resolutions, which were adopted:

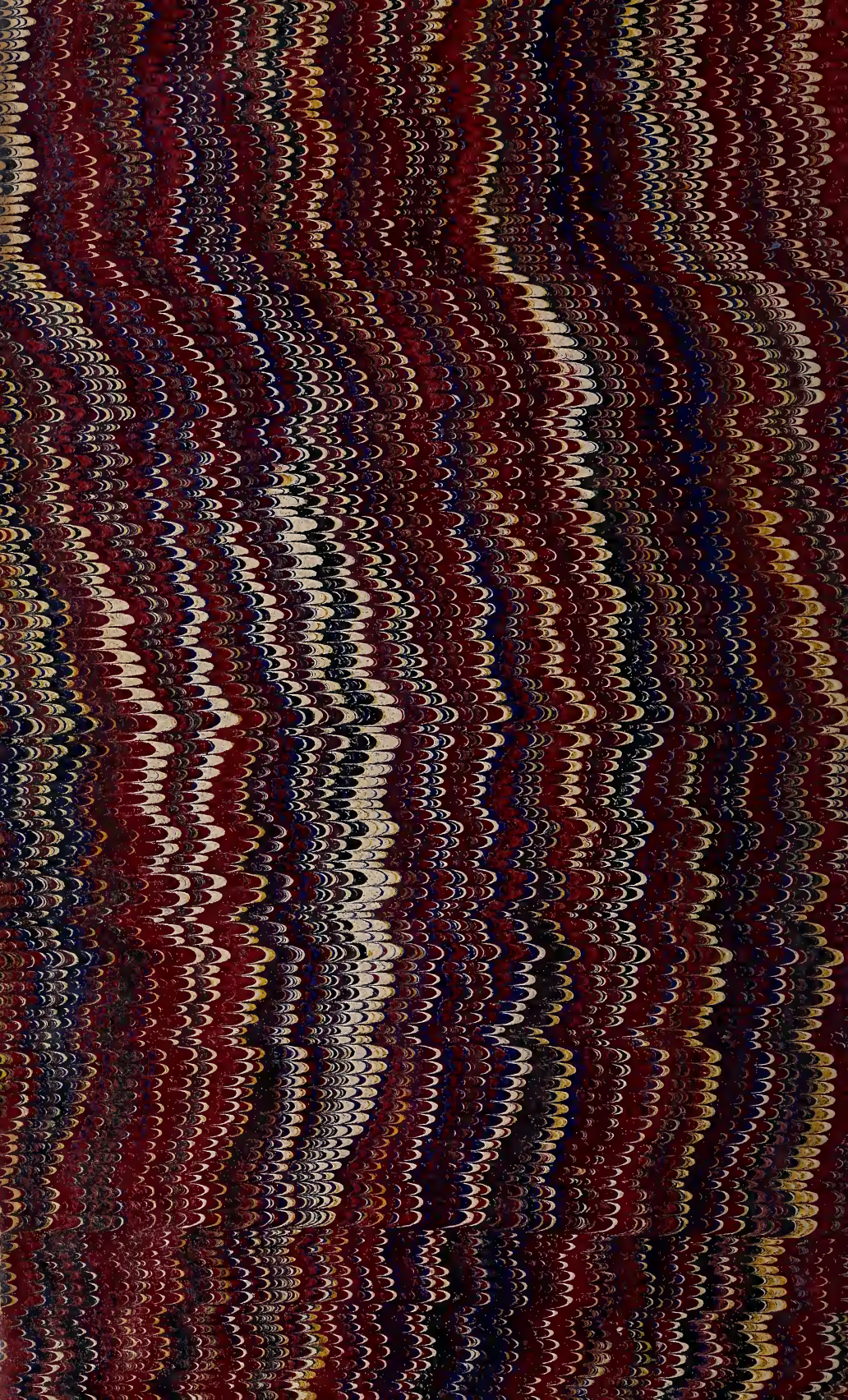
Resolved, That the society has good reason to congratulate itself that it has the honor and pleasure of the presence on this occasion of Miss Sarah Smith Stafford, of Trenton, N. J., and Mrs. Wm. Stuart Appleton of New York, representatives of the victors in two memorable battles,—one on the sea in 1779, during the revolutionary war, the other on the land, during the "war of 1812,"—in both of which a victory was gained over a foreign enemy.

Resolved, That the thanks of the society be presented to Miss Stafford, Mrs. Appleton and to Mr. Horatio G. Quincy of Portland, Me., for permitting the celebrated battle-flags in their possession to be publicly exhibited in the Society's House this day.

Resolved, further, That the thanks of the society be presented to Capt. George Henry Preble, U. S. N., for his successful efforts to bring together these interesting relics of our national valor, and for his valuable essay on their history, and his account of the brilliant events they commemorate.

Resolved, also, That Capt. Preble be requested to furnish a copy of his essay for the society's archives.

After further business the meeting was adjourned, when all present were introduced, by President Wilder, to the ladies upon the platform, representatives and descendants of the defenders of the flags.





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